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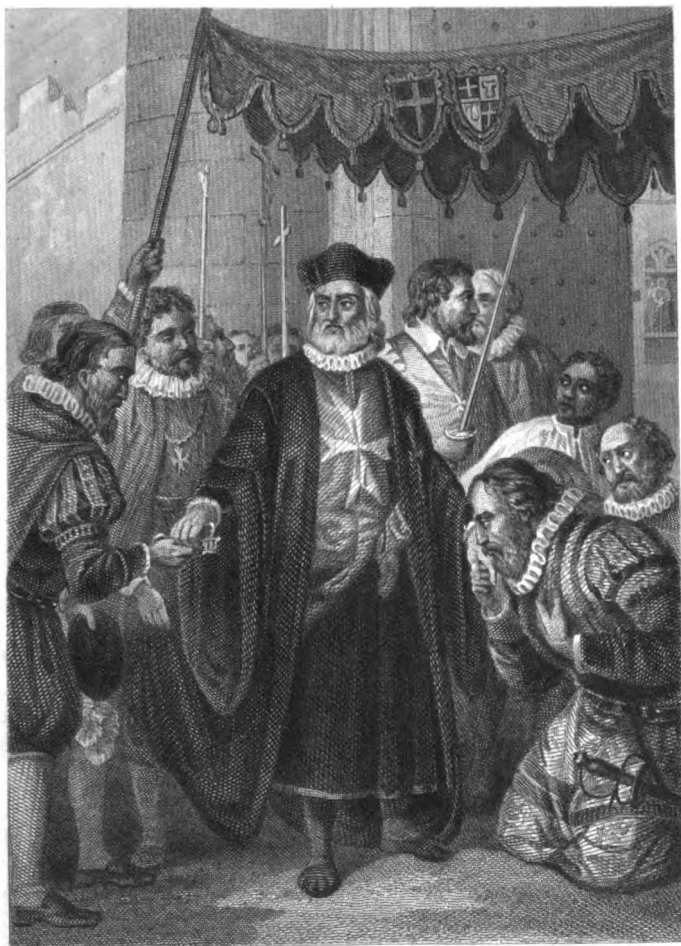
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Engraved by H. Kneller from an original painting by the Duke of Mantua

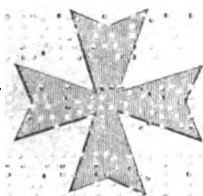
John William Graham

*He is the only one who has ever been*



A  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
KNIGHTS OF MALTA  
OR THE  
ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL  
OF  
ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

BY  
MAJOR WHITWORTH PORTER  
ROYAL ENGINEERS



PRO FIDE POUR LA FOI

IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOL. I  
PALESTINE—RHODES

LONDON  
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS

1858

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## P R E F A C E.

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OF all the acquisitions made by Great Britain during the course of that lengthened struggle by which the present century was ushered in, and which ended in the overthrow of the French Empire, and the temporary re-establishment of the Bourbon dynasty, none was esteemed of greater importance, both politically and commercially, than the island of Malta. To a nation already possessed of an undoubted naval supremacy, and holding, in the fortress of Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, it wanted but this one point more to render its position in those waters utterly and completely unassailable.

Malta has, therefore, always been considered a most important and valued appanage to the British Crown, and its due security has been carefully and jealously guarded. Still, until within the last few years, comparatively but little was known of the island by the great bulk of the population of England. True, they all had been taught that it was a powerful insular



fortress in the centre of the Mediterranean, half way between Sicily and the north coast of Africa, and that, prior to its passing under the sway of England, it had been the home, for upwards of two centuries, of a military community, called "The Knights of Malta." Some, perhaps, had even heard of its siege as a struggle reflecting great renown on the garrison of the island, and as one of the most protracted and heroic defences made throughout the sixteenth century. But beyond this point little was generally either known or cared for.

Latterly, however, a very different feeling has arisen, and circumstances have brought the island far more prominently before the British public. The first step in this direction was taken when Queen Adelaide was, by her physicians, ordered to pass a winter there, that she might avail herself of the mildness of its climate during that season. The example thus set in so illustrious a quarter was immediately followed, and from that time Malta has every winter become the resort of a great and continually increasing number of invalids and others attracted thither by its genial climate. From this cause a personal interest in its previous history, and in that of the Order who had raised it from a mere barren rock into its present proud position, became created in the minds of many who would otherwise have cared little or nothing about the matter.

The number of those who have thus been thrown into direct contact with the island has, however, received its greatest and most important accession from the late Russian war. Situated half way between Gibraltar and Constantinople, Malta naturally became a central depôt,

wherein vast stores of material, as well as troops, were concentrated, and which was visited by every one, either going to or returning from the scene of strife. Any one who can call to mind the comparatively tranquil condition of the harbour and island generally, previous to that event, and then compare it with the busy scene presented to his eyes in the midst of the war, must have been struck with the giant strides that had been made during a few months in commercial importance; nor has the subsequent peace brought with it such a diminution of stir and bustle as might have been anticipated. The harbours are still crowded with shipping, steamers, both English and French, call almost daily at the island, and a general aspect of thriving industry and progress mark that Malta is destined for the future to hold commercially a very prominent position in the Mediterranean.

A demand having thus arisen for more detailed information relative to the previous history of the Order of Malta, it has been made a subject of much complaint that such information is very difficult to obtain. The only book in the English language, bearing any pretensions to the title of a popular history of the Order, is Sutherland's "Knights of Malta," published in Constable's "Miscellany." Now this book, which is, after all, but little else than an abridged translation of the voluminous quartos of Vertot, contains no details of aught but the political and public career of the Knights. On their internal organisation and social history he is perfectly silent, and yet that is the point on which general interest is more particularly excited.

Of late years, a work has also been published by the Chevalier Taafe, himself a member of the Order; but his book contains the same grave omission, and is, moreover, couched in such obscure and foreign English, as to be almost unavailable to the general reader. The only other English work bearing on the subject, with which I am acquainted, is the history of Malta, written by Boisgelin, who, as well as Taafe, was a Knight of St. John. This book, which is most valuable in its way, only takes up the subject from the commencement of the sixteenth century, leaving the three preceding and most important centuries of the career of the Order quite untouched.

Under these circumstances, and having myself experienced the difficulty which exists in obtaining, in a popular form, such information concerning the Order of St. John as is generally sought for, I have endeavoured, in the following work, to supply that deficiency, and to collect together, in a readable form, such details as I have gathered, after wading through an enormous mass of reading, from amidst the ponderous tomes of the public library of Malta, and its still more valuable Record Office, where papers and manuscripts of the deepest interest exist in countless profusion.

Whilst following out a general history of the Order from its first establishment in Palestine, in the close of the eleventh century, to the present day, I have endeavoured to intersperse the narrative with such details of their private and social habits and customs as I deemed might prove most acceptable to the general reader, and

which I feel well assured have never hitherto been made public.

In this labour I have received much and most valuable assistance. From His Excellency Sir William Reid, the governor of Malta, I have received that support and encouragement which his general desire for the promotion of literature and science was sure to have secured to me. To Dr. Luigi Vella, the courteous and zealous superintendent of the Record Office, my warmest thanks are due. Deeply versed, himself, in all the multifarious mass of reading there presented to view, he has invariably, in the most cordial manner, assisted my researches, by drawing my attention to such documents as he knew bore most directly on the subject upon which I sought information. To Dr. Cesare Vassalo, librarian of the great public library of Malta, I must also return thanks, for his zeal and kindness in the same cause. From Mr. Watts, himself a Knight of the Order of St. John, and from Mr. Winthrop, the American consul at this island, both of whom have for years made the position of the English branch of the community their particular study, I have received the greatest possible assistance. The lists of the various dignitaries of the English language, to be found in the 22nd chapter, were all corrected and added to by the former of these gentlemen, and the curious and interesting contributions of the latter to "Notes and Queries" have been frequently consulted by me with great advantage. The translations of the letters of English monarchs to the Grand-Master, to be found in this

work, have many of them been taken from that source. To all other friends, and they are many, who have lent me the aid of their counsel and help in the undertaking, I beg here to record my grateful acknowledgments.

I now beg to leave the result of my labours in the hands of an intelligent public, trusting that it will meet with clemency, if not with favour; and not altogether without hopes that I may have supplied a connecting link between the histories of Europe and Asia, which will prove interesting and valuable to the general reader.



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A

HISTORY

OF

THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

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CHAPTER I.

**ORIGIN OF CHIVALRY.—CONDITION OF PALESTINE PRIOR TO THE FIRST CRUSADE.—ERECTION OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN.—PETER THE HERMIT.—CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM BY THE CRUSADERS.—FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL.—DEATH OF GERARD AND ELECTION OF RAYMOND DU PUY.—MILITARY CONSTITUTION OF THE ORDER.**

FROM the day when the battle of Arbela hurled Darius from his throne, and sealed the fate of the proud monarchy of Persia; from the hour when the doomed city of Persepolis re-echoed the fierce shouts of the Grecian invader, the tide of civilisation, which for so many ages had been curbed within the limits of the eastern hemisphere, burst its barrier, and commenced rolling westward.

The haughty Greek, returning flushed with victory, and laden with the spoils of the East, brought with him also the germs of that civilisation which he had witnessed in the lands of his triumph. Ere long, the



Grecian empire, already celebrated for the prowess of its sons and the lustre of its arms, dazzled the world also by its pre-eminence in all the gentler arts which soften the heart and ennoble the mind. The genius of civilisation had removed her altars from the once-favoured lands where she had so long sojourned, and re-erecting them on the shores of the bay of Salamis, became worshipped by the ardent Greek with even stronger fervour than she had excited in the mind of the swarthy Mede. This was the era when Grecian architecture, revelling in forms of beauty, could point to the noble temple of Minerva, rearing its snowy columns into the clear blue sky, on the rocky heights of the Acropolis, as an incontrovertible testimony and a lasting monument of the civilisation of her people. This was the golden age of Grecian sculpture, when the genius of a Phidias, giving life to the inanimate marble, produced specimens of art, such as were not only the admiration of his own age, but have stood unrivalled even to the present hour. This was the triumphal epoch of Grecian painting, when her canvas glowed with the rival tints of a Zeuxis and a Parrhasius; and this was the time also when the clear ringing voice of a Demosthenes, awakening the surrounding echoes with his polished periods, marked the perfection of Grecian oratory.

Yet even here the gentle goddess was not doomed to find a permanent resting-place. Time, the remorseless agent of destiny, fulfilling its inevitable decree, gradually crumbled away the bulwarks of Grecian freedom, and sapped the heart's core of her intellectual superiority. Once again, therefore, she abandoned her home, and, winging her flight still further westward, sought a new shelter on the seven hills of Imperial Rome. Hence,

following close upon the footsteps of the victorious legions of her new devotees, we find her travelling on and on towards the setting sun, until at length even the Ultima Thule of the West acknowledged the gentle influence of her sway. Such had been the original source and onward flow of that widely spread stream of civilisation, which, in its gradual development, advanced even to the most western provinces of the empire; and under the softening influences of which the rude asperities of savage ferocity had become mellowed and humanised. Here, however, the limits which an all-wise Providence had fixed for the progress of the world appear to have been reached, and, commencing from this point, its retrogression was even more rapid than had been its original advance.

The mighty empire of Rome having attained the zenith of its grandeur, and having incorporated within its vast dominions nearly the entire of the then known world, began gradually to decline. Falling a victim to the weakness inseparable from its cumbrous extent, and to the discords which preyed upon its vitals, it gave way, step by step, before the inroads of the barbarians who hung upon its frontiers; until, province after province having been torn from her enfeebled grasp, the Imperial City itself at length beheld its Capitol violated by those wild hordes who had achieved its overthrow.

It is, however, among the circumstances attending this overpowering irruption of barbarism, that we must look for the first germs of that spirit of chivalry from which the Order of St. John took its origin.

The rapid and continuous extension of the Roman empire had created the necessity for that system of colonisation with which they invariably followed up

the conquests of their victorious generals. A new country no sooner fell into the power of their arms than an organised government was established, the miniature counterpart of that which dominated over the central city of their empire. A proconsul, or governor, was nominated, under whose sway, supported by legions of disciplined soldiery, peace and order were rapidly re-established, and steadily maintained in the newly acquired territory ; but few changes being made in the occupation of the soil. A rapid though gradual transition, facilitated materially by the advent of numerous official dignitaries, bringing with them, to their new homes, all the refinements and many of the luxuries of their native city, converted the once rude land into a smiling and prosperous province, where the improvements and civilisation of their new masters found a ready footing. Under the influence of this power, the military spirit of the inhabitants was not evoked. Rome maintained her sway, not by a local militia, but by a standing army ; and trusted for her victories rather to the trained movements of a well organised soldiery, than to the spontaneous efforts of an undisciplined peasantry, however martial their native spirit might be. The theory of centralisation pervaded every act of their government, and the constant communication thus created with the capital went far to aid the progress of refinement. The conquered population, instead of being degraded into the ranks of slavery, were raised to the dignity of Roman citizens, and the politic and judicious liberality with which they were treated caused them to yield readily to the influences, at once softening and enervating, of peace and refinement.

The case was, however, widely different with the barbarians whose torrent of invasion subsequently overthrew that mighty power. They had no central seat of empire from which to draft the rulers of their new acquisitions, they sought not a mere extension of an existing government, a new appanage to a monarchy already flourishing; but, descending from their wild homes amidst the bleak fastnesses of the north, they found in the luxuriant plains of the south a new empire and a more genial dwelling-place. The original holders of the land were all dispossessed, and mostly exterminated; their places being occupied by the new intruders. The leader of the irruption, secure in his power only in so far as he consulted the interests, and through that channel retained the affections, of his followers, established his government upon a wholesale system of military colonisation. There was, in such a case, no standing army, or regular organisation distinct from the occupiers of the soil, but every man remained, a soldier, at the same time that he became a landed proprietor in the country of his adoption.

The feudal system, to which this state of things gave rise, was but the natural result, flowing from such premises. The leader himself became a monarch, holding supreme sway within his newly acquired kingdom. The commanders of his victorious forces became the nobles of his empire, receiving, as a reward for their services, and as guarantee for future attachment, large grants of land, hampered only by the conditions of military service in the field, whenever the necessities of their chief demanded their assistance. These, on the other hand, subdivided their land amongst their inferiors, under nearly similar conditions, so that, ere

long, the length and breadth of the soil was occupied under a tenure purely military in its requirements. It is not surprising, that, under such circumstances, a martial spirit should pervade the new colonists. Military service was the only road to advancement; it was by military service alone that they held their possessions, and the power of the sword was thus naturally held paramount to every other claim. Hence arose the first pulsations of that chivalric feeling which, in its maturer years, gave birth to the military and religious orders of the East.

Personal prowess being considered man's proudest ornament, and the pursuit of learning and science abandoned to the monk in his cloistered retreat, the profession of arms was the only resource opened to the youth of high and noble estate. Taught from childhood to take delight in the martial exercises which formed the daily occupation of the retainers in every baronial castle, he imbibed at an early age that ardent desire for distinction and renown which formed the fundamental principle of chivalry. Imbued with the religious veneration of the age, a veneration deeply tinged with superstition, and strengthened by the gross ignorance of the times, he was led to consider as sacred the obligations imposed upon him by the chivalric code: to combat in the defence of his religion was deemed not only a holy duty, but, at the same time, an inestimable privilege. He had been trained in the belief that pardon for his sins was to be purchased by a display of martial zeal in behalf of his faith; and that the shedding of his blood in this sacred cause would insure him an entrance into the joys of heaven. This doctrine appealed in the warmest and most direct

manner to the prevailing sentiments of the time; it readily, therefore, found a responsive echo in every chivalric bosom. Since the whole community of Europe was imbued with feelings such as these, it required but a spark to set the fabric in a blaze; and, ere long, there arose in the East the incentive by which that flame was kindled.

The Byzantine empire had continued to hold its sway long after its Western sister had succumbed to the wild tribes of the North; and, although much circumscribed from its original colossal dimensions, yet, at the commencement of the seventh century, the Euphrates was still the Asiatic boundary of the empire. Her rulers, however, either dreading the treachery of usurpers, or being usurpers themselves, were less anxious to check the inroads of the barbarians by whom they were surrounded than to secure their own position on the tottering throne. Encompassed by enemies, both within and without, that position was annually becoming one of increasing difficulty, and demanded in the monarch the presence of the highest administrative talents, combined with the most consummate skill in generalship, to maintain its integrity. Unfortunately however for the empire, her rulers evinced no such powers; far from making head against the constant encroachments of their neighbours, they plunged madly into all the voluptuous degeneracy of the times, and vainly sought to conceal their effeminate weakness, and disgraceful cowardice, beneath the idle pomp of a gorgeous magnificence. Under such adverse influences, the power which had at one time been swayed over the eastern half of Europe, and had shared the empire of the world with its Roman sister, crumbled away by

degrees, and became a mere phantom of its former grandeur.

There was, however, one province which, throughout all the declining fortunes of the empire, commanded the most affectionate interest and the warmest sympathy in every corner of Europe. This was the province of Judea, within whose limits stood the holy city of Jerusalem. Since the death of our Saviour, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the struggles of warfare, had caused numerous changes within its sacred precincts. Immediately after the capture of the city by the Romans under Titus, in fulfilment of the prophecies so frequently uttered by our Lord, the idolatrous institutions of its new masters took the place of the Judaism which had been driven forth to be dispersed over the face of the whole earth. A Pagan temple was erected upon the site where Solomon "had built him an house unto the Lord;" and the foul rites of a heathen worship desecrated the land hallowed by the Passion of our Saviour.

But in the fourth century, the Christian faith, which had been gradually winning its way throughout the empire, became recognised as the established religion; and ere long Christian churches and a Christian worship replaced the temple of the heathen and the rites of Paganism. Foremost amongst these structures, dedicated to the services of their new religion, stood the church of the Holy Sepulchre, erected by the Empress Helena, the mother of the great Constantine. She had been converted and baptised into the Christian faith at the same time as her son; and, with all the awakened zeal of an enthusiastic convert, had made a personal pilgrimage to the Holy Land, seeking amidst the scenes



of her Saviour's last home upon earth for a lively confirmation of her new faith. To her is attributed the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, and upon its site she erected the magnificent temple which bears its name. Her example was followed by her son, and ere long the numerous stately churches and convents which they founded became the principal adornment of the Holy Land.

Jerusalem now became the favoured object of the world's devotion. Religious curiosity had prompted Christians, from the earliest ages of the church, to visit the regions sanctified by their faith, and this feeling, increasing in strength by the growth of custom, and supported by the influence of the entire priesthood, reached at length to such a pitch of fervour, that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem became recognised as the most efficacious act of penance which the poor sinner could perform in expiation of his guilt. Vast crowds flocked annually from every corner in Europe to utter a prayer on the tomb of their Saviour, and to gaze on that hallowed mount where he had breathed his last. The very dust of the land was considered sacred in their eyes; and the pious wanderer, returning to his native home, hung his palm branch and pilgrim's staff over the altar of his parish church, where it remained, not only a token of his own devotion, but, at the same time, an incentive to others to follow so laudable an example.

Matters were on this footing when suddenly, from the obscurity of the East, there emerged one of those agents of divine Providence who, at stated periods in the world's history, flash like meteors upon the scene of events, to carry out His inscrutable dispensations; and who, in the present instance, was ordained to cause a complete revo-

lution throughout the nations of the East, and to become the founder not only of a new empire, but also of a new religion.

It will not come within the province of this work to enter into any detail with regard to the personal history of the impostor Mahomet, who, in the early part of the seventh century, made his appearance in the guise of a prophet in the city of Mecca. Suffice it to say, that, in a period variously stated at from ten to twenty-five years from the commencement of his career, he had brought the whole of Arabia under his dominion. The main cause of this rapid success may be found in the fact, that one of the fundamental doctrines of his new faith was the necessity of its propagation by the power of the sword. The lust of conquest being thus superadded to the zeal of fanaticism, it was not long in bearing its customary fruit; and the new creed spread with a rapidity unequalled in the annals of religious propagandism.

After the death of Mahomet, his successors, who took the name of caliph, or vicar of the prophet, for their title, filled with zeal for their new faith, and burning with ambition to add to their conquests, overran the neighbouring provinces, and spread the doctrines of their master, and their own power, at the point of the sword. Damascus, Antioch, and Syria having succumbed to their arms, they penetrated into Palestine, seized upon Jerusalem, and passing thence into Egypt, they subjugated it to their empire. Media, Korassan, and Mesopotamia shared the same fate, until, at length, having entered Africa, they brought the whole northern coast under the influence of their sway. In Europe, after having successively seized upon the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Sicily, and Malta, they founded a new empire

in the heart of Spain, whence they carried on, for many centuries, a desperate struggle with the Christians of the surrounding provinces.

Of all these conquests, however, the one which caused the greatest dismay throughout Christendom, and which, in after ages, was fraught with the most eventful results, was the capture of the Holy Land and the city of Jerusalem. So long as the Christian emperors of the East had continued to hold sway over its sacred limits, the advent of pilgrims from all parts of the world had been encouraged in every possible way. The government had early perceived that a vast amount of money was by this means brought into the empire, and that its commerce was considerably extended by the large concourse of ever-changing people collected together within the favoured province. Although the Mahometan successors of the Eastern emperors were far too politic and keen-sighted to prohibit the admission of this influx of Christians into the sacred city, they nevertheless imposed upon them such tributes as materially diminished their slender finances. The Infidels were at that time divided by intestine discords amongst themselves; since, shortly after the death of Mahomet, they had become split up into separate factions, each led by a chief who claimed for himself the right of empire, in virtue of his being the nearest in descent from the Prophet. There were at one time no less than five distinct pretenders to this dignity. The sovereignty of Jerusalem had been warmly contested between two of these rivals, the caliph of Bagdad and the caliph of Egypt; and, in their struggles for supremacy, the poor unoffending pilgrims of the West were miserably harassed and plundered, nay, not unfrequently murdered. These impediments, how-

ever, were not sufficient to check the ardour of their zeal; nor did the manifold dangers of the enterprise deter a vast and annually increasing number from seeking the shores of Palestine.

Many of these devotees combined the profitable employment of traffic with the holier office of the Palmer; and those who were thus enabled to establish a relationship with the lords of the neighbouring provinces, had it frequently in their power to befriend their less fortunate brethren. In the middle of the eleventh century, some merchants of Amalfi, a rich city of the kingdom of Naples, having in the course of their trading in Egypt ingratiated themselves with the Caliph Monstaser Billah, who at that time held the holy city under his sway, obtained permission to establish a hospital within the limits of Jerusalem, for the use of poor and sick Latin pilgrims. In accordance with the order of the caliph, the Mahometan governor of the city assigned to these pious men a site close to the Holy Sepulchre, on which, as soon as possession could be obtained, they erected a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, giving it the name of St. Mary ad Latinos, to distinguish it from those churches where the service was performed according to the Greek ritual. The building was completed in the year 1048, and from that time its sacred duties were carried on by Benedictine monks appointed for the purpose.

At the same time, two hospitals, one for either sex, were erected in the vicinity of the chapel, for the reception of pilgrims, and eventually each of these hospitals had a separate chapel annexed to it; that for the men being dedicated to St. John the Almoner, and the one destined for the women to St. Mary Magdalen. Many pilgrims, who on their arrival from Europe had

here experienced the kindness and hospitality so liberally extended to all wayfarers, abandoned the idea of returning to their native homes, and formed themselves into a band of charitable assistants, who, without any regular religious profession, devoted themselves to the service of the hospital, and the care of its sick inmates. All the chief cities of Italy, and the South of Europe generally, subscribed liberally for the support of this institution; the merchants of Amalfi, who were its original founders, becoming the stewards of their bounty; and as its beneficial influence became more widely known throughout Europe, from the favourable reports of grateful pilgrims on their return from these distant climes, the amount of their revenue, and consequently of their powers of usefulness, became greatly augmented. Such was the original establishment of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem, which may justly be considered as the cradle of the Order of St. John, and from this pious fraternity of charitable devotees sprang a body of men who for centuries became the terror of the Infidel, and the bulwark of Christendom in the East.

A great and calamitous change was soon however doomed to be the lot of the sacred city. Its Mahometan masters, after four centuries of dominion, became in their turn overpowered by a fierce horde of barbarians bearing the name of Turkomans, who, originally nurtured in the wild regions beyond the Caspian Sea, poured themselves gradually over all the countries bordering on the Euphrates. It was not long ere Jerusalem fell into their hands, and from that moment a new and most disastrous era dawned upon the pilgrims of Europe. Their tribute was still further raised, and they themselves were plundered, maltreated, and subjected to every

kind of atrocity, thus rendering the journey to Jerusalem an undertaking fraught with the greatest possible danger. Pilgrims returning to their homes soon spread the evil tidings, and a loud murmur of horror and indignation arose from every province in Europe.

It was whilst these cruelties were at their height, that, in the year 1093, a Latin monk, who had received the name of Peter the Hermit on account of the seclusion and rigid austerity of his life, having himself witnessed the hardships and barbarities to which the Christian sojourners in Jerusalem were exposed, determined to devote his energies to the alleviation of their sufferings, and applied to the Greek patriarch Simeon for assistance in the good cause. The Greek empire was at this time in far too insecure and tottering a condition to admit of the possibility of any armed intervention being undertaken in that quarter, but Simeon willingly gave Peter a letter of recommendation to Urban II., who then occupied the chair of St. Peter. Fortified with this missive, as well as with one of a similar tenor from Gerard, the rector of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the Hermit proceeded to Rome, and there personally pleaded his holy cause.

The enthusiasm which was excited throughout Europe, and which led to the successive departure of vast armaments from all quarters, formed a prominent feature in the history of the 11th and 12th centuries. After the miserable dispersion of the first undisciplined hordes who, led by the fanatic Peter, rushed headlong towards their destination in tumultuous disarray, the armed chivalry of Europe gradually collected on the plains before Constantinople, where they eventually mustered a strength of 100,000 cavalry and nearly

600,000 foot. The advance of this force, which was commanded in chief by Bohemond, son of the Count of Calabria, was marked by the successive capture of the cities of Nicea, Antioch, Tarsus, and Edessa, and eventually appeared before Jerusalem, the haven of their wishes, on the 7th of June, 1099.

The caliph of Egypt, taking advantage of the warfare which the Turkomans were then carrying on against the Crusaders, had succeeded in once more obtaining possession of Palestine, and was at this period in occupation of the holy city, which he garrisoned by a force of 40,000 men, in addition to 20,000 Mahometan inhabitants capable of bearing arms. The forces of the besiegers, decimated as they had been by their previous struggles, and the privations they had undergone, scarcely numbered 20,000 infantry and 1500 horse.

As soon as they appeared before Jerusalem, the governor arrested all the leading Christians in the city, and threw them into prison, amongst others Peter Gerard, the rector of the Hospital of St. John. Gerard is generally supposed to have been a native of Florence, but the matter is enveloped in doubt, neither his country nor his family having been with any certainty ascertained. He had undertaken a pilgrimage to the East in accordance with the prevailing custom of the age, and, being an eyewitness to the many charities administered by the hospital, he abandoned his intention of a return to Europe, and, devoting himself to the service of the institution, rapidly gained such influence by the piety of his life that he eventually became its rector. At the same time a noble Roman lady, named Agnes, superintended the establishment appointed for the reception of females. Pilgrims of both sexes were



admitted without distinction into the hospital; the Infidels, even, were not excluded from its benefits, in consequence of which the rector gradually became regarded with almost filial veneration by the poor of the city. It was the dread that this influence might be made use of to favour the besiegers which induced the governor, as a matter of precaution, to arrest Gerard.\* He, at the same time, caused all the wells within a circuit of five or six miles of the town to be filled up, and levelled every building in the suburbs, burning the wood of which they were composed, so that the besiegers, when they arrived, found nothing but an arid waste encircling the walls of the town.

In spite of the disadvantages caused by the paucity of their numbers and the obstacles thrown in their way, the Crusaders at once decided upon prosecuting the siege of the place. On the fifth day, a general assault was made; but, owing to the want of the proper military engines, the effort proved futile, and the assailants were driven with great loss from the walls. To remedy this defect, Godfrey de Bouillon and Raymond

\* A curious and amusing miracle is recorded in connexion with this arrest of Gerard, tending to show the sanctity in which he was held. It is stated that, distressed beyond measure at the miserable condition to which he perceived the Crusaders were reduced from starvation, he was in the practice of mounting the ramparts with loaves of bread concealed beneath his cloak, which he threw over the walls for the use of the Christians. Being one day detected in this charitable act, he was led before the Mahometan governor of the city; but lo! when his cloak was removed, in testimony of the truth of the accusation, it was discovered that the loaves he was carrying in his arms had been miraculously converted into stones, and his life was, in consequence, spared. He was, however, placed in confinement, as being still under suspicion of holding treasonable intercourse with the besiegers.

of Toulouse caused two wooden towers to be constructed, and a second assault took place on the 19th of July. This proved entirely successful; Godfrey, by means of his tower, penetrated within the walls, and, opening the gates of the city, gave admission to the whole army.

A scene of bloodshed and slaughter now took place, such as must ever prove an indelible stain upon otherwise so glorious an achievement. Not content with slaughtering those who were found with arms in their hands, the women and children indiscriminately fell victims to their savage ferocity. No less than 10,000 of the inhabitants were murdered in the Mosque of Omar. The carnage on this spot was so fearful, that the mutilated carcasses were floated by the torrents of blood into the court, and the Christian knights rode in the gore of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses. On the day after the victory, an occurrence if possible still more disgraceful to the Latin chiefs took place. A body of 300 men, to whom Tancred had pledged his knightly word in token of protection, were murdered in cold blood, it having been decided by the assembled leaders that no quarter should on any pretence be given to the Saracens.

At length the slaughter ceased, and, satiated with blood, the commanders of the army, followed by their soldiers, bareheaded and with naked feet, proceeded to the Holy Sepulchre, there to offer up their orisons, and to return thanks for the successful issue of their sacred undertaking. Incongruous as this act may appear so shortly after the scenes recently enacted, it was in strict accordance with the spirit of the times, when the fervent piety of the Christian was closely allied to the intolerant

zeal of the fanatic. Their religious duties accomplished, they proceeded to organise a government for the newly conquered territory, and the majority of the suffrages uniting in favour of Godfrey of Bouillon, a prince as noted for his piety as celebrated for his valour, he was elected to the office of supreme ruler. Refusing the title of king and the diadem which were offered him, upon the plea that he would never wear a crown of gold where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns, he modestly contented himself with the title of Defender and Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre.

Thus, after the lapse of four centuries, we once more find the sacred city shaking off the yoke of Islamism, beneath which it had so long succumbed, and reverting to that Christianity which had in by-gone ages found a resting-place within its walls. It were a curious and instructive study to contemplate the extraordinary changes which time had wrought within its hallowed precincts. Truly it is impossible not to feel how directly the hand of the Lord had been here manifested, and how this city of his own peculiar people had by his divine favour been carried through scenes of desolation and horror, such as would have insured the permanent destruction of any less favoured land. The siege, of which the successful termination has just been narrated, was the tenth which Jerusalem, with varied fortunes, had undergone. It was first captured by David, in the year B.C. 1051, who drove out its Jebusite inhabitants, and, establishing his abode in the city, made it the capital of the Jewish kingdom. In the reign of Rehoboam, the grandson of David, seventy-five years afterwards, it was besieged by Shishak, king of Egypt, who, having obtained admission through the cowardice of

Rehoboam, pillaged the city, and retained a temporary possession of it. The interposition of divine Providence was destined to cause the next attack upon Jerusalem to end more favourably for its inhabitants, the Almighty having been pleased to smite the mighty hosts which Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, in the year 715 B.C. had brought against the place, with such miraculous slaughter, that he was compelled to make a precipitate retreat. The fourth siege to which Jerusalem was subjected, and which ended in its almost entire destruction, was that undertaken by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, to enforce the payment of tribute which Zedekiah, trusting to an alliance which he had contracted with the Egyptians, had refused to continue. For eighteen months the inhabitants persisted in their defence, famine and pestilence causing even greater ravages among them than the sword of the enemy. At the expiration of that time they were compelled to yield, and the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the city. Such of the inhabitants as were not massacred were led away into slavery, the temple was reduced to ashes, and the town completely destroyed, nearly 1500 years after its foundation by Melchisedec. By permission of Cyrus, king of Persia, it was rebuilt by Zerobabel, and once more fortified by Nehemiah.

In the year 63 B.C., the Jews having refused a passage to the Roman army which was marching against Aristobulus, Pompey the Great attacked the place, and, owing to the dissensions raging within its walls, he speedily made himself master of it. It is recorded, that in this siege, which lasted during three months, no less than twelve thousand Jews lost their lives. On the same day, twenty-seven years afterwards, it was again captured by

Herod the Great, and on this occasion the slaughter was even greater than before, the obstinacy of the defence having exasperated the conquerors to such a pitch of frenzy, that, on obtaining possession of the town, they immolated to their fury, without regard to age or sex, all who fell into their hands. The seventh siege was that rendered so memorable in history from its being the fulfilment of our Lord's frequent denunciations whilst performing his ministry on earth. Titus made his appearance before the town, with a vast Roman army, in the year 66 A.C. At that time Jerusalem, built upon two very steep mountains, was divided into three parts, — the upper city, the lower city, and the temple ; each of which had its own separate fortifications. From this cause, the inhabitants were enabled to protract their defence almost indefinitely; but the perseverance of the besiegers at length overcame all obstacles, and, after a most desperate resistance, Titus succeeded in forcing an entry into the town, which, in spite of all his efforts, he was unable to preserve from destruction. The word of God had said that not one stone should be left upon another, of that magnificent temple which for so many years had been the pride and glory of the Jews, and vain was the mandate, even of the conqueror in his might, when he attempted, in contradiction of that divine prophecy, to prevent its destruction. The Emperor Adrian afterwards destroyed even its ruins, and caused another city to be built on its site, which, in order that there might be nothing left of the ancient Jerusalem, not even a name, he called *Ælia*. Under such circumstances the city of David had nearly become forgotten; when Constantine, the first Christian emperor of the East, restored

its name, and, calling together the faithful from all parts of Europe, formed it into a Christian colony.

In the year 613 A.C., a countless host of Persian fire-worshippers poured like a torrent upon Palestine, and, carrying their ravages as far as Jerusalem, obtained possession of the city. During the sack which ensued, most of the churches, and the Holy Sepulchre itself, were destroyed by fire; and the sacred cross, so long an object of veneration to Christians, was carried away by the invaders. It was besieged for the ninth time by the Saracens, under the command of Khaled, A.D. 635, and, after a siege of four months' duration, a capitulation was agreed upon, in virtue of which the city fell into the hands of the followers of Mahomet. Whilst in their possession it changed masters several times, until, eventually, it was wrested from their power by the crusading army in the manner we have already narrated.

One of the first acts which Godfrey performed, upon assuming the reins of government in the newly captured city, was to visit the Hospital of St. John. He here found a number of wounded Crusaders, who, having been charitably received by the inmates, were being nursed by them with the most tender solicitude. In proof of the devotion and religious zeal which animated the fraternity at this period, it is recorded that, whilst the funds of the institution were being largely expended in providing delicate and nutritious diet for the sufferers so charitably entertained within its walls, the food of the brothers themselves was of the coarsest description. Godfrey was so much struck with the admirable manner in which the establishment was con-

ducted by Gerard, and with the benefits which it had conferred upon his suffering army, that he immediately endowed it with the manor of Montboise in Brabant.\* His example was followed by several of the other leaders of the army, who had, either in their own persons or in those of their followers, experienced the kindness and hospitality of the Order. The main object for which the expedition had been formed being thus accomplished by the rescue of the holy city from the hands of the Infidel, the greater portion of the crusading army returned to Europe; and, the fame of the Hospital being by them spread abroad in every direction, numerous additional benefactions accrued to it: until, eventually, there was scarcely a province in Europe in which the Hospital of St. John did not stand possessed of manorial rights.

The ranks of the Hospitallers received, at the same time, a vast augmentation by the secession of numerous Crusaders from their martial career, who, yielding themselves up entirely to pious duties, joined the charitable fraternity under the sway of Gerard. Under these circumstances, and actuated by a laudable desire to secure the benefits of the institution on a broader and more permanent basis, Gerard proposed that they should constitute themselves into a regularly organised religious body, taking upon themselves the three obligations of poverty, obedience, and chastity; and that they should devote the remainder of their lives to the service of the poor and the sick in the newly established kingdom of Jerusalem. The proposition of the pious rector, coming, as it did, at a time when religious enthusiasm

\* Vide Appendix No. 4.



had been excited to an unprecedented degree of fervour by the extraordinary success of the Christian armies, was received with acclamation, and acted upon without delay. The patriarch of Jerusalem received from the candidates the three religious vows, and clothed them in the habit which had been selected for the Order, and which consisted of a plain black robe bearing a white cross with eight points on the left breast.\*

Pope Pascal II. shortly afterwards formally sanctioned the establishment of the Order, by a bull published in 1113†, by which the Hospital was exempted from the payment of tithes, the endowments it had received were confirmed to it, and the privilege was conceded to its members of electing their own Superior, whenever a vacancy should occur, without any external interference, either secular or ecclesiastical. After the recovery of Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens, the number of pilgrims to its sacred shrine rapidly increased, and Gerard, in his solicitude for their welfare, caused branch hospitals to be established in most of the maritime provinces of Europe, which were placed under the superintendence and management of members of the Order, and these offshoots

\* The first introduction of the Hospitallers into England occurred in the reign of Henry I. A priory was established for their benefit at Clerkenwell, by Jordan Briset, of Wellinghall in Kent. The name Clerkenwell owed its origin to a spring which rose at this spot, and around which the parish clerks of London used to act scripture plays; hence the spot was called Clerks' Well, or Clerkenwell. Henry II., in the year 1180, concentrated the various establishments of the sisters of the Order at Bucklands in Somersetshire, which, from that time, became their principal house in England. For a list of the original members of the Order contemporary with Gerard, vide Appendix No. 5.

† Vide Appendix No. 6.

of the parent establishment, which constituted their first so-called Preceptories, formed points of departure, where pilgrims always found shelter and entertainment, until they could obtain transport to the haven of their wishes.

Gerard, who had already attained a green old age, did not long survive the establishment of his new Order, and in the year 1118 the post of Superior of the Hospital became vacant. In accordance with the terms of the papal bull already mentioned, the fraternity, immediately after the decease of Gerard, proceeded to the election of his successor. Their unanimous choice fell upon Raymond du Puy, a scion of a noble family in Dauphiné. At his accession to the superintendence of the Hospital, Raymond found Baldwin II. seated on the throne of Jerusalem. Brief as the interval had been since the establishment of the kingdom, it had already witnessed three changes of rulers, Godfrey and his brother Baldwin I., who succeeded him, having both died in the interim. The kingdom of Jerusalem consisted at this period of certain isolated cities which were retained in the possession of the Christians, the intervening country being still held by the Saracens. The difficulties of communication were consequently very great, and liable to constant interruptions from the predatory attacks of these Infidels.

Raymond du Puy had no sooner assumed the reins of office, than his mind, naturally of a chivalric and warlike bent, led him to suggest a material alteration in the constitution of the Order. He proposed to the fraternity, that, whilst they retained all the obligations imposed upon them by the vows they had taken on their admission, they should add the further one of bearing arms in the defence of their religion. Although this

proposition was diametrically opposed to the leading principles upon which the institution had been founded, which principles had but a few years before been received with the utmost enthusiasm, and established by acclamation, it nevertheless received a ready assent and found a sympathising approval from every bosom.

A little reflection will readily account for this apparently contradictory fact. When Gerard, who was himself a man of peaceful habits and bred in an almost monastic seclusion, established his fraternity on an entirely religious basis, rendering the abandonment of a warlike career a matter of course, he found no lack of ready followers from the ranks of the crusading army. They had passed through a period of extreme peril and hardship, they had fought their way step by step at the point of the sword, until, decimated in numbers and satiated with warfare, they had at length achieved the object of their expedition. Whilst prostrate with the exhaustion consequent on so lengthened a struggle, and eager for the repose so necessary to restore their failing energies, filled too at the moment with all the religious veneration which the sacred reminiscences of the holy ground on which they trod was calculated to inspire, it is not to be wondered at that they embraced with eagerness the peaceful career thus presented for their adoption, combining, as it did, the gratification of their religious enthusiasm with the calm and repose so grateful to their jaded senses. The lapse, however, of a few years of inactivity wrought a marvellous change in their feelings. The quiet and seclusion of a monastic life soon lost the charms which it had at first possessed; the habits of a career of excitement and energy could not be thus suddenly changed, without at the same time

producing a sense of inertness and lassitude ; when, therefore, their new Superior, filled with the same restless cravings as themselves, sought to restore to their institution the active exercise of that profession which had been their delight from childhood, and which had been abandoned in a hasty fit of fanaticism, it is not surprising that his propositions should have been hailed with eagerness.

The suggestions of Raymond du Puy met with the warmest approval from Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem. The constant state of warfare to which he was exposed on every side, the incessant depredations of the Infidels, and the necessity which existed of supporting his position and his crown by the force of arms, led him to receive with the utmost favour a proposition which was to bring to the support of his cause a body of men highly trained in all the chivalric exercises of the age, inflamed with religious ardour to a pitch well nigh of fanaticism, and unfettered by any of those social ties in Europe which had seduced so many of his followers into an abandonment of the support of his kingdom. Being thus upheld on every side, Raymond proceeded without delay to carry his design into execution, and, the patriarch of Jerusalem being a consenting party, the entire body took a fresh oath, by which they bound themselves to support the cause of Christianity against the Infidels in the Holy Land, to the last drop of their blood, but pledging themselves, at the same time, on no pretence whatever to bear arms for any other purpose.

From this moment we may consider the Order of St. John of Jerusalem as permanently established on that military basis which it ever afterwards retained until its



final dispersion, and although Gerard must be considered as the original founder of the Order, it is to Raymond du Puy that the honour belongs of being its first military Master. When we consider the glorious and brilliant achievements which through so many centuries have adorned its annals, when we look at the long list of names, ennobled by a series of magnificent achievements, successively enrolled beneath its banners, we cannot deny to the chivalric mind that first contemplated the establishment of such a fraternity, combining within its obligations such apparently contradictory duties, and yet fulfilling its purposes with such imperishable renown to itself, and such lasting benefit to Christendom, the meed of praise which it so justly claims.

The encroachments of the Infidel are no longer dreaded in Europe ; the tide of invasion which for so many centuries created a constant struggle between the crescent and the cross has long since turned, and receded within its original limits, and the necessity for such an Order as that whose history we are now tracing having ceased, that Order itself, after a rapid degeneration, has at last lost its political existence ; but its name will remain to the latest posterity, coupled with some of the most heroic deeds that have ever adorned the profession of arms. The days of chivalry are at an end ; but the heart still throbs, and the pulse beats high, as we trace its career, like a meteor's flash, dazzling the page of history.

## CHAP. II.

REGULATIONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW ORDER.—ADMISSION OF CANDIDATES.—ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMANDERIES.—REGULATIONS RESPECTING DRESS.—DEFENSIVE ARMOUR: SCALE MAIL, CHAIN MAIL, PLATE ARMOUR, THE HELMET, THE SHIELD.—OFFENSIVE ARMOUR: THE LANCE, THE SWORD, THE BATTLE-AXE THE DAGGER.—THE DESTRIER, OR WAR-HORSE.

BEFORE entering into the history of the achievements of the Order of St. John, it may be well to devote a short space to the consideration of its government and internal polity, as first established under Raymond du Puy.

Having been originally organised for charitable purposes only, it successively received the character of a religious, republican, military, and aristocratic constitution. It must be considered as religious, since every member took the three vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty. It was republican, since by the original constitution of the Order their chief was always selected from among themselves, by their own nomination. It was military, since two of the three classes into which it was divided were constantly armed, and waged an unceasing war with the Infidels; and it was aristocratic, since, as we shall presently see, none but the first class had any share in the legislative and executive power.

To regulate the new administration, rendered necessary by the changes in the functions of the Order which he had introduced, Raymond du Puy assembled the

leading members of his Hospital, who bore the name of Master's Assistants, and, forming them into a chapter or council, he submitted, for their revision, the ordinances originally made by Gerard. It was at this meeting that the first statutes for the governance of the Order under its new character were instituted, which rules were submitted to, and received the sanction of, the Pope.\* One of the first steps taken by this council was to divide the Order into three different classes, according to their birth, rank, and functions. The first class, which may be considered as the aristocracy of the fraternity, received the name of Knights of Justice; the second, which included the clerical portion of the Order, were denominated Religious Chaplains; and the third, or lower class, were called the Serving Brothers.† In addition to the three classes just mentioned, which constituted the regular members of the Order, a further body of men was attached to the institution, under the title of Donats, who, without placing themselves under the same obligations as the others, were employed in the different offices of the convent and hospital. In token of their connexion with the Order, they wore what was called the demi-cross, which was granted to those who were considered to have deserved reward whilst under

\* The original rule established by Raymond du Puy for the governance of his fraternity was lost at the capture of the city of Acre by the Infidels in 1289. In the year 1300, however, Pope Boniface VIII., at the request of William de Villaret, the then Grand Master, presented the Hospital with a fresh bull, in which the contents of du Puy's original rule were recapitulated, with a few alterations. Vide Appendix No. 7.

† The first distinction in the dresses of these classes was made by Pope Alexander IV., in a bull published at Anagnia, in 1259. Vide Appendix No. 8.

employment by the institution. There were also religious dames of the Order of St. John, as alluded to in the preceding chapter, and these ladies had branch establishments in France, Italy, and Spain. The rules for their reception were similar to those for the Knights of Justice, and the proofs of noble descent which were demanded at their hands were in some cases even more rigid.

The objects contemplated by Raymond du Puy, in the establishment of his Order on a military footing, cannot be better expressed than by giving the precise words of the first regulation laid down by him for their guidance: —

“In the name of our Lord, Amen ; I, Raymond, servant of the poor in Christ Jesus, and guardian of the Hospital of Jerusalem, together with the council of the chapter of brothers, have framed the following regulations, to be observed in the Hospital of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem. I desire, therefore, that every brother, who shall engage himself in the service of the poor, and in the defence of the Catholic Church, shall maintain and observe, by the grace of God, the three vows which they have made, in which are comprehended chastity, obedience, that is, that they will comply with the commands of the Master in everything, and that they shall pass their lives without the possession of any private property, since God will demand an account to be rendered by them, on all these points, at the day of judgment. Our Order has been endowed, augmented, and enriched, since its first foundation, by the liberality, assistance, and favour of the Holy Apostolic See, of the Catholic kings and princes, and by the piety of the faithful, with lands, possessions, rights of justice, benefactions,



privileges, and exemptions, in order that the Knights, who shall have made their profession, should join its ranks through true charity, which is the mother and sure foundation of all other virtues, from a sense of hospitality, and from a sincere attachment to their faith, and that, actuated by these several motives, they should only strive to distinguish themselves by their merit. The soldiers of Jesus Christ are destined to fight only for his glory, to uphold his worship, and the Catholic religion; to love, revere, and preserve justice; and to favour, sustain, and defend the oppressed, without neglecting the sacred duties of hospitality. The Knights of the Hospital, therefore, in piously acquitting themselves of these several duties, shall bear upon their robe a cross with eight points, in order that they may remember to bear in their hearts the cross of Jesus Christ adorned with the eight virtues which accompany it, and that, after a due exercise of charity, they should take the sword in hand, for the extermination of Mahometans, and of all who abandon the true religion. From the moment they shall have devoted themselves to this sacred cause, they should animate themselves by the example of the Maccabees; those holy soldiers and martyrs, who combated so gloriously in the maintenance of their religion, and who, though few in number, have often, by the assistance of God, overthrown the most formidable armies. They should also bind themselves to the exact observance of that which they have promised to God, in making the three vows retained by the regulation, of chastity, obedience, and poverty, and to the practice of all the other moral and religious virtues; so that, inflamed with charity, they shall not fear to take the

sword in hand, and to expose themselves with prudence, temperance, and energy, to every kind of danger, for the defence of the glory of Jesus Christ, and of the sacred cross, in the cause of justice, and in that of the widows and orphans. There can be no greater proof of charity than that of laying down one's life for one's friend, that is to say, for all true Catholics; in this consists their duty, their vocation, the mode of life which they have selected, their justification, and their sanctification; so that, in closing the pilgrimage of this mortal life, they may attain to that eternal recompense for which God has created them. Those who shall be convicted of having neglected their duty, misused or overlooked occasions where they could have done good service in any war undertaken for the interests of Christianity, the punishment of evil-doers, and the assistance of the good, shall be rigorously punished according to the statutes and rules of the Order."

After this enumeration of the general principles upon which his Order was founded, Raymond proceeds to lay down the form in which the ceremony of Installation is to be carried out:—

"Those who have resolved upon dedicating themselves to the service of the sick, and to the defence of the Catholic religion, in the habit of our Order, are received at their profession in the following manner. He should know that he is about to put off the old man, and to be regenerated; he should, therefore, confess himself humbly of all his sins, according to the custom of the Church, and, after having received absolution, he is to present himself in a secular habit, without a girdle, in order that he may appear perfectly free at the time of entering upon so sacred an engagement, with a lighted

taper in the hand, which represents charity. He is to hear mass, and to receive the holy communion. He is then to present himself most respectfully before the person appointed to perform the ceremony, and to request to be received into the company of brothers, and into the holy Order of the Hospital of Jerusalem. The brother who receives him will address him in a short speech, to confirm him in his pious desire. He will explain how salutary and advantageous it is to the soul, that he should consecrate himself to the service of the poor in Christ Jesus, that he should be constantly employed in works of mercy, and that he should devote himself to the service and defence of the Christian faith; a favour which many have desired, and have not been able to obtain. He shall point out the engagement he will have to enter into of perfect obedience; the severity of the rules, which will no longer permit him to act for himself, but, on the contrary, oblige him absolutely to renounce his own will and pleasure, and implicitly to comply with that of his superiors. The candidate is to be asked, whether he is disposed to submit to all these obligations; whether he has ever before taken the vows of any other order; whether he has ever been married; if his marriage has been consummated; if he owes any considerable sums of money; or if he be a slave: because, if, after having taken the vows, it should be discovered that he has done any of these acts, or has been in the last-mentioned situation, he will be immediately stripped of his habit with disgrace, as a deceiver, and given up to those who may have any such claims upon him. If he declares that he has contracted no such engagements, the brother who receives him presents to him an open missal, upon which he is to place both his

hands, and, having answered all the above questions, he is to make his profession in the following terms: 'I, N——, do vow and promise to Almighty God, to the Holy Eternal Virgin Mary, mother of God, and to St. John the Baptist, to render henceforward, by the grace of God, perfect obedience to the Superior placed over me, by the choice of the Order, to live without personal property, and to preserve my chastity.' Having taken his hands from the book, the brother who receives him says as follows: 'We acknowledge you as the servant of the poor and sick, and as having consecrated yourself to the defence of the Catholic Church.'—To which he is to reply, 'I acknowledge myself as such.' After having kissed the book he shall place it upon the altar, which he likewise kisses, and then returns it to the receiving brother, in token of perfect obedience, upon which the brother, taking the mantle and showing him the white cross upon it, shall thus address him: 'Do you believe, my brother, that this is the symbol of that holy cross to which Jesus Christ was fastened, and on which he died for the redemption of our sins?'—The postulant shall reply, 'Yes, I do verily believe it.' The other then adds, 'It is also the sign of our Order, which we command you constantly to wear.' The new brother shall kiss the sign of the cross, and the other then throwing the mantle over his shoulders, in such a manner that the cross shall be placed on his left breast, and at the same time kissing him, shall say: 'Take this sign, in the name of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy Eternal Virgin Mary, and of St. John the Baptist, for the increase of faith, the defence of the Christian name, and the service of the poor. We

place this cross upon your breast, my brother, that you may love it with all your heart, and may your right hand ever fight in its defence, and for its preservation. Should it ever happen that in combating for Jesus Christ against the enemies of the faith, you should retreat, desert the standard of the cross, and take to flight in so just a war, you will be stripped of this truly holy sign, according to the statutes and customs of the Order, as having broken the vow you have just taken, and will be cut off from our body, as an unsound and corrupt member.' He shall then fasten the strings of his mantle round his neck, and shall say: 'Receive the yoke of the Lord, for it is easy and light, and you shall find rest for your soul. We promise you nothing but bread and water, and a simple habit of little value; we give to you, your parents and your relations, a share in the good works performed by our Order and by our brethren, both now and hereafter, throughout the world.' Upon which all who are present upon the occasion shall embrace the newly professed knight, in token of friendship, peace, and brotherly love."

Such was the ceremonial of reception, as laid down at the first institution of the Order, and it continued in force, without alteration, during the entire period in which the fraternity existed; though how widely they swerved from the true intent of these vows will be seen hereafter.

The ceremonial for depriving a Knight of his habit, and for carrying into effect his expulsion from the Order, formed the subject of regulations equally minute and detailed as that just described. The principal reasons for which this sentence of deprivation appears to have

been contemplated was to guard against any exhibition of cowardice before the enemy. This was regarded as a crime of the very first magnitude; for, whilst a Knight who had undergone deprivation for any other offence against the code of the Order was eligible for restoration after a due exhibition of penitence, he who had disgraced the sacred banner beneath which he fought, and had turned his back upon that Infidel foe against whom it was his duty, as it ought to have been considered his privilege, to wage an unceasing and unrelenting warfare, was stripped of the symbols of his profession with every mark of ignominy, and was expelled from that honoured fraternity on whose fair name he had brought disgrace by his pusillanimity.

The powers of government were vested in the hands of a Supreme Council, presided over by the Master, and all questions connected with the well-being of the fraternity, as well as the collection and expenditure of their large and yearly increasing revenues, were guided exclusively by their decision. The income of the Order, at this period, consisted of landed property in every part of Europe; the fruit of the benevolent donations which had been lavished, with unsparing hand, upon the community.

During the first years which succeeded the acquisition of these territorial possessions, they were farmed out to members of the laity entirely unconnected with the institution, and these tenants were supposed to remit an annual rent to the treasury at Jerusalem, in proportion to the value of the lands they held. This system, however, was very soon found to be extremely faulty in the working. The difficulty of obtaining their just rights from persons who had no interest in the

prosperity of the community, and who, from the extreme distance which separated them, found every facility for evading the just claims made upon them, soon caused the most alarming deficits to appear in their finances. In order to guard against this evil, and to insure the punctual and regular transmission of the rents of their numerous manors, it was determined to place over each of them a member of the Order, who should act as a steward of the funds committed to his control. Establishments were formed on a scale of magnitude varying according to the value of the properties they were intended to supervise, and superintendents were elected by the Council for their governance. These were taken from amongst the senior members and were not confined to the Knights of Justice only, a certain number of Chaplains and Serving Brothers being also nominated to the dignity.

Their duties were not confined to the collection and transmission of the revenues only. These establishments formed at the same time branches where members were professed, and the various duties carried on, in a precisely similar manner as in the parent house at Jerusalem. Periodical draughts were here collected, who, as their services were required for action against the Infidels of the East, were called to Jerusalem by the command of the Master, and when not engaged upon this duty they were to be found leading the van in the warfare then unceasingly waging against the Moors in Spain and in the South of Europe. Wherever an Infidel foe was to be encountered, thither it was the duty of every true Knight of St. John to hasten; but they were strictly forbidden, upon any account whatsoever, to interfere in any of the struggles carried on

between Christian princes. On the first creation of these establishments they were denominated Preceptories, the superior being called the Preceptor; but, eventually, the name became changed to that of Commandery, by which they were always afterwards known. The Council reserved to themselves the power of at any time recalling a Commander from his post, and substituting another in his place, at their pleasure; he being merely considered as the steward of their property. Time, however, gradually wrought a great change in the relative position which the Commanders held to the Council; and, eventually, a nomination to a Commandery came to be considered in the light of a legal acquisition, subject only to the payment of a certain amount of annual tribute to the public treasury, which tribute received the name of Responsions.

Strong prohibitions were issued against the use of any ornaments or devices in either the dress or the arms of the brotherhood; a restriction which became the more necessary in the eyes of their pious founder, owing to the increasing taste for splendour which was even then gradually creeping into the habits of the age. When the first germs of chivalry commenced to show themselves in the midst of the torrent of barbarism which had overthrown the mighty empire of Rome, the rude simplicity of the times had limited the construction of arms to the purposes only for which they were intended; and the introduction of anything like ornament appears to have been utterly unknown. As, however, time wore on, and brought in its train the usual concomitant of an advance in civilisation and luxury, new ideas were gradually grafted upon the original principles of chivalry.



Whereas, in its earlier ages, duty to his religion and to his country were the only obligations imposed upon a knight, the advancing spirit of civilisation insensibly introduced another element into the code, and lady love was ere long heard of as the noblest incentive to chivalric daring. So inseparably did this feeling become connected with all the after character of the system, that it may be looked upon as its mainspring. Every true knight considered that the most daring act of gallantry was amply rewarded by the sweet smile of approval with which he was greeted from the lady of his love; and, bearing upon his person the favoured colours of his mistress, he carried them wherever peril was to be braved, or honour was to be gained. Under these circumstances, it was but natural that the rigid simplicity which characterised preceding times should give way to the introduction of that personal adornment which the new phase of chivalry had generated.

Armour came to be no longer constructed merely with a view to its uses, but ornamentation, more or less elaborate, rapidly introduced itself. The gorgeous insignia of heraldry date their origin from this new sentiment; and each succeeding generation outvied the former in the splendour and magnificence of their equipments. At the period of which we are treating, viz. the early part of the twelfth century, this innovation had not reached to any great height; it had, however, been so far introduced as to render it advisable in the eyes of Raymond du Puy to make a special regulation against its introduction into his fraternity. No decoration of any kind was permitted upon any portion of the armour, either offensive or defensive, with the sole exception of their distinctive badge of the cross;

and this was only to be borne on the pennon, the surcoat, and the shield. This allusion to the restrictions imposed upon the ornamentation permitted in the equipment of the Knights of St. John leads naturally to the question as to how that equipment was composed.

Armour may be divided into two classes, offensive and defensive: the former, as its name implies, including all those weapons used for purposes of offence; and the latter the covering for man and horse, provided for his protection from the assaults of his opponent. At the time of the first Crusade, at the end of the eleventh century, defensive armour consisted simply of a leathern tunic, on which were fastened rows of iron rings. The word cuirass, now inappropriately used to designate the steel breastplate still worn by some of the heavy cavalry in most armies, is traceable to the French word *cuir*, in connexion with this leathern tunic. It was not long before these rings gave way to small iron plates, lapping over each other on the same principle as the scales of a fish, from which it derived its name, being called scale mail. The form of armour previously described was simply called mail, from the Latin word *macula*, a net, the meshes of which it was supposed to resemble. The leathern tunic, on which these varieties of harness were borne, was called a hauberk. The lower members were defended by chausses, a term synonymous with the modern word breeches. When the mail tunic and the chausses were joined into one piece, as was frequently the custom, the combination was called the haubergeon. In either case, the crown and back of the head were protected by a hood of mail, which was sometimes detached, but oftener formed a part of the hauberk

or haubergeon ; in which case the wearer was enabled to throw it back upon his shoulders, when he wished to disencumber his head from its weight. This mail not only protected the back of the head, but, coming round to the front, covered also the mouth and chin, the function of breathing being entirely performed by the nose. The hands were protected by a continuation of the sleeves of the frock, which passed over the fingers ; and the same duty was performed with regard to the feet, by a continuation of the chausses.

It may be mentioned here, that the first symptom of the introduction of dandyism in the construction of armour commenced with the feet, it being the fashion for the toe of the mail to project several inches in length, and to incline downwards.

Numerous improvements were gradually introduced into this system of mail armour, but none of sufficient importance to warrant any detailed description. The wars of the Crusades, however, having caused the Asiatic mode of warfare to become better known in Europe, a vast improvement was introduced in the form of the defensive armour borrowed from the Saracens. In lieu of the rings of mail being sewn upon the dress, they were interlaced with one another, each ring having four others inserted into it, the garment being thus formed of the rings themselves, without any leathern foundation. This new arrangement was further improved by the introduction of double rings, rendering it not only impervious to a sword-cut, but also to the thrust of the lance. Another great advantage, which immediately secured its general adoption by the chivalry of Europe, was its extreme portability. A warrior was no longer compelled to encumber himself by the weight of his armour

while he was travelling. Being both flexible and compact, it could be rolled up after the manner of a cloak, in which form it was borne by the esquire, on the hinder part of his saddle.

Gradually, however, the improvement in the construction of weapons of offence led to the necessity of adopting still further measures of protection. Plates of solid steel were attached to the breast, and to other parts of the body, where a dearly bought experience had taught the wearer the insufficiency of his metal rings. New plates were continually added on the discovery of fresh weak points in the harness, until, eventually, the knight became encased in an entire double covering of mail and plate. It being then found that the mail had ceased to be of any service, it was gradually discarded, and the warrior was entirely covered with steel plates, which received their names from those parts of the body for whose protection they had been constructed. The pectoral covered the breast, the gorget the throat, the ailettes the shoulders, the brassarts the arms, and the cuisses the thighs, whilst the scaly gauntlet formed an ample protection to the hands.

Defensive armour had now become so ponderous, that its protective advantages were nearly counterbalanced by its extreme oppressiveness; and cases not unfrequently occurred where the wearers were smothered to death in the *mêlée* of battle, from not being able to rise after being overthrown in a charge. A knight once prostrate became in fact little better than an inert mass of steel, unable to assist himself.

Over this armour the knight wore a dress, usually denominated a surcoat or a tabard; its form varied with the caprice of the wearer; it had, however, one constant

peculiarity, namely, that it was always sleeveless. As this surcoat was worn over the armour upon grand occasions, it was here that the growing taste for splendour and ornamentation developed itself with the greatest rapidity. Cloths of gold or silver, ermine, miniver, sables, or other rich furs, were employed in its manufacture. The arms were borne upon this garment, whence the derivation of the term *coat of arms*. The Knights of St. John were restricted to a plain surcoat, their whole harness being covered with a black mantle bearing upon it a white cross.

Whilst the covering of the body underwent all these manifold changes, that for the head had become subject to a similar revolution. The mail hood being found to be no longer a sufficient protection, an iron helmet was introduced, whose shape fluctuated between the conical and the cylindrical. This helmet was not intended to supplant the use of the hood, but was worn over it. To protect the face, a broad piece of iron was at first introduced, which connected the frontlet of the helmet with the mail over the mouth. This protection, however, being found very imperfect, cheek pieces were substituted, consisting of bars placed either horizontally or perpendicularly, and which formed an adequate safeguard against a sword-cut. The next improvement was that of the *avantaile* or mask, which was attached to the helmet, and had apertures for the eyes and mouth. By means of pivots, it was so constructed that the knight could raise or drop the covering over his face; in this form it was termed a visor. Subsequently plates were brought up from the chin, and this movable portion of the helmet was called *beaver*, from the Italian *bevere*, to drink, access to the mouth being thereby obtained.

The top of the helmet was always surmounted by that portion of the armorial bearings which, from this cause, has been termed the crest; but the Knights of St. John were not permitted to adorn their helmets with any such heraldic distinctions.

The shield, which was borne upon the left arm, completed the defensive armour of the knight. Its shape was either oblong or triangular, wide at the top in order to afford due protection to the body, and tapering at the bottom where it was not required to cover so large a surface. It bore usually the heraldic insignia of its owner, together with the motto, or war-cry he was in the habit of using in battle. The Knights of St. John, however, bore only the cross upon their shield, all other device being forbidden to them.

The offensive arms in general use were four in number; namely, the lance, the sword, the battle-axe, and the dagger. The lance, which was the chief offensive weapon of the age, was made of the toughest ash procurable, with a sharp iron head fastened to its top. The length varied according to the strength and size of the bearer, there being no regulation on that head. Below the point was usually fixed an ensign, on which was carried some portion of his heraldic emblems, which, in the case of the Hospitallers, was, as usual, restricted to the cross. This ensign was called gonfanon, or pennant. When not in use, the knight carried his lance slung to the saddle-bow, the end of it resting upon the point of his toe, whence he could seize it readily, and bringing it to a horizontal position, couch it beneath his right arm. When in this position its point projected many feet beyond his horse's head.

The usual weapon, when in close quarters, or *mêlée*,

as it was called, was the sword. This was constructed of the finest steel, long, straight, broad, and double-edged. Spain was always famous for the superior temper of its sword-blades, and in the twelfth century the sword-makers of Saragossa had achieved as wide-spread a renown as those of Toledo have done in later times. As, however, the Eastern nations appear to have excelled the countries of Europe in everything appertaining to the manufacture of iron, more especially as connected with arms and armour, so we find the sword-blades of Damascus taking a place in the estimation of all good judges, which was never attained by any of European production. The chivalry of a family was represented by its sword, which descended as an heir-loom from father to son. The cross-hilt, which formed its handle, was often made to do the duty of a crucifix; and, when the wounded knight lay stretched upon the gory plain, he raised the emblematic cross before those eyes rapidly clouding with the shadows of death, and, breathing the short prayer which constituted the sum of his religious knowledge, pressed it devoutly to his lips. The handle of the sword served also for another purpose, the seal of the owner being engraved on its head. As few of the warriors of that period had attained what was then considered the monkish acquirement of writing, this seal, rudely impressed upon wax, served as a signature, the only one, in fact, he could append to any document requiring that attestation.

It was a common practice for inscriptions to be written upon the blade of the sword, the quaint morality of many of which would raise a smile to the lips of modern readers. It was also not unusual for the swords of celebrated warriors to receive names. The well-known

weapon of King Arthur, called *Escalibert*, afterwards corrupted into *Caliburn*, must be familiar to every reader of ancient romance. Ariosto mentions that the sword of Rogero was called Balisardo, and that of Orlando Durindana. The sword was borne upon the person, either by a belt round the waist, or by a baldric descending from the right shoulder across the body; and its material varied according to the wealth or caprice of the wearer, from the simplicity of tanned leather to the splendour of that of Prince Arthur, which

“Shind like twinkling stars, with stones most precious rare.”

Although the sword was the principal weapon used in close combat, there were not wanting warriors in that period who loved to exercise their brawny arms by the use of more ponderous instruments. With these the martel and battle-axe were favourite weapons. To every reader of English history the name of Richard Cœur-de-Lion will be at once recalled, upon the mention of this his favourite arm, who, as the old song says,

“Let him make an axe for the nones,  
To break therewith the Sarasyns bones;  
The head was wrought right weel,  
Therein was twenty pounds of steel.”

The martel, or mascle, as it was sometimes called, was a heavy steel or iron hammer, which dealt out destruction, either by the weight of its fall, or the sharpness of its edge. In the good old times, when the Holy Apostolic Church was often, in a temporal as well as in a spiritual sense, the church militant, and when mitred abbots and priestly dignitaries were wont upon occasion



to sink the churchman in the warrior, and to buckle on the carnal weapons of warfare, the martel and the battle-axe were the only arms they used. The canons of their church, with a view to preventing the possibility of any of her sons joining in those scenes of strife so constantly raging in all the countries where her sway was acknowledged, had forbidden them to wield the sword; but they, more eager to follow the dictates of their own ambitious cravings than ready to submit themselves to her holy will, had chosen to translate the restrictions thus imposed upon them, in a literal, rather than in a general, sense. Whilst therefore they studiously refrained from wearing a sword upon any warlike expedition, they saw, or affected to see, no disobedience to the laws of their church in carrying with them to the field of battle that most unecclesiastical of weapons the martel; ay, and in using it too in a most unclerical manner, as many a broken pate and cloven skull could testify, were it but alive to tell the tale. The axe, however, was never a favourite amongst the more polite and courteous of the knighthood; and one cause of its unpopularity may be traced to the fact, that it was ordinarily in use among the Flemings, and was therefore coupled with ideas of trade, an association which in those days bore with it a degradation unknown in our more modern money-getting times.

The equipment of offensive arms was completed by the dagger, rendered necessary from the extreme strength of the defensive armour. The body of his adversary being coated in every part with plates of steel, on which the lance broke, the arrow glanced, and the sword could make no impression whatever, it became a difficult matter, even after he had been unhorsed by the rude

shock of the encounter, to despatch him effectually. A thin dagger had been consequently added, which could be inserted between the joints of the harness, and through these, the only vulnerable points, the death wound could be inflicted. By an anomaly more apparent than real, this weapon was called the dagger of mercy ; but it received this name from the obligation which the laws of chivalry imposed upon the successful combatant to show mercy, if, when about to make use of it, the prostrate foe yielded himself his prisoner, rescue or no rescue.

Any account of knightly equipment would be incomplete without a reference to the horse, which formed so important a part of it. Weighty as was the panoply of steel worn by his rider when fully accoutred, it was necessary that the horse should be an animal of great power. England had not, in those times, exhibited that superiority in the breeding of her horses which she has since attained, and Spain was the country which supplied the most powerful and mettlesome chargers then procurable. After the Crusades had thrown the countries of Europe into closer intercourse with the tribes of the East, and the powers of endurance of the Arab steed became for the first time known, it was very generally preferred to those of any other country ; for, what it wanted in bone and sinew, it more than made up in blood and power of endurance. Perhaps, however, the perfection of a war-horse was attained by a mixture of the two races, in which a combination of the good points of both parents might be sought.

The *destrier*, or war-horse, was protected with armour very much on the same principle as that of his rider, his head, chest, and flanks being completely covered.

The taste for ornamentation, as it crept in, found an ample field for display in his caparisons, the bridle forming generally the culminating point in his splendour : but on this head, as on all others, the restrictions of our religious Order were most implicit ; the regulation being that the horse furniture of the soldiers of Jesus Christ should be free from all golden or silver ornaments.

It may be well to mention here, in conclusion, that every portion of a knight's armour bore with it an allegory, or hidden religious meaning. His sword, formed in the resemblance of a cross, was typical of the death of Christ, and taught him likewise that it was his duty to wield it against the enemies of his religion. Its double edge was considered significant of chivalry and justice ; his spear was the emblem of truth, on account of its unswerving straightness, and its iron point marked that strength which is its distinctive property. In like manner, the mace was supposed to represent courage ; the helmet, modesty ; the hauberk, that spiritual panoply which should protect the knight from the frailties of the flesh ; the spurs, diligence ; and the shield exhibited the duty of a knight himself, he being considered as a barrier and protection to his country.

There was much that was great and noble in all connected with the laws of chivalry ; and when acted up to, in due accordance with their spirit, there was much, very much, in the feeling which dictated them, tending to soften and civilise the rude character of the times. That many of its tenets must appear to modern readers impracticable, nay, even ridiculous, is doubtless true ; still, equally true it is, that they were admirably suited to the temper of the times in which they held their sway ; and many an act of ruthless tyranny, barbarous

spoliation, or wanton aggression, was checked by the feeling that injured innocence and oppressed weakness could claim a ready champion in every true knight, without reference to country or religion. In these days of civilisation, in which it is our good fortune to live, and in which the laws give a ready redress for all injuries sustained, the armed intervention of the mailed knight can never be needed; but in the days of our forefathers the power of the law was comparatively feeble, and he who was not prepared to hold his ground by the strength of his own right hand would have fared but ill in the race of life, had it not been for the generous intervention of the chivalric code.

## CHAP. III.

DATE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MILITARY ORDER OF ST. JOHN.  
— CAMPAIGNS OF ANTIOCH AND EDESSA. — FOUNDATION OF THE  
TEMPLARS AND OF THE ORDER OF ST. LAZARUS. — EMBASSY OF  
JOUBERT, AND MARRIAGE OF RAYMOND OF POITIERS. — LEGACY OF  
THE KING OF NAVARRE. — LOSS OF EDESSA. — ASSASSINATION OF  
ZENGHL. — ATTEMPTED RECAPTURE OF EDESSA. — SECOND CRUSADE.  
— SIEGE OF DAMASCUS. ADVANCE OF THE JARROQUINS. THEIR  
REPULSE AND OVERTHROW. — SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ASCALON. —  
JEALOUSIES OF THE CLERGY TOWARDS THE ORDER. — DEATH OF  
RAYMOND DU PUY.

THE precise date at which the changes related at the end of the first chapter took place is more or less a point of dispute, there being no record left of the fact; a matter sufficiently strange, when the vast importance of the alterations, involving as they did the complete reconstruction of the Order, is taken into consideration. Reasoning, however, from analogy, it cannot well be placed at a later date than 1118, the very first year of the accession of Raymond du Puy to the office of Master. Indeed, the two leading chroniclers of the achievements of the Knights of St. John differ but little in the date which they assign to the accession of Raymond: the Abbé Vertot giving it as having occurred in 1118, and the Chevalier Boisgelin in 1120. Other historians, however, amongst whom may be enumerated Boissat, Baudouin, and the Abbé Roux, place the ac-

cession of Raymond at as late a date as 1131, accounting for the interval between Gerard's death in 1118 and that time by the insertion of a second rector, named Roger.\* The authority for this interpolation, since the name of Roger appears nowhere in the archives of the Order, is stated to be a deed of gift of certain lands, presented by Atton, Count of Abrussa, to Roger, the governor of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The date of this deed appears to be 1120, but there is not any record of it whatever now remaining ; owing to which circumstance the fact itself ought to be received with great caution. There exists a stronger motive than would at first sight appear for this mystification in the date of the origin of the military organisation of the Order. It became, in after years, a fertile source of dispute between the Knights of St. John and those of the Temple, whose foundation will be noted in the course of the present chapter, as to which of the two Orders could claim priority on account of the relative antiquity of their foundations. It appears distinctly enough, that the founder of the Order of the Temple did not commence the original establishment of his small fraternity till the year 1118 ; and the institution of that Order was not formed upon a regular basis until at least ten years after that date. If, therefore, it can be proved that Raymond succeeded to the government of the Hospital on the death of Gerard in 1118, and at once proceeded to organise his brotherhood upon a martial basis, the Order of St. John claims by right the priority of formation ; if, however, a second rector

\* Bosio, the most authentic of the old historians, alludes to this difference in opinion, but does not positively join either party.

named Roger did actually exist, and if Raymond was not appointed to the office until 1131, it appears very probable that the seniority might be claimed by the Knights of the Temple. In the absence of positive testimony upon this fact it becomes necessary to argue by analogy, and the weight of evidence appears to show the former date to be correct, it being recorded that the Hospitallers took part in an engagement fought by Baldwin II. against the Infidels in the year 1119. Although the attempt has been made to attribute the establishment of the military system to other Masters than Raymond du Puy ; still, no evidence has been produced sufficient to shake the unanimous record of all the early historians, who attribute the change to him: The Chevalier Taafe would carry it back to Gerard, the founder of the Order; whilst Addison, anxious to claim the priority for his *protégés* the Templars, endeavours to fix it upon Gilbert d'Ascali, the fourth Master, at the epoch of his unfortunate expedition into Egypt in 1169. Upon a careful review of the evidence adduced on all sides, it appears that 1119 must have been about the date at which the system was inaugurated.

At this time, in addition to the kingdom of Jerusalem, the Latins held sway over other detached principalities, which formed the outworks of that exposed and constantly harassed monarchy. Such were the counties of Edessa and Tripoli, and the principality of Antioch, which, though constituting independent governments, were more or less under the influence of, and always in alliance with it. Indeed, placed as these small struggling states were, surrounded by implacable enemies, and liable to constant attacks from vastly

superior forces on every side, isolated from all assistance save that of their own good swords, had there not been the strongest bond between them they could not have existed many months. Feeling, however, that the support of each was necessary for the safety of all, an Infidel attack was no sooner menaced in any one quarter, than speedy and effectual succour was at once despatched from all the others; and the prowess of the Latin chivalry in those times was such, that we do not find their Moslem foe ever able to withstand the impetuosity of their onslaught, save when vastly superior in numbers.

The cause of the battle alluded to above as having occurred in 1119, was owing to one of these descents of the Turkoman tribes upon the principality of Antioch. The Knights of St. John hastened to seize the opportunity afforded by the king of Jerusalem marching his forces to the assistance of the threatened city, to flesh their newly consecrated swords, and to win the first laurel of that chaplet which centuries of heroic warfare has since twined for their brows.

The Infidels, who had met with success prior to the king's arrival, and had utterly routed the forces which the regent of Antioch had brought against them, he himself having been slain in the encounter, hastened to meet their new foe, elate with victory and confident of success. Superior, however, as were their numbers, they were no match for the iron-clad warriors who now fell like a thunderbolt upon their ranks. Riven in sunder by the torrent of chivalry which with Raymond at its head poured upon their devoted columns, and unable, at any point, to present a front which was not instantly shattered and overwhelmed, they were at length, after a



gallant resistance and the most desperate efforts on the part of their leaders, forced to yield, and the retreat having speedily been turned into a rout, the slaughter of the flying multitudes became terrific. This victory enabled the king to free the entire Latin territory of its Infidel foe, and he was enabled to return to Jerusalem, to enjoy for a brief period that quiet and repose which the gallantry of his daring army had so nobly earned.

As however, in so exposed a situation, his kingdom was never long doomed to be at rest, we soon find him once again in the field, with Raymond and his brave Hospitallers at his back. On this occasion, Edessa had been the point of attack, the Infidel forces being under the command of Balak, one of the most powerful of the Turkoman chiefs. This general, having succeeded in surprising Jocelyn de Courtenay, Count of Edessa, had routed his forces, and taken him prisoner. In order to rescue his friend, and prevent the further advance of Balak into the Latin territory, Baldwin hastened forward by forced marches, accompanied by the Hospitallers and such other forces as on the spur of the moment he could gather together. Having, however, most imprudently advanced upon a reconnoitring expedition with but a slender escort, he was himself in his turn surprised by the vigilant Balak, and doomed to share the same fate as that of his friend Jocelyn. His army, overwhelmed with confusion at this most untoward occurrence, retreated precipitately, and the majority of them having abandoned their colours, the Hospitallers found themselves almost unsupported. They felt, therefore, that they could no longer withstand the enemy in the open field, and consequently threw themselves into the city of Edessa, with a view to preserving it from the grasp of the victo-

rious Turkomans. In this conjuncture Eustace Garnier, constable of Palestine, although a man far advanced in years, collected a body of seven thousand men, the principal force of his small lordship of Sidon, and, joining to them such of the Hospitallers as had been still left at Jerusalem, he marched upon the foe, and, having completely routed them, rescued both of the illustrious prisoners who had fallen into the hands of Balak.

This victory was followed, at no distant period, by two others, the details of which it is scarcely necessary here to relate; indeed the chronicles of those times are filled with little else than a succession of petty enterprises undertaken by the Latin chiefs, either for the purpose of protecting some point of their exposed frontier from the inroads of their Mahometan foe, or, as was not unfrequently the case, for the purpose of carrying the war into the enemy's country. In all these struggles, the Knights of St. John, under the leadership of the gallant Raymond, bore their full share; and the records of all the historians of those times unite in according to their services the full meed of praise which was their just due. Indeed, but for their powerful assistance, the king of Jerusalem would have found it utterly impossible to have maintained himself against the accumulated pressure which was brought to bear upon him from without; and a bull issued by Pope Innocent II., in the year 1130, speaks in such glowing terms of the opinion in which their services were held by the whole of Europe, that it is little to be wondered at that a body of men, who were rendering themselves so indispensable to the maintenance of Christianity in the East, should receive every privilege and remuneration which it was in the power of grateful Christendom to bestow.

It was about this time that a society somewhat similar to that of St. John sprang into existence. The duties of the Hospitallers, though in many ways attractive to the chivalric temper of the times, partook, still, somewhat too much of the sedate occupations of the monk, to be altogether pleasing to the mind of the youthful warrior. To devote his life to the protection of the holy city, which had been so recently torn from the grasp of the Infidel, and, whilst engaged in that sacred duty, to impose upon himself the obligations of poverty, obedience, and chastity, was the desire of many a young and enthusiastic mind; who, at the same time, did not feel himself disposed to join in the less martial duties of the Hospital, which must have fallen to his lot, had he assumed the white cross of St. John.

Under the influence of these feelings, a body of nine French gentlemen, at the head of whom was Hugh de Payens, joined themselves together in a voluntary association, the object of which was to afford an escort to those numerous bodies of pilgrims who were annually resorting to the shores of Palestine. They were, at first, under no religious restrictions, and had no distinct rules laid down for their guidance, the entire duty being self-imposed and voluntary; and so it continued for several years. The king of Jerusalem gave them, as a residence, a portion of his royal palace adjacent to the temple of Solomon; on which account they became known as the Knights of the Temple, or, as they were afterwards called, Knights-Templars.

Hugh de Payens, having been sent by the king of Jerusalem to solicit assistance in the form of a new Crusade from the Pope, took the opportunity of presenting his companions, and, having explained the objects of

their association, requested his permission to establish a religious and military Order similar to that of the Hospitallers. The Pope referred them to the council of Troyes, then in conclave, who, after having investigated the matter, gave their warmest approval to the project in the year 1128. Fortified with this sanction, Hugh de Payens, before returning to the East, traversed the greater part of Europe in search of candidates to enter his new Order; and, ere long, was enabled to return to Palestine with a body of 300 young and ardent spirits, selected from the flower of European chivalry. These received every assistance from the parent institution of St. John, who, until the receipt of donations had enabled them to support their own establishment, had taken them entirely under their protection. In fact, during those early days, when Hugh de Payens and his eight comrades constituted the whole force of the Order, they had been armed, clothed, fed, and supported from the funds of the Hospital. It was not long, however, before the benefactions of the charitable, and the accession of vast numbers of youthful aspirants to fame, placed them completely on a footing of equality with the sister institution.

In giving his sanction to the Order, the Pope had directed that they should wear a white robe adorned with a red cross, in contradistinction to the Hospitallers, who wore the black robe and white cross. The rival establishments were, consequently, always afterwards known as the white-cross knights and the red-cross knights, respectively. Although they did not undertake any charitable duties similar to those of the Hospitallers, their regulations for the maintenance of their religious vows were, if anything, still more severe. In order to

prevent the possibility of the transgression of the vow of chastity, it was specially ordained in one of the statutes, that they should never presume to kiss even their own mothers; and, as the only safe method of resisting temptation was to avoid it, they were on no account even to look in the face of a fair woman.

At about the same time another Order, which in its original institution was of greater antiquity than even the Hospital of St. John, likewise became military. I allude to the Order of St. Lazarus. It has been, by some writers, asserted that the origin of this association may be dated as far back as the first century, but it would be very difficult to authenticate this statement. The earliest date at which it can, with any certainty, be fixed, is the year 370 A.C., when a large hospital was established in the suburbs of Cæsarea, under the auspices of St. Basil, for the reception and nursing of such as were suffering under the disease of leprosy. The laws and customs of the East bearing with the most frightful severity upon all who were afflicted with this hideous and loathsome disorder, who were entirely cut off from all intercourse with their relations and the world, the establishment of this hospital was hailed as a general boon, and the Emperor Valens, as recorded by Theodoret, enriched it with all the lands which he held within that province. Similar establishments soon sprang up in various other places in the East, and they all took St. Lazarus as their tutelary saint; their hospitals, in consequence, received the name of Lazarets. One of these hospitals was in existence at Jerusalem, at the time of its capture by Godfrey de Bouillon. In addition to its charitable organisation, it was also a

religious Order, following the rules of St. Augustin. When, however, the conversion of the Hospitallers into a military fraternity, and the establishment of the Templars upon a similar footing, set the example of combining knightly prowess with religious asceticism, the monks of St. Lazarus, in their turn, donned the coat of mail. For this purpose they divided themselves into two separate bodies; those among them who were afflicted with a disease which cut them off from communication with the rest of the world, amongst whom was the Grand-Master, who, *ex officio*, was required to be a leper, carried on the peaceful duties of the hospital. Such of the Order as were not lepers, and were consequently in a condition to bear arms, joined the ranks of the kings of Palestine in repelling the constant inroads of the Infidels. The precise habit of these Knights has not been recorded, but the cross upon their breast appears to have been green, in contradistinction to the white cross of St. John and the red cross of the Templars.

Whilst these new bulwarks were thus arising round the tottering kingdom of Palestine, the march of events had been producing other changes, by which its fortunes were likewise much affected. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, of whom we have already made mention, had two daughters; the younger of whom, Alice by name, was married to Bohemond, Prince of Antioch; the elder was unmarried. At about this period, Fulk, Count of Anjou, to distract the grief into which he had been plunged at the death of his wife, had undertaken a pilgrimage to the East; and, whilst there, had rendered good knightly assistance to Baldwin in his wars, having maintained a company of a hundred cavaliers at his own expense. The king,

anxious to retain a leader of such wide-spread renown and such personal prowess in his service, offered to him the hand of his eldest daughter, Milicent, in marriage, and promised to nominate him as his successor on the throne of Jerusalem. These terms, being accepted by Fulk, were faithfully adhered to by Baldwin. The marriage was solemnised with due pomp, and at the death of the king, which took place in 1131, accelerated by the undutiful conduct of his daughter Alice, who considered herself injured by the settlement of the kingdom of Jerusalem on her sister's husband, Fulk of Anjou ascended the throne.

Prior to this event, however, Bohemond, the husband of Alice, had been slain in action, leaving as sole heiress a youthful daughter. By the promptitude and decision of Baldwin and Fulk, the rights of this infant were preserved intact, in spite of the machinations of its mother on the one side, and its uncle Roger, duke of Apulia, on the other, both of whom were intriguing for the sovereignty of Antioch. Fulk, however, perceived that it would be necessary, in order to insure the rights of the young princess against the plots thus forming on all sides to her detriment, that she should give her hand to some Christian prince, of power and determination sufficiently well-known to deter the ambitious projects of her malcontent relations. With this view he cast his eyes upon Raymond of Poitiers, youngest son of William, duke of Aquitaine, and then resident at the court of Henry I. of England. As negociator in this delicate mission he selected Joubert, one of the Knights of the Hospital, who, having in these stormy times gained great celebrity both as a warrior and a statesman, was gradually attaining the highest dignities of his Order. Joubert acquitted himself of this mission in a manner

which amply justified this selection. Raymond accepted the hand thus tendered to him with the *empressement* of a true gallant, and hastened to throw himself at the feet of his youthful bride, still a mere child.

Roger of Apulia, to whom the idea of any such alliance was very distasteful, as being subversive of all his hopes of aggrandisement, endeavoured to prevent the gallant suitor from landing in Syria. Raymond, however, with the sage counsel and assistance of Joubert, succeeded in defeating all his machinations, and, under the garb of merchants, they passed unsuspected into the territories of Fulk, where they were received with every demonstration of joy and the marriage solemnised without delay. Thus, by the judicious services of a member of the Order of St. John, the affairs of the principality of Antioch were once more brought into a satisfactory condition, and the danger of a civil embroilment, which at that moment would have been most suicidal to the prospects of Christian domination in the East, was avoided.

At about the same period a service of a somewhat similar nature was undertaken by the Master, du Puy. Alphonso I., king of Aragon and Navarre, had been so impressed with the gallantry and devotion displayed by the Knights of St. John, who, from their European commanderies, were assisting him in his warfare against the Moors, that, in a moment of religious enthusiasm, he nominated the Knights of the Hospital and those of the Temple joint heirs to his kingdom. Not long after this munificent, and, to modern notions, ridiculous bequest had been duly ratified, he met his death in battle against his Moorish foes, in 1133. The grandees of his two kingdoms were, however, by no means disposed to carry into effect the dispositions which their late king



had made of his throne, but taking advantage of the absence of the two Masters in the East, and being at the same time at variance with each other, they hastened to nominate a separate successor for each of the two kingdoms, thus totally ignoring the claims of the military Orders. It was speedily decided by both fraternities, that Raymond, accompanied by some of his Knights and by deputies nominated to act on behalf of the Templars, should at once proceed to Spain, to endeavour, as far as was practicable, to carry into effect the dispositions of the late monarch. The diplomatic skill which Raymond brought to bear upon this occasion met with but a very partial success; more, however, owing to the extreme weakness of his cause, than to any want of ability and determination on his part. From the new king of Navarre he could obtain no redress whatever, that prince having taken the bull by the horns, and boldly ignored the power of Alphonso to make any such disposition of his kingdom. From the king of Aragon he did not receive the same utter denial, that prince having so far recognised the claims of the Order, as to award them in restitution certain manorial rights within his territories, with which compromise Raymond and his brother-deputies were forced to be content, and returned to the Holy Land.

The first blow received by the Christian power in the East, at the hands of the Saracens, was the loss of the city of Edessa, captured by Zenghi, sultan of Mosul and Aleppo, at that time the most powerful of the Eastern princes. The Prince of Edessa, the son of Jocelyn de Courtenay, was a man who, whilst inheriting his father's possessions, was totally devoid of those warlike qualities so necessary to the preservation of his principality, and which had rendered the elder Cour-

tenay so celebrated. Deeply plunged into dissipation of all kinds, and a mere tool in the hands of worthless favourites, he beheld his capital torn from his grasp without an effort for its rescue; and nothing but the death of Zenghi, who was at that critical moment assassinated in his tent, could have saved the rest of his dominions.

As it was, the loss of Edessa had materially shaken the power of the Latins in the East. Most of those gallant spirits who had contributed to the first establishment and subsequent extension of the kingdoms of Palestine were no more, and their successors retained but little in common with them beyond their titles. The only exception to this universal defection was the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin III., who, with the assistance of the two military Orders, was the main support of the tottering Latin kingdom. Baldwin no sooner heard of the assassination of Zenghi, and the check caused by this event to the victorious career of his army, than he conceived the idea of once more regaining possession of the lost city of Edessa. He advanced rapidly, at the head of such troops as he could collect, conspicuous amongst whom rode the iron-clad warriors of the Hospital. They were not, however, fated to be successful in this undertaking; although, when first he appeared before the walls of Edessa, the Christian inhabitants of the town, rising against the Mahometan garrison, opened their gates and admitted his forces. Still his triumph was but of short duration. The Mussulmans retreated into the citadel, within whose protecting bulwarks they withstood all his efforts to dislodge them. Meanwhile Nouredin, one of the sons of Zenghi, a young warrior destined to achieve a

renown rivalling that of his father, advanced rapidly to prevent the accomplishment of Baldwin's enterprise, with an army so vastly superior to that of the king, that the latter had no option left him but to retire with the utmost possible rapidity. The whole Christian population of Edessa accompanied him in his retreat, and it required the most strenuous efforts on his part to prevent Nouredin, who hung upon his flanks, from utterly destroying them. Before they reached Jerusalem a very large number had fallen victims to the ferocious onslaughts of the Moslem foe, and the remainder were indebted for their safety principally to the sleepless vigilance and dauntless bravery of Raymond and his band of warrior monks.\* To prevent

\* The origin of the legend of our Lady of Liesse, still held in the highest veneration throughout the province of Picardy, dates from this retreat. The story runs, that three Knights of the Hospital, brothers, of a noble family in this province, were cut off from the main body of the army by the Saracens, and made prisoners. Being brought before the sultan at Cairo, he conceived an ardent desire to convert them to Islamism, and for that purpose sent his daughter, a beautiful maiden of eighteen summers, to hold religious discussions with them. The hearts of these true Knights of the Cross were proof against the fascinations of beauty, when employed to inveigle them from their faith. Not so, however, was that of the young damsel. Ismeria, so far from converting her antagonists, became herself convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, and expressed a most earnest desire to behold an image of the Blessed Virgin. Whilst the brothers were despairing how this wish could be accomplished, and were praying to that saint for assistance, they suddenly discovered an image, which had been miraculously introduced into their prison, and which exhaled a most delicious fragrance. Ismeria instantly consented to abandon her faith and adopt the tenets of Christianity, and, carrying the holy image to her chamber, prostrated herself in adoration before it. Whilst in this attitude, she was favoured with a vision from the Virgin herself, who announced to her that she was,

the possibility of any further attempts of a like nature on the part of the Christians, Noureddin, as soon as he had regained possession of the city, razed its fortifications and destroyed all its churches. It was thus that Edessa passed for ever from under the Latin sway.

The loss of this important post caused the greatest dismay throughout Palestine. Situated on its extreme Eastern frontier, on the very confines of the desert, it had served as a most valuable outwork by which to keep the Infidel at a distance from the heart of the province, and its principal city, Jerusalem. The greatest possible efforts were, therefore, made to insure its recovery. As the military power of the state itself appeared unequal to cope with Noureddin's forces without external aid, the patriarch of Palestine and the king of Jerusalem decided on despatching an envoy to Europe for the purpose of soliciting an armed intervention from the Christian powers of the West; and the bishop of Zabulon was selected for this duty.

appointed to release the Knights from prison, and at the same time directed her to change her name, and assume that of Mary. At break of day she proceeded to the prison, determined to obey the divine mandate, and, to her amazement, discovered that the doors were all open. The Knights accompanied her through the streets of Cairo without being discovered; and at length, after a weary day's journey, they lay down together to rest. On awaking, they discovered, to their astonishment, that they were in Picardy, whither they had been transported miraculously during their sleep, Ismeria still retaining possession of her image. Whilst proceeding towards their paternal mansion, the image fell from the hands of its fair bearer; and on this spot a church was afterwards built, dedicated to our Lady of Liesse. Ismeria was baptised, received the name of Mary, and lived ever after with the mother of the Knights, performing all the charitable duties of her new religion; and at her death her remains were deposited within the aisle of the church which she had founded.

Eugene III., who at that time occupied the Papal chair, entered warmly into the project, and directed the holy Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, to preach a new Crusade throughout France and Germany. Bernard, who had attained the highest veneration from the rigid austerity of his life and the reforms which he had succeeded in introducing into the discipline of the clergy, which had become disgracefully lax, was at this time in the most perfect odour of sanctity. He seconded the desires of the Pope with all the strength of his fiery eloquence, and, traversing the land from end to end, he called upon all faithful Christians to come forward at this hour of the Church's need to prevent the Infidel from regaining those holy places which had been torn from their grasp, at the cost of so much blood, by their fathers.

Louis VII., at that time king of France, having in one of his numerous wars committed some barbarities of more than ordinary atrocity, resolved upon purchasing an atonement for his misdeeds by heading the new Crusade, and, as a modern infidel writer has expressed it, "proposed to slaughter some millions of Saracens as an expiation for the murder of four or five hundred Champanois." The German emperor, Conrad III., was in no such pious mood, and it required the exertion of all Bernard's powers of persuasion ere he could be induced to join the holy enterprise; eventually, however, after the exhibition of certain miraculous powers on the part of the abbot, he consented to lead the Crusaders of his empire against the Turks, and, ere the close of the year 1147, an army of nearly 200,000 men, under the joint guidance of Louis and himself, had passed into the East.

The usual delays, interruptions, and treachery awaited

them at the hands of the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, who, although he was brother-in-law to Conrad, exerted all his powers of dissimulation and deceit, which, in common with the rest of his nation, he possessed in a pre-eminent degree, to accomplish the destruction of these unwelcome visitors. It will be unnecessary to enter into any lengthened detail of this ill-fated expedition. After having lost the greater part of their numbers in the mountain passes between Phrygia and Pisidia, their shattered remnants eventually reached Jerusalem.

It was here decided in council, that greater advantage would accrue to the Christian power in the East if the town of Damascus could be brought under its domination, than could be gained even by the recapture of Edessa. The attempt was accordingly decided on, and, eager to wrest from the hands of the Saracens a city which for nearly five centuries had groaned under their yoke, the Christian forces soon arrived in front of the devoted city. A strong body of the Knights of St. John, as also of the Templars, accompanied this expedition, and, ranging themselves beneath the banner of Baldwin, nobly maintained their well-earned reputation for valour and martial discipline. After having nearly succeeded in achieving the capture of the city, all the advantages which had been gained by the valour of the Hospitallers were lost by the treachery and jealousies of some of the other leaders, who, instead of following up and pushing to the utmost the success which had attended the efforts of Baldwin and the military friars, commenced to cabal as to the division of that spoil which was destined never to fall within their grasp.

Noureddin having succeeded in throwing a reinforce-

ment into the city, the opportunity for successfully attempting its capture was lost; they were compelled therefore to raise the siege, and to return to Jerusalem. Conrad and Louis shortly afterwards both left the Holy Land, and thus in the year 1149 was this ill-fated expedition brought to a close, in which the lives of 150,000 men had been sacrificed without the slightest benefit to the Christian cause.

Noureddin, relieved from the fears which the advent of so large a force had necessarily excited, no sooner discovered that he had nothing further to dread from the efforts of the Latins against his own territories, than he once again carried the war into the enemy's country, and in the year 1152 Baldwin found himself under the necessity of advancing towards the principality of Antioch, for the protection of his frontier. During his absence from the seat of his government, two Turkish princes, bearing the name of the Jarroquins, penetrated by way of Damascus towards Jerusalem, and actually arrived in presence of the holy city, which at that moment was in an utterly defenceless condition, all the disposable forces of the kingdom having accompanied Baldwin in his march towards Antioch. The Turks pitched their camp for the night on the Mount of Olives, intending to force an entry into the city upon the following morning; in which operation, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, they anticipated little or no difficulty.

A few Knights of the Hospital had been left behind by their brethren, for the purpose of conducting the ordinary duties of the institution during their absence; and it was to the promptitude and determination with which these gallant soldiers acted upon the occasion,

that the holy city was indebted for its rescue from destruction. Gathering together such of the citizens as were capable of bearing arms, they made a sortie under cover of the night, penetrated into the enemy's camp, which they succeeded in setting on fire, and in the confusion which ensued completely overwhelmed the bewildered Turks, putting vast numbers to the sword, and compelling the remainder to take to flight. Baldwin, who had received intimation of the incursion by which his capital was being threatened, was at that moment hastening back to its rescue; and falling suddenly upon the fugitives, in the midst of their disorderly flight, he completed their overthrow, cutting them in pieces, and pursuing them with such vigour, that those who escaped the swords of his followers perished miserably in the waters of the Jordan. This gallant action, by which the capital city of the kingdom of Palestine was preserved from destruction by the daring and decision of a handful of the Knights of St. John, added yet another title in virtue of which the Order might claim the gratitude of Christendom.

Baldwin, encouraged by this great and most unlooked-for success, occurring as it did at a moment when the numerous reverses which the Christian cause in Palestine had sustained were having a most dispiriting effect upon his followers, determined instantly to take advantage of the panic, which his triumph had created amongst the Infidels, to carry the war into their territories. For this purpose he turned his eyes towards the Saracen fortress of Ascalon. This city, which was the key of Palestine towards the south, had been the cause of endless anxiety to every successive Latin king, on account of its close proximity to the fron-



tier of their territories. In order in some degree to counterbalance this evil, and to keep in check the constant inroads of its inhabitants, Milicent, Baldwin's mother, had some years previously, during the temporary absence of her husband Fulk, rebuilt the fortifications of the town of Beersheba, which, whilst it was within the boundaries of the Christian territory, was at no great distance from Ascalon. The garrisoning of this place had been by her intrusted to the Order of St. John; a post of more danger than profit, but which had nevertheless been accepted by Raymond with the most gallant promptitude; and had been ever since retained by the Order, throughout all the changes of the period; acting as a point of assembly, and a place of refuge to the Christians of the district, whenever menaced by the Infidel. For the same reason, Baldwin III. had caused the fortifications of the ancient Philistine city of Gaza to be restored; and, as it was within twenty miles of Ascalon, and consequently a post of much importance, he intrusted its preservation to the care of the Knights of the Temple, between whom and the Hospitallers there existed a noble, generous, and friendly rivalry; but as yet no symptom of that discord and jealousy which were afterwards fraught with such pernicious consequences, not only to themselves, but also to the whole Christian power in Palestine.

Ascalon, considered by the Turks as one of their most important fortresses, was situated on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, very much in the same latitude as Jerusalem. Its fortifications, consisting of a high rampart, supported at short distances by lofty towers, formed a semicircle, which enclosed the town; the sea coast being its other boundary. It had always

been guarded most zealously by its possessors; and, in order to insure its preservation, the caliph had caused all its male inhabitants to be thoroughly trained in the exercises of war; and, that there might be no danger of treachery on their part, or a want of fidelity to his service, he had granted them numerous privileges and indulgences, such as were not enjoyed by the inhabitants of any other city in the East. Baldwin, however, undeterred either by the strength of the place, or by the number, discipline, and determination of the garrison, which may be said to have comprised the entire male population, sat down before its walls, with an army increased beyond its usual force by the accession of a large body of pilgrims from Europe, and most ample reinforcements from the military Orders.

Meanwhile Gerard, the lord of Sidon, with fifteen small galleys, held possession of the sea, and intercepted all passage of supplies into the beleaguered city. For a period of five months the siege was carried on with the utmost vigour, the Christians, harassed by constant sorties on the part of the garrison, gained ground step by step, at the cost of a constant struggle, and the most fearful expenditure of life; not a foot of ground being yielded by the Saracens without a desperate resistance. At length, however, after having overcome all the obstacles which the ingenuity of their defenders had cast in their way, they reached to the foot of the rampart. At this moment, when victory seemed within their grasp, and it appeared as if they were about to reap the harvest of all their desires, a powerful fleet, laden with reinforcements and provisions, hove in sight. This fleet was so far more numerous than that with which Gerard was blockading the entrance to the port, that he was

compelled to retire with the greatest possible haste, and to leave the sovereignty of the seas in their undisputed possession. This sudden and unlooked-for check caused the utmost dismay throughout the Christian camp. A general council of war was at once convened, in which the propriety of an immediate abandonment of the siege was advocated by the majority of those present. Raymond, however, the Master of the Hospitallers, supported by the patriarch of Jerusalem and some of the other clergy, strenuously opposed this pusillanimous counsel. He urged strongly upon the king the necessity of prosecuting the siege; assuring him that a retreat would have the effect of damping the courage of his own army, and proportionably raising that of the Infidels, who would in their turn assume the offensive, and in all probability advance to besiege Jerusalem. The king, who himself fully sympathised with the ardour of Raymond, decided upon continuing the siege, and the bold language with which this counsel had been urged served to stimulate the valour of those who had previously been the most ready to advocate an immediate retreat. The Templars constructed a lofty movable tower, a practice very common in the sieges of those times, which they advanced on wheels to within a short distance of the walls of the town, and from the top of which a drawbridge could be lowered at will on to the ramparts, so as to span the intervening space. In the course of the night, the Turks threw down a quantity of dry wood and other combustible material, which they ignited, trusting by this means to consume the tower. A strong east wind having, however, set in, the flames arising from the conflagration they had created were blown away from the direction of the Templars' tower,

against the walls of the town, and these were so much calcined and destroyed by the action of the fire, that before morning a large portion had crumbled away, leaving a practicable breach into the heart of the town. What was the surprise of the Templars, to whom that portion of the attack had been confided, to find, upon the dawning of the next day, that instead of their tower being reduced to ashes, as they had fully anticipated, an entry into the town was thus unexpectedly opened to their advance.

Their Grand-Master, after having carefully reconnoitred the breach and found its ascent perfectly practicable, directed a body of his Knights to attempt the assault. These no sooner made their appearance within the walls of the city, than the garrison, conceiving that all was lost, fled with precipitation. Meanwhile the Templars advanced with the most daring *sang froid* into the very heart of the town, and had they been at this time properly supported, its immediate capture must have been insured: but, unfortunately, the avaricious and grasping disposition of their Grand-Master ruined the enterprise. Instead of demanding succour from the troops in his vicinity, he actually mounted the breach with the remainder of his Knights, and there kept guard to prevent any other troops than those of his own Order from entering the town, trusting by these means to secure the entire pillage of the place for their exclusive benefit. The result was such as might have easily been foreseen. The garrison, having recovered from the consternation and panic into which they had been thrown on the first appearance of the Christians, were not long in discovering the smallness of their foe, and, returning boldly to the attack, drove them back with fearful slaughter, to

the point from whence they had succeeded in penetrating into the town, and hurled their whole force from the breach, which they instantly secured from further attack by means of a retrenchment and numerous barricades.

The wrath of Baldwin and the remainder of the army at the loss of so signal an advantage, owing to the avarice of the Templars, may readily be conceived; nor indeed was this the first instance in which that Order had, even at this early date, commenced to evince a grasping spirit of acquisition and a greed of wealth, which, ere long, was destined to draw down upon them the antagonism, and eventually the revenge, of Europe. On this, as on many other occasions, their conduct formed so marked a contrast with that of the Hospitallers, that comparisons by no means favourable to them were drawn, and it was prompted by such feelings as these, that the potentates who had compassed the annihilation of the Order of the Temple were induced to transfer their wealth and manorial acquisitions to the Hospital of St. John.

The garrison of Ascalon was so elated at the success with which this formidable attack had been repelled, and found themselves so strengthened in numbers by the reinforcements just landed from their fleet, that they sallied forth the following morning, trusting by one great victory to compel their foes to raise the siege. The action lasted with varied success throughout the whole day. Baldwin withstood their attack with the utmost firmness, and the Templars, anxious to wash away in Saracen blood the stain which their previous misconduct had fixed upon the Order, threw themselves with the most reckless impetuosity upon

their Moslem foe. After numerous alternations of fortune the Infidels at length began to yield, and, being vigorously pressed by the Hospitallers, their retreat was speedily converted into a flight. The battle now became a simple butchery, and a very large proportion of the garrison fell by the edge of the sword before their shattered relics could regain the shelter of their walls.

Dismayed at the unexpected issue of this sanguinary contest, the Infidels, on the following day, offered to capitulate on the condition that their lives and property should be respected, which terms having been accepted, the town was at once yielded to the Christians, and its inhabitants transported to Laris, a town on the borders of the desert, on the 12th of August, 1154.

This conquest had a most beneficial effect on the position of the Latin kingdom of Palestine. In lieu of the constant alarms and incursions from which they had previously so frequently suffered at the hands of the Turkish inhabitants of Ascalon, their frontier, now that the town had fallen into the possession of the Christians, became comparatively secure; and its new holders, supported by the garrisons of Gaza and Beersheba, were enabled to drive back their Infidel foe into the heart of Egypt. The greatest joy was expressed throughout Europe at this timely and welcome acquisition, the glory of which was, in a great measure, due to the warriors of the Hospital and their chief, Raymond, who, when all else were proposing to abandon the siege in despair, had succeeded, by his eloquent and heart-stirring appeals, in inducing them to persevere to the end. Pope Anastasius IV. felt their claims on this occasion to be so strong, that

he issued a new bull, confirming and extending the privileges of the Order already conceded by his predecessors.

The publication of this bull created the utmost jealousy amongst the regular clergy of Palestine, who could not brook the exemption thus conceded to the Order of St. John from all external ecclesiastical supervision. Numerous complaints of the arrogance and malpractices of the fraternity, some few of which were doubtless founded in truth, but the vast majority simply jealous fabrications, were forwarded by the clergy, with the patriarch of Jerusalem at their head, to the Papal chair. Amongst these grievances were specified, that the elevation and magnificence of the Church and Hospital of St. John exceeded that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, close to which they had been built; and also that the bells of the Hospital were rung with violence, whenever service was performing in the before-mentioned church, to its annoyance and interruption. Many other complaints were at the same time made, but they were mostly of the same tenor, and framed in a similar spirit. The Pope decided against the appellants, and confirmed the privileges of the Order, thus stigmatising as vexatious the opposition which had been raised against them. This was the first occasion upon which the Hospitallers had fallen into any dissension with the regular clergy; but, disputes having once arisen, they soon became of constant occurrence, and the historian of the times has to wade through long and wordy dissertations on both sides, which clearly demonstrate that, where ill feeling exists, the commonest events may be wrested so as to bear a malicious and invidious interpretation.

Amongst the most venomous and bitter of the ecclesiastical writers of that period stands William, archbishop of Tyre, who was himself an eyewitness of most of the events which he records; and the distorted and garbled account he renders of the whole dispute, and the rancorous abuse he lavishes on the Pope, whose decision he does not hesitate to stigmatise as having been influenced by bribery, show but too plainly the animus with which he and the other clerical historians of the age were imbued. These disputes embittered the last days of Raymond du Puy, who, having himself established the military Order of which he was the head, had lived to see it settled upon a permanent basis, honoured and revered in every corner of Europe, wealthy and powerful from the innumerable benefactions and endowments it had received, and increasing annually in the number of those who sought fame in this world, and salvation in the next, beneath its consecrated banners. There was, at this time, scarcely a noble house in Europe of which some scion did not bear the white cross upon his breast; and the name of a Hospitaller of St. John had, during these eventful years, become the synonyme for every chivalric and martial virtue.

At length, in the year 1160, Raymond, having attained the patriarchal age of eighty years, during sixty of which he had lived a life of constant warfare, not one of which elapsed without bringing with it the necessity for unsheathing the sword, breathed his last in the Hospital of St. John, at Jerusalem, whither he had retired to meet, in quiet and repose, that end which he had so often braved at the hand of the Infidel. History has recorded nothing of his character which would



not become a saint. Even William of Tyre, though far from being a favourable witness to the good qualities of the Hospitallers, speaks in the most glowing terms of Raymond, whose virtues appear to have been so pre-eminent, that even his enemies were compelled to bear a reluctant testimony to their effulgence. A true type of the soldier, the gentleman, and the Christian, he lived to see his every desire accomplished, and the Order in which all his ambition and all his hopes were centred take its place amidst the chivalry of Europe, upon the highest pinnacle reared by the hands of fame.

## CHAP. IV.

EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.—DEATH OF D'ASCALL.—RISE OF SALADIN.  
—MELIER, THE APOSTATE TEMPLAR.—MURDER OF THE ASSASSIN  
AMBASSADOR BY DU MESNIL.—DEATH OF BALDWIN III. AND AC-  
CESSION OF BALDWIN IV. THE LEPER.—DEATH OF JOUBERT.—  
DISSENSIONS IN THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.—ACCESSION OF GUY  
DE LUSIGNAN.—BATTLE OF TIBERIAS.—LOSS OF JERUSALEM.—ITS  
MAIN CAUSES.

THE rule of the two Masters who succeeded Raymond du Puy in the governance of the Order of the Hospital was neither of long duration, nor distinguished by events of such marked importance as to require much detail in these pages.

During the brief administration of Auger de Balben, his immediate successor, the king, Baldwin III., was gathered to his fathers, universally regretted by his subjects, who could ill spare the guidance of his commanding genius. His dauntless bravery and prompt decision in action, during a reign of twenty years, had been such as to elicit the most unqualified admiration, not only from his friends and countrymen, but also from those amongst the Infidels who had had most cause to feel the power and vigour of his rule. He was succeeded on the throne of Jerusalem by his brother Almeric; and this prince was indebted for his peaceful accession to the good offices of Auger, his claims having

been the subject of the most violent and fierce disputes amongst the nobles of the kingdom.

During the government of Arnaud de Comps, a member of a noble family in Dauphiné, who succeeded Auger in 1162, an expedition into Egypt was undertaken by Almeric, accompanied by the Hospitallers and Templars, his assistance having been demanded by the caliph of Egypt, to oppose an invasion of that country, which had been commenced by the Turkoman leader Nouredin. In return for this assistance, Almeric succeeded in extorting an annual tribute from the caliph. This being the only result of the undertaking, the expedition could scarcely be designated as one of importance; but there were two events connected with it which render it worthy of record. It was in this war that the renowned Saladin, whose name afterwards became so terrible to the Christian cause, first fleshed his maiden scimitar, and showed the earliest gleams of that martial spirit which afterwards shone with such dazzling lustre. It is recorded by many historians, though the circumstance requires confirmation, that at the close of the siege of Alexandria, which was brought to a termination by the declaration of peace, Saladin, who had conducted the defence of the place with the greatest skill, and the most intrepid courage, demanded of the besiegers to receive the accolade of knighthood, which request, notwithstanding his religion, was complied with, as a mark of their appreciation of the gallantry of his bearing. The other event to which allusion has been made was the punishment of twelve Knights of the Temple for cowardice, they having yielded the Cave, or Grotto, of Tyre, without sufficient resistance to the Infidels. For this offence

the king caused them to be hanged; an event which threw so great a slur upon the reputation of the Order that it has been studiously concealed by its panegyrists.

Arnaud de Comps died in 1168; and the unfortunate Gilbert d'Ascali was appointed to the vacant office. He had no sooner assumed the reins of government than Almeric suggested the propriety of a second expedition into Egypt. He had been so struck with the vast wealth, and numerous other attractions of the country, during his former incursion, that his ambition and his avarice both prompted him to desire its acquisition. In this project he was warmly seconded by the Greek emperor of Constantinople, who was naturally desirous of seeing as effectual a barrier as possible erected between his frontier and the Infidels who surrounded him. For this purpose he contributed a considerable sum of money towards the equipment of the expedition proposed by Almeric.

The propriety of tendering their assistance to the king in this enterprise was warmly debated amongst the Hospitallers in council. As the caliph of Egypt had so lately entered into a treaty of peace with the Christians, by which he had bound himself to the payment of an annual tribute; and, as this treaty had been scrupulously observed on his part, it was argued by some of the more conscientious of their number, that they were not justified in waging war against him. The Master, however, strenuously supported the undertaking, and his detractors assert that his object in so doing was to endeavour to replenish from the spoils of Egypt the coffers of his treasury, which he had dissipated from wanton extravagance. The majority of the council, influenced by his precept and example, and tempted by the pros-

pect of an easy conquest yielding an enormous booty, since the Egyptians were far more wealthy than martial, decided in favour of war, and authorised Gilbert to raise money in their name, by loans from the bankers of Genoa and Venice. With this assistance the Hospitallers took into their pay a large auxiliary force of mercenaries, and prepared to enter the field, with a far more powerful array than they had on any previous occasion been enabled to muster.

The Templars, when called upon by Almeric to join his ranks refused the request, after a lengthened discussion; alleging as a reason that they did not consider it lawful to engage in warfare against a nation which, although Infidel, had entered into a treaty of peace with the Christians. Against the justice of this reasoning there can be no argument; but it is much to be regretted that that Order, which could thus upon occasion be so scrupulous, was not more in the practice of weighing the precise rectitude of their actions prior to execution; and there are not wanting ill-natured historians, who have placed on record, that the real motive of this seeming generosity on their part arose from a sense of jealousy, under the feeling that they could not take the field with so imposing a force as that which was serving under the white-cross banner of Gilbert d'Ascali.

Almeric was in no wise daunted at this secession on the part of the Templars, and, with his brave Hospitallers in his train, led the way into Egypt. Their first operation after entering the enemies' country was the siege of Belbeis, which, although fortified and defended by a very numerous garrison, Almeric decided upon carrying by assault, instead of the more ordinary

but lengthy process of a regular siege; involving, as it generally did in those days, a tedious blockade. After the most prodigious slaughter on both sides, for the defence was conducted with determined and intrepid obstinacy, the Christians succeeded in forcing their way into the town; and it is with shame that the historian is compelled to relate, that in the savage cruelty of their excesses, on this occasion, they even surpassed the worst atrocities of the Infidel foe against whom they were combating.

In this town Almeric captured the son and the nephew of the caliph, in addition to a number of other prisoners of wealth and renown. It had formed one of the terms in the agreement entered into between Almeric and D'Ascali, that upon the capture of Belbeis it should become the property of the Knights of St. John; and the king, true to his word, lost no time in handing them over possession of this most important acquisition. D'Ascali left a numerous garrison, composed of the followers of the Order, within its walls; he himself, with the main body of his forces, accompanying the king in the further prosecution of his enterprise.

Their next point of attack was Cairo, then as now the principal city of Egypt. Whilst undertaking the siege of this place, Almeric received an embassy from the caliph, suing for peace, and offering the most tempting bait, in the shape of an enormous ransom for his son and nephew, who were prisoners in the hands of the king. Almeric, whose besetting vice was avarice, was not proof against the two millions of gold crowns which the ambassadors of the caliph were instructed to proffer; and having received 100,000 crowns as a first instalment,

he consented to an armistice being established, whilst the caliph should be collecting the remainder of the ransom from the various parts of his dominions. This, however, he had no intention whatever of doing; but, whilst deluding Almeric by the prospect of so rich a booty, he had secretly sent envoys to his former foe Noureddin, imploring assistance against the torrent of Christian invasion, by which he was threatened with destruction. This assistance Noureddin, for purposes of his own, readily consented to render, and prepared at once to send a powerful army to the rescue.

Meanwhile, the arrangements for the treaty with Almeric were slowly progressing, and he was cajoled into a continuance of his supine inactivity, by the belief that the caliph was busily engaged in fulfilling its terms. The artifice was completely successful. Almeric remained resting on his arms before Cairo, until at length he was startled at hearing that the army of Noureddin was rapidly approaching to the rescue. He lost no time in marching against them with all his forces; trusting to be enabled to encounter them before they had effected a junction with the Egyptians. Siracon, however, Noureddin's general, having made a detour, succeeded in passing the Christian army, and joined his forces to those of the caliph in their rear. Under these adverse circumstances, the king felt that all prospect of a conquest of Egypt was at an end; and that it would not be safe to remain longer in the country, in the face of such superior forces as those which Siracon had brought into the field. He therefore made good his retreat into Palestine as rapidly as possible, and the Hospitallers were compelled to evacuate Belbeis, the garrison of which joined the king's army as he passed.

Thus ended this ill-fated expedition; the success of which was blasted purely by the avarice of Almeric. That it was unprovoked in the outset, and consequently unjustifiable, cannot be denied; and that, founded as it was upon a breach of faith, it deserved no better fate, is likewise true; still, had it been successful, it would doubtless have tended much to prolong the duration of Christian rule in the East, and would have struck a blow at Infidel domination which they would have taken long to recover. As it was, however, the Christians gained nothing but obloquy in return for their vast expenditure of treasure; and, as the sequel will show, brought down upon themselves a foe who eventually succeeded in completely wrecking the power of the Latin kingdom of Palestine.

The friends of Almeric, for in spite of his errors he had many who were warmly attached to his person and fortunes, were not loth to screen his misconduct by throwing the entire blame on Gilbert d'Ascali. This unfortunate Knight appears, throughout the transaction, to have been more sinned against than sinning. He had been induced by the arguments of the king, aided doubtless by the ambitious promptings of his own heart, to join in the conquest of Egypt. That the attempt would be successful, appeared in the outset most probable; and that, when achieved, it would prove a strong bulwark of defence to the feeble kingdom, was also most indubitable. With this view, and by no means foreseeing that the avarice of the king would shipwreck the entire project, he had entered into it with all his energies, and had pledged the credit of his Order to the utmost limits to insure its successful prosecution. It is, however, very difficult to argue in the face of a failure; and Gilbert, on



his return to Jerusalem, found himself assailed on every side, by the most bitter invectives, and the most virulent antagonism. His proud spirit sank under the abuse which, whether merited or not, was lavished upon him with unsparing rigour, and he resigned the Mastership of his Order in despair. He shortly after left the Holy Land, and returned to Europe, to hide his griefs in retirement and solitude; and, whilst there, he was drowned in the act of crossing from France to England. From this fact Vertot has endeavoured to prove that he must have been a native of the latter country; and this surmise on his part receives a certain amount of sanction, from the fact that his name is of Norman origin, and would therefore very probably have belonged to an English knight of that period.

On his resignation, a brother named Gastus was raised to the dignity of Master, but his rule was short; and, to use the stereotyped expression of the writers of those times, he has left no other record of himself but his name.

Joubert, the sixth Master of the Order, was elected at the death of Gastus in 1169. Prior to his accession to the office, great changes had been taking place in the countries which surrounded the kingdom of Judea. As has been already shown, Nouredin, at the request of the caliph of Egypt, had sent to his assistance an army commanded by his general Siracon. Saladin, whose name has likewise been mentioned, was nephew to Siracon, and accompanied him into Egypt. It had formed no part of Nouredin's plans to assist the caliph of Egypt in expelling the Christians from his dominions without the prospect of some ulterior benefit to himself; and he had given private instructions to Siracon, in

despatching him thither, that he was to take advantage of any opportunities which might offer, to seize upon the government of the country. These instructions were faithfully carried out; but Siracon did not live to enjoy the fruits of his exertions, for he had only just established himself in power when death brought all his wiles and ambitious projects to a close. His nephew Saladin, however, carrying out the operations commenced by his uncle, succeeded in bringing them to a favourable termination, and having made away with the caliph of Egypt, whom he caused to be strangled in his bath, assumed the rule of the country. Nouredin having also about this time died, Saladin married his widow, and, throwing off his allegiance to the son of his late master, established himself not only as an independent sovereign of Egypt, but also as ruler over all those territories formerly governed by Nouredin.

His power had become so threatening to the Christians, that Almeric had good cause to rue the ambition which had called so potent an enemy into the field, and the avarice which had prevented his being enabled to crush him in the outset. In order to check his successful career, Almeric proceeded to Constantinople, to seek assistance from the Greek emperor, he having already failed in his endeavours to obtain the aid of a new Crusade, his proposals for which had been but coldly received by the powers of Western Europe. During his absence from Jerusalem, he vested the government of his kingdom in the hands of Joubert the Master of the Hospital, and his fellow-dignitary the Grand-Master of the Temple. He was received by the emperor with the most flattering promises of assistance, which, however, were but very partially realised; and,

compelled to be content with the assurances he had extorted, he returned to his government, where his presence was most urgently required to meet a new foe, who had sprung from the midst of his own kingdom, and was no other than an apostate Templar.

This recreant knight, whose name was Melier, was brother to Thoro, prince of Armenia; a potentate who had always continued firm in his alliance with the Christian rulers of Palestine. At the death of Thoro, the crown had descended to his nephew Thomas, son of his only sister. Melier, however, prompted by his ambition to usurp a throne, abandoned the habit of his Order, renounced Christianity, and, allying himself with Saladin, drove Thomas from his territories, and installed himself as Prince of Armenia. From this moment he waged an unceasing warfare with his Christian neighbours, and his cruelties and atrocities surpassed even those of his Mahometan allies. Towards the Hospitallers and Templars he exhibited the most peculiar and savage rancour; such of either Order as fell into his hands being butchered in cold blood, or else sold into slavery in the territories of Saladin.

Almeric, however, was not the prince to suffer this thorn to remain in the side of his kingdom; and the Hospitallers and Templars vied with each other in their anxiety to revenge themselves upon this unworthy member of a military Order, for the cruel death of so many of their brethren. Melier soon found himself unequal to cope with the forces brought against him, and was ignominiously driven from the territories he had so basely usurped, to seek a refuge under the protection of his ally Saladin. This blot on the fair fame of the Templars could not justly be laid to the blame of the Order;

since, until human nature shall realise a far higher pitch of perfection than it has ever yet been enabled to attain, there will always be found individual backsliders, even in the midst of the most virtuous communities. It must not be forgotten, that, even amongst the twelve disciples of our blessed Lord, one traitor found admission; nor did his foul treason cast the shadow of a stain upon his eleven brethren, who afterwards sealed their faith with their blood. It happened, however, unfortunately for the Order, that this was not the only event which occurred at that particular period calculated to bring their institution into disrepute, since at the same time another offender arose in their ranks, who, far from being disavowed by his fraternity, was by them screened from the punishment due to his crimes, to the utmost extent of their power.

In the mountainous country contiguous to Tripoli dwelt a numerous and fanatical tribe named Assassins\*,

\* The name of Assassin was derived from the Persian word *hassassin*, signifying a dagger, which was the only weapon usually worn by the members of this extraordinary tribe. The peculiar and unenviable notoriety which these fanatics obtained, has caused the name to be since generally adopted to designate a murderer. In proof of the extraordinary lengths to which their devotion and blind obedience to their chiefs was carried, a very characteristic anecdote is recorded, which, in its startling horror, appears scarcely credible to modern readers. It is said that, upon one occasion, the Sultan of Damascus despatched an envoy to the Old Man of the Mountain, demanding the payment of an annual tribute, under threat of an immediate invasion. The prince of the Assassins, desirous of exhibiting to the envoy the extent of his power over his subjects, in his presence, ordered one of the tribe to cast himself from the top of the tower, and at the same time directed another to plunge a dagger into his heart. The command was in both cases instantly obeyed. The prince, turning to the envoy, then informed him that he had sixty thousand subjects, every

whose chief was known as the Old Man of the Mountain. Their name was mentioned with terror throughout the East, owing to the peculiarities of their tenets. Their religion, if religion it can be called, consisted in a blind obedience to the will of their chief, even when it led to certain death. Assassination was held amongst them to be a cardinal virtue, more especially when performed by his directions. The monarch on his throne, in the midst of his court, and surrounded by the most faithful guard, was not secure from the dagger of one of these Assassins, who was sure never to fail in the attainment of his object, even though it involved the sacrifice of his own life. The dread in which this tribe was held prompted all the Mahometan leaders of the East to cultivate friendly relations with them; and they were in the receipt of subsidies, in the form of tribute, from nations far more powerful in point of numbers than themselves.

The Templars, however, of the province of Tripoli, fearlessly waged war against them, heedless of the ready dagger with which they were wont to defend their privileges. They, on their side, were not slow in perceiving, that, in an institution organised like the military Orders, the death of the chief had no effect in changing the spirit of the government; a successor was at once named, by whom the objects which his predecessor had commenced were pertinaciously carried out. Their favourite mode of defence being thus comparatively useless, they felt unequal to cope with the disciplined

one of whom would perform his behest with the same blind obedience as that of the two men whose fate he had just witnessed. The old historians quaintly enough add, that the Old Man of the Mountain never heard anything more of the sultan's demand for tribute.

energy and martial ardour of the Templars; and, eventually, were glad to purchase a peace by the payment of an annual contribution to the coffers of the Order. About this time, however, the prince of the Assassins, anxious to evade the payment of this impost, and not over nice as to the form of religion which he professed, sent an ambassador to the king of Jerusalem, with an offer, on the part of himself and all his tribe, to be baptised into Christianity. Almeric was overjoyed at this proposition, which promised to form a most welcome addition to the Christian population of the East; and the ambassador was dismissed on his homeward journey laden with presents, and accompanied by a guard from the king, after having received his pledge that the payment of the tribute should cease to be enforced.

This undertaking on the part of the king was very distasteful to the body of the Templars, whose grasping avarice led them infinitely to prefer the payment of tribute from an Infidel nation, rather than their conversion to the Christian faith, in a case when the latter alternative involved the loss of the said payment. They, therefore, decided upon using every means within their power to break off the negotiation and prevent its being brought to a successful termination. In furtherance of this project, one of their number, named Du Mesnil, whether with the knowledge and consent of his brethren has never been clearly established, waylaid the ambassador, and as soon as he had parted from the guard furnished for his protection by Almeric, on the borders of Tripoli, fell upon him and murdered him in cold blood.

Almeric was, with justice, deeply irritated at this foul breach of national faith, perpetrated on the person of an ambassador who was under the protection of his own safe-conduct; and demanded that Du Mesnil should be

instantly handed over by the Templars to be dealt with as his crime deserved. This the Order positively refused to do; thus identifying themselves with the crime which had been committed, and lending the sanction of their name to cover as atrocious and cold-blooded a murder as any it was possible to conceive. Almeric was not, however, to be stopped in his purposes of retribution by any interference on the part of the Templars, whose numerous acts of misconduct and outrage were rapidly bringing them into extreme disrepute, but seizing upon Du Mesnil by force he threw him into prison, and would doubtless have wreaked a bitter vengeance upon him, had not his own career been cut short by death, leaving a youthful son to succeed him on the throne.

Baldwin IV., surnamed the leper, owing to the loathsome disease with which he was afflicted, was incapacitated, both mentally and bodily, from swaying with energy a sceptre requiring such constant exercise of vigilance, determination, and bravery, as did that of Jerusalem. During his brief reign, however, in those intervals when a temporary relaxation of his disease enabled him to take the field in person, he several times endeavoured to check the ravages which were being committed by Saladin on his frontier provinces; and on one occasion he succeeded in surprising that renowned chieftain, and, falling upon his camp at night, routed his army so completely, that Saladin himself had a narrow escape of falling into his hands.

In the following year, viz. 1175, Baldwin endeavoured to establish a frontier fortress on the banks of the Jordan, within the limits of Saladin's dominion. To prevent the accomplishment of any such attempt, that prince once more advanced to oppose the Christian forces; and having by his superior strategical skill lured them into

an ambuscade, he fell upon them with all his forces whilst entangled in a defile, and a complete rout of the whole army was the result. In this disastrous affair the Hospitallers were nearly cut to pieces, their Master, Joubert, covered with wounds, having narrowly escaped with life, by swimming his horse across the Jordan.

His end, which occurred in 1179, has been differently recorded ; some writers attribute it to grief at the truce which was in that year signed between Saladin and the Christians, and at the decadence of the unfortunate kingdom of Palestine, which, year by year, was shorn of some one of its remaining bulwarks. The greater number, however, assert that he came by his death in an unfair manner. Having fallen into the hands of one of Saladin's generals, at the capture of Margat, the defence of which place had been conducted by him and the Knights of his Order with the most determined obstinacy, he was barbarously starved to death in prison.

The council of the Order, on his decease, filled the vacancy by the election of Roger Desmoulins to the post of the seventh Master. On his accession he found the Christian territory not only threatened by the powerful foe on her frontier, but at the same time torn and divided by intestine discord. It was true that a truce had been concluded with Saladin, but there appeared no prospect of its continuing for any length of time, and the Christians felt that after its close they would be quite unequal to cope with his aggressive ambition. They decided therefore upon sending ambassadors to Europe to solicit the assistance of a third Crusade, and for this purpose they selected Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the two chiefs of the Temple and Hospital.



Shortly after their arrival in Europe, the Grand-Master of the Temple died, leaving Heraclius and Desmoulins to perform the remainder of their embassy alone. For this purpose they in turn visited the courts of Pope Lucius III., of Philip II. of France, and of Henry II. of England; from all of whom they received a superabundance of promises, but very scanty aid in any more material form. At the court of Henry II., indeed, the patriarch Heraclius so far forgot the respect due to the monarch, that he had the audacity to upbraid the king in the most insolent terms for his lukewarmness in the good cause; to which injudicious act on his part the failure of their efforts in England may mainly be attributed. It is true, that, throughout both the kingdoms of England and France, a Crusade was preached, accompanied by the grant of indulgences from the Pope, but it met with so little earnest support from the monarchs of those countries, that it proved decidedly futile, and the disappointed ambassadors returned to the East in despair.

Here they found that the disease with which Baldwin was afflicted had so far gained the mastery over his enfeebled frame, as to render him incapable of the most ordinary functions of government. Under these circumstances he had associated with himself, in the rule of the kingdom, a French cavalier named Guy de Lusignan, who had married his sister Sabilla, the widow of the Marquis of Montferrat. This choice, however, was very unpalatable to his nobles, who with justice despised Guy, as a man more suited to shine in the court than in the camp; and Baldwin found himself compelled to retract the authority he had vested in him. In this dilemma he formed the resolution of resigning his crown altogether; and, in execution of his design, nominated his

nephew, Sabilla's son by her first lord, as his successor; and appointed Raymond, Count of Tripoli, to act as regent during his minority.

Not long after this change Baldwin died, and the regent continued to maintain his sway until an event occurred which overthrew all his hopes and projects. The infant son of Sabilla died suddenly, not without grave suspicions of foul play on the part of his mother; suspicions which subsequent events tended materially to strengthen. The fact of his death was retained a secret within the palace where it had occurred for several days, whilst Sabilla and her husband were engaged in buying over to their interests the patriarch of Jerusalem and the Grand-Master of the Templars. They at the same time made the most flattering overtures to Roger Desmoulins, in whose charge, coupled with the Grand-Master of the Temple, the regalia of the kingdom had been placed; but in this attempt they were completely foiled, and he sternly refused to resign the jewels into their hands. The party which Sabilla had gained over to her interests proved, however, too powerful for opposition; and she eventually succeeded in causing Guy and herself to be proclaimed king and queen of Jerusalem; in which disposition of the throne her nobles were reluctantly forced to acquiesce.

Saladin no sooner discovered that a quarrel had sprung up between the Christian magnates, for Raymond had retired in dudgeon to Tripoli, than he organised an expedition for the invasion of the perturbed kingdom, and laid siege to Acre. Previously, however, to its investment, a reinforcement from the military Orders, commanded by their respective Grand-Masters, threw themselves into the place. Desmoulins, without waiting

to be blockaded within its walls, collected his forces, and having armed such of the inhabitants as he deemed capable of performing military duty, he sallied forth at their head, under the cover of night. The sortie was at first perfectly successful. The Infidels, taken by surprise, and unable in the obscurity of the night to distinguish the numbers of the enemy, suffered themselves to be slaughtered helplessly in their camp; but when day broke, and the comparatively insignificant force of the Christians became perceptible, Saladin succeeded in rallying his battalions, and a regular combat ensued, without any decisive advantage on either side; but, as it resulted in his raising the siege of the town, the victory may well be assigned to the Christians.

The success, however, was purchased at the cost of a terrific slaughter on their part; chief among the slain being Roger Desmoulins, the Master of the Hospital, whose body was found upon the gory plain, surrounded by a pile of Saracens, who had fallen victims to the prowess of his arm, ere he himself had received his death-wound.

The country being in a state of active war, the council lost no time in nominating a successor to their deceased chief; and their choice fell on Garnier de Napoli, who thus became the eighth Master of the Order, a dignity which he occupied for a very few months, before he was doomed to fall, like his predecessor, beneath the scimitar of the Infidel. Saladin, having through the judicious conduct of Roger Desmoulins been foiled in his attempt upon Acre, turned his arms against Tiberias, a city of which Raymond, Count of Tripoli, was lord in right of his wife.

This prince had, prior to these events, become reconciled to Guy de Lusignan, through the joint good offices of the chiefs of the military Orders, the Grand-Master of the Temple being a firm ally and steadfast adherent of the king; and the Master of the Hospital, though by no means friendly to the government of Guy, acting under the conviction that, in the then desperate state of affairs, it was destruction to the prospects of the kingdom that there should be any dissensions among its chiefs: they had, therefore, persuaded Raymond to forget his wrongs, and to give the weight of his recognised military genius for the safety of Palestine.

When Raymond heard that Saladin was engaged in the siege of Tiberias, he magnanimously advised the king to leave the city to its fate, and endeavoured to persuade him to persevere in a strictly defensive line of conduct, averring that the Saracen army could not long subsist in its neighbourhood, owing to the extreme scarcity of water and provisions. Other and less sagacious counsels, however, prevailed. It was pointed out by the Grand-Master of the Templars, that if they collected all their forces, and fell upon the enemy whilst he was engaged in his siege operations, they might end the war by a single success; and it was not improbable that even Saladin himself might fall into their power. He also endeavoured to prejudice the king against the advice of Raymond, suggesting that he was in traitorous intercourse with Saladin, and was counselling such a mode of action as he conceived most likely to betray the kingdom. The king, who well knew the extent of the provocation Raymond had received at his hands, listened readily to the suggestions of the Templar, and, collecting all his available forces, marched in the di-

rection of Tiberias, determined to stake everything on the issue of a single field.

It was in vain that Raymond pointed out the extreme danger of this project, in vain did he give every rational advice as to the advance of the army; the ear of the king had been poisoned against him, and all his warnings were disregarded. By the advice of the Templar, who throughout Guy's reign appears to have been his evil genius, a spot was selected for encampment which the total absence of water soon rendered untenable. The Christian host now began to feel the ill-effects of that drought which the Count had prophesied would have overcome the Moslems, had they been left to themselves. Feeling it impossible to remain where he was, Lusignan advanced into the plain of Tiberias, to give battle to the Saracens.

The most powerful efforts were made, by the ecclesiastics who had accompanied the army, to excite the enthusiasm of the soldiery. The portion of the true cross, which had been so long held in the most profound veneration at Jerusalem, was present with the army; having been intrusted to the special guardianship of the military Orders; and, on this eventful occasion, was planted on an eminence, where throughout the day it served as a rallying point to the Christian host. The main object for which the king had decided upon giving immediate battle to the Saracens having been the want of water, since throughout the long summer's night not one drop of that precious liquid had been procurable, either for man or beast, the first efforts of his army were directed to the accomplishment of that object. The Lake of Tiberias, at a distance of two miles, lay calmly glittering in the sunshine, in the rear of the

Infidel host; and between it and the Christian army, now parched with thirst, and maddened by the tempting prospect, were drawn up the dense masses with which Saladin was prepared to resist their advance. In the van of the army stood the brothers of the Hospital and Temple, ready at the appointed signal to dash at their foe, and regardless of numbers to hew a pathway to the much desired lake. On they marched in firm array, and in a few moments were hidden amidst the cloud of Infidels by whom they were surrounded. In vain, however, was the most desperate valour displayed by both fraternities. Amongst the numerous vices of which the latter Order was accused, that of cowardice rarely held a place; and on this important field, with the fate of Christendom in the East depending on their prowess, they emulated with a generous rivalry, untinged by any meaner feeling, the deeds of their brothers of the Hospital. Side by side, these mailed warriors of the Church hurled themselves against the serried phalanx of the Infidel, and the fierce Templar war-cry, rising high above the din of battle, was re-echoed in gallant unison with that of the Hospital.

All, however, was in vain. The number of the Saracen host was too great for even their gallantry to overcome; and when led by a general of such skill and renown as Saladin, those numbers were used to the greatest possible advantage. As the day wore on, the impetuosity of the Christian attacks became less and less vehement, and the stubbornness of their resistance less determined; until at length, dispirited, exhausted, and broken, they yielded the field. Saladin pressed his victory to the uttermost, and, allowing the retreating army no breathing time for rallying their

disordered ranks, he poured his wild hordes on their broken columns, scattering them like chaff before the wind, and thus utterly completed their overthrow.

With this disastrous fight ended every hope of Christian domination: contrary to the advice of Raymond, Guy had staked the whole power of his kingdom on the issue of a single field, and the cast of the die had proved adverse; thus not only leaving Saladin master of the day, but his advance to the gates of Jerusalem totally unopposed. The king, the Grand-Master of the Temple, and several other lords of note fell into his hands; and Garnier, whose deeds of valour throughout the day had proved him well worthy of his exalted station, met the end of a true soldier of the cross, being so desperately wounded during the action, that he only survived long enough to reach Ascalon, where he died.

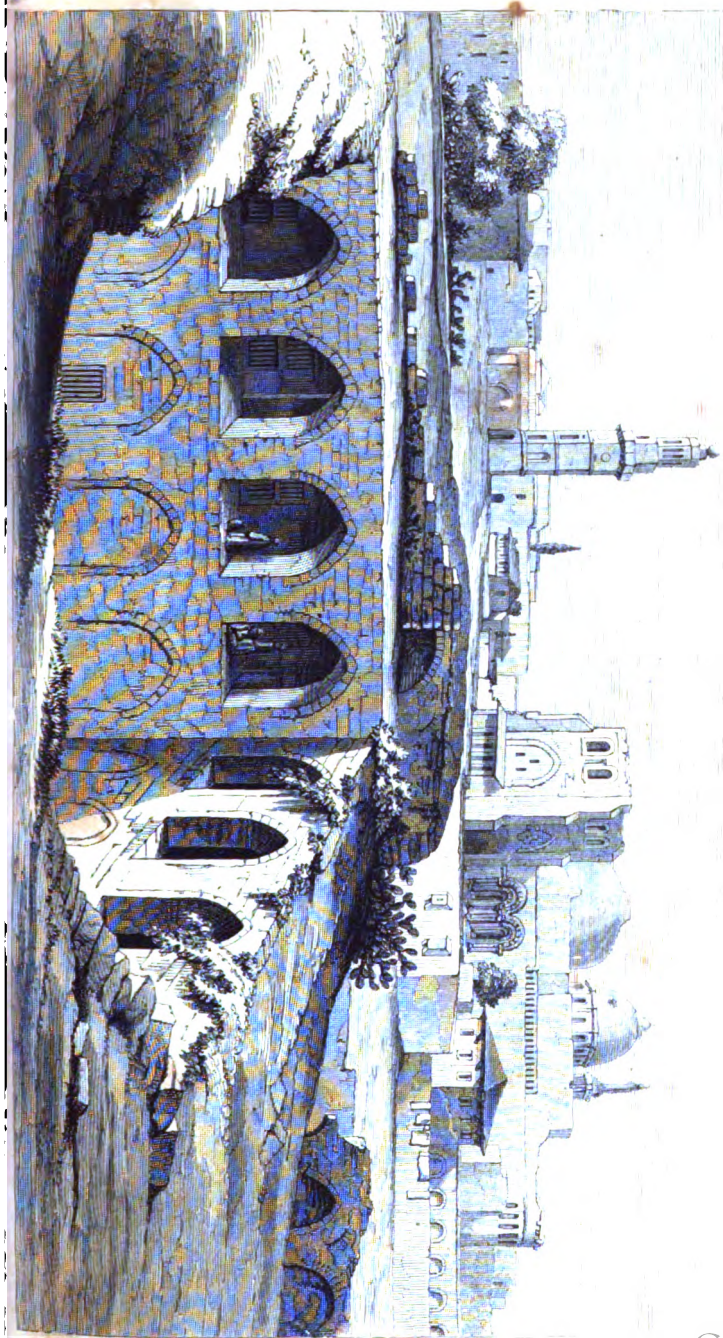
The whole of the misfortunes attending this ill-fated and ill-advised expedition have been very generally, but very wrongfully, laid to the charge of the Count of Tripoli. Feeling that the provocation he had received had been very great, and knowing that in the first moments of his wrath he had, in retiring to Tripoli, entered into communication with Saladin, it has been assumed that, throughout the operation, he was acting the part of a double-faced traitor. Some historians, not content with affixing this stigma upon his fame, actually go the lengths of asserting that he had privately become an apostate to his religion; and that after his death, whilst preparing his body for burial, it was discovered he had undergone the ceremony of circumcision. Without attempting to refute this latter statement, the absurd malice of which is borne upon

its face, a little careful inquiry proves that the whole accusation is nothing more than a vile fabrication. The advice which he gave to the weak and pusillanimous Guy was always that of a sage and judicious counsellor; but being under suspicion, and possessing a most virulent enemy in the person of the Grand-Master of the Templars, who made up in rashness and obstinacy, for what he was deficient in judgment; his counsel was disregarded, the kingdom was lost, and he himself has fallen under the obloquy of partial historians, for a misfortune which he exerted all his powers of argument to avert. His death, occurring conveniently enough for them shortly afterwards, rendered him the most suitable person upon whom to cast the blame.

The loss of the Hospitallers, on this occasion, was fearfully large; since, in addition to the number of those who fell nobly fighting on the field of battle, such as were taken prisoners at its close were cruelly murdered by order of Saladin, he having previously given them the option of saving their lives by abjuring their faith, and adopting the tenets of Islamism: a proffer which was rejected by these Christian Knights with virtuous disdain; and thus, in their case, a life spent in combating for the establishment of the true faith, was sealed by the death of a martyr in the same holy cause.

The few remaining members of the Order, as soon as the account of the sad disaster of Tiberias and the fate of Garnier had reached them, assembled in sorrow and despair, once more to perform the duties of election, and, as it appeared to them, most probably for the last time. With some difficulty they persuaded







Ermengard Daps, on whom their choice had fallen, to accept the onerous post, and, this duty accomplished, the entire body prepared to meet their fate in the desperate struggle which now appeared imminent.

Saladin lost no time in reaping the fruits of his victory. The various fortresses on his route, denuded of their garrisons, which had aided in swelling the ranks of Guy's army, now that that army had vanished from before his path, became an easy prey; and, without any opposition being offered to his advance, he ere long made his appearance in front of the walls of Jerusalem. A resistance of fourteen days, prolonged for that length of time purely by the desperation of the defenders, who chose rather to fall beneath the sword of the Infidel than tamely to yield that sacred city gained by the cost of so much blood, ended in the capitulation of the place in October, 1187. In this hour of his triumph, Saladin behaved with a generosity hardly to have been expected from a Saracen chief. Instead of repeating the scenes of carnage which had disgraced the entry of the Christians on that selfsame spot, Saladin consented that the military and nobles should be permitted to proceed to Tyre, and he fixed a ransom for the population of the town at the rate of ten crowns per man, failing the payment of which they were to become slaves. In many instances, at the supplication of the queen and her retinue, he was induced to forego the payment of this ransom, and the Hospitallers freely lavished their remaining treasure in purchasing the liberty of many others, so that the number of those who were eventually doomed to slavery was comparatively small. He also, in consideration of the charitable offices in which they were employed, permitted ten of the fraternity of the Hospital to remain

for a limited period within the city, to complete the cure of those sick who were under their charge.\* Thus,

\* Vide Appendix, No. 9. Saladin appears to have held the Order in the highest possible esteem, and an anecdote is recorded of him, which, though not bearing with it the impress of probability, marks the feeling with which he is considered to have regarded his relentless foes of the Hospital. Having heard of the boundless liberality and anxious care lavished by the brethren upon all who sought the shelter of their institution, whether Christian or Infidel, Saladin determined to test the truth of this report. He therefore disguised himself in the garb of a Syrian peasant, and in that guise entered Jerusalem, and presented himself at the doors of the Hospital, as a suppliant for their bounty. He was received at once, and his apparent wants carefully attended to. In pursuit of his design, he lay still the whole day, and rejected all offers of food, alleging that he was unable to partake of any nourishment. The following day he continued the same line of conduct, so that the charitable brothers began to fear lest he would starve to death. On the third morning, being again warmly pressed to partake of some food, and being requested to name anything which could provoke his appetite, he, after much apparent hesitation, at length suggested that the only food for which he had any fancy would be a piece of the leg of the Master's favourite horse, cut off in his presence. The brothers were at first struck with consternation at such an extraordinary request, but the rules of their Hospital were most rigid upon the point of yielding, to the utmost possible extent, to the fancies of their patients. They therefore at once communicated the wish to the Master, who, loth as he was to lose his favourite charger, hesitated not a moment in ordering him to be taken to the Hospital, there to undergo, in the presence of the unfortunate patient, the amputation necessary to gratify his inconvenient desires. All was now ready; the butcher stood prepared to strike the limb from the unfortunate animal, and Saladin became convinced that the fraternity suffered nothing to interfere with what they considered the sacred duties of hospitality, no, not even the favourite charger of their chief, when asked for by the meanest Syrian peasant. He declared that the desire to gratify his craving had proved amply sufficient for his want, and begged them to return the noble beast to his stable, as he now felt equal to partake of ordinary food. He left the Hospital disguised as he had been on his entrance, and, having rejoined his army, con-

after a tenure of 88 years, the Christians were forced to turn their backs on the scene of so many struggles, hopes, and triumphs; the crescent was once again waving over those ramparts where the white cross of the Hospital had for so many years fanned the breeze, and the church dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord was once again converted into a Mahometan mosque. Was it for this that Peter had, in the preceding century, thundered forth his denunciations against the Infidel, and aroused to a pitch of madness the enthusiasm of millions? Was it for this that Europe had poured forth her votaries, in countless hosts, to whiten the shores of Palestine with their bones? Was it for this that generations of zealous devotees had consecrated their swords and their lives to the preservation of that precious conquest, wrung at such fearful cost from the grasp of the Infidels? It was, alas, too true! Europe had stood supinely looking on, whilst the Moslem was slowly but surely weaving the web of destruction round the sacred province; and now when it was too late, when all was lost, and that hallowed soil was once more desecrated by the worship of the Arabian impostor, a cry of indignation and vengeance arose on every side.

It might be well, ere passing from this scene of disaster to the Christian arms, a tale of shame and disgrace painful to record, to pause for awhile and analyse the causes which led to so speedy a decline and fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. It may be attributed to two

tinued his warfare against the Christians; retaining, however, the warmest regard for those noble-minded Nazarenes who were thus prepared to sacrifice everything at the shrine of duty. Some writers go so far as to assert that he made several liberal donations to the institution, but there is no record existing of any such fact.

circumstances, one the increase and concentration of the power of the Moslem, and the other the decadence and disunion of that of the Latins. When the first Crusaders established themselves on the shores of Palestine, they found the Infidels divided into factions, and combating with a rancour and animosity, on certain disputed tenets of their faith, such as only a religious warfare could excite. Either party was ready to coalesce with the new comers for the overthrow of their rivals ; and the Christians thus, in most of their earlier campaigns, were sure of being able to count on the aid of one or other of the rival factions. As, however, the power of the Turkomans became more and more consolidated, and opposing pretensions were concentrated in the person of a single leader, the position of the Latins became annually more and more precarious. The troops also which the Saracens brought into the field had improved greatly in their discipline during this period, the lessons taught them by their European opponents were not thrown away, and they eventually nearly, if not quite, equalled those armies in their prowess and skill, which they always vastly exceeded in numbers.

On the side of the Christians, the cause may be found in the disunion existing between themselves. Instead of a firm and steadfast alliance between their chiefs, which constituted their only chance of retaining ultimate safety ; they were prepared, at every trivial quarrel, and for each petty jealousy, to jeopardise the existence of the kingdom. The disputes between the ecclesiastics and the military Orders already alluded to, disputes originating chiefly in the greed of the clergy, who were loth to see so wealthy a community as that of St. John exempted from the payment of tithes ; and the jealousies latterly spring-

ing up between that Order and the Templars\*, for instead of confining their rivalry to a friendly emulation whilst combating against their common foe, they appeared more intent upon thwarting and frustrating each other, than in opposing the Saracen; were all so many contributing causes to the final catastrophe.

That, in these quarrels and jealousies, the Order of St. John was always in the right, it would be going too far to assert; still the history of the times clearly shows that in their disputes with the clergy they were most unjustly attacked, and merely defended a privilege granted them from the See of Rome, the common superior both of themselves and the rival ecclesiastics; and as regards their dissensions with the Templars, the conduct of that Order during the latter part of this eventful period renders it very difficult to decide the dispute in their favour, against the pretensions of the Hospitallers, upon whose fair fame no blot had as yet fallen, such as those which had so deeply tarnished the escutcheon of their rivals. The weight of contemporary evidence certainly leans very decidedly in their favour.†

In a letter which the young and gallant Conrad of Montferrat addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, whilst engaged in defending the city of Tyre from the attack of the victorious Saladin, he says: "All succour is denied to me, and what is still worse, the Grand-Master of the Templars has carried off the money, which the king of England had sent for me. As to the Hospitallers,

\* Vide Appendix, No. 10.

† In a letter written by the Grand-Preceptor of the Temple to Henry II. of England at this time, he bears testimony to the admirable conduct of the Order of the Hospital at this crisis, and the exception made in their favour by Saladin. Vide Appendix, No. 9.

I have nothing but praise to record of them, and I call God and yourself to witness my gratitude towards them ; for from the moment when they first took up arms in the defence of this place, they have never ceased to render the greatest possible service ; and so far from imitating the Templars, by retaining that portion of the subsidy from the king of England which they were bound to furnish, they have, in addition, positively spent upwards of eight thousand crowns of their own money in the defence of Tyre." Another anecdote of the period will also serve to show the general estimation in which the Order of the Templars was held. Whilst Richard, king of England, was in Normandy, on his road to the East, a priest named Fulke, vicar of Neuilly, who was addressing an exhortation to him, concluded his harangue with the impertinent peroration, that, in order to succeed in his emprise, he should lay aside those besetting sins, which he designated his three daughters, namely, pride, avarice, and luxury. The king at once retorted the accusation by replying: "If I am compelled to part with these three daughters of mine, I do not think I can provide for them in a more suitable manner, than by bestowing the first of them on the Templars, the second on the monastic orders, and the third on the bishops of my realm." It is impossible to see so much concurrent testimony, from so many different impartial witnesses, without feeling that the two Orders had achieved a very different reputation, and were regarded with very different feelings by the powers of Christendom ; feelings which were not long in finding a vent, and which fully accounted for the difference of the fate which in after years befel them.



## CHAP. V.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HOSPITAL AT MARGAT.—RETIREMENT OF THE LADIES OF THE ORDER TO EUROPE.—THE THIRD CRUSADE.—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ACRE.—GUY DE LUSIGNAN MADE KING OF CYPRUS.—REFORMS OF ALPHONSO OF PORTUGAL.—HIS RESIGNATION AND DEATH.—FOURTH CRUSADE.—CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE LATINS.—DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALLERS.—ANDREW, KING OF HUNGARY, ADMITTED A KNIGHT OF THE ORDER.—FIFTH CRUSADE.—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF DAMIETTA.—ADVANCE INTO EGYPT.—FATAL RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION.—MARRIAGE OF THE EMPEROR FREDERIC WITH VIOLANTE.—TREATY WITH THE SARACENS.—CORONATION OF FREDERIC AT JERUSALEM.—HIS RETURN TO EUROPE, AND PERSECUTION OF THE MILITARY ORDERS.—ACCUSATIONS BROUGHT AGAINST THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.

THE capture of Jerusalem, detailed at the close of the last chapter, deprived the Order of St. John of that home which for upwards of a century had constituted a shelter, not only for themselves, but also for those among their co-religionists whose misfortunes had caused them to seek the aid of their charitable ministrations. The building which, with such pious zeal and forethought, had been originally appropriated to these kindly functions through the liberality of the Amalfi merchants, once more reverted to the possession of the Infidel, whence no succeeding effort was able to wrest it. It is worthy of note, that, after having remained thus estranged from its original purposes during a period of upwards of 650 years, the site of this Hospital has once more become a Christian

possession, the present sultan of Turkey having made it over to the French, as a mark of gratitude for the services rendered by that nation in the memorable Crimean struggle of 1854 — 1855.

Thus rudely expelled from their home, the fraternity betook themselves, diminished in number and with an exhausted treasury, to Margat, a town which still acknowledged the sway of the Christians. Within the sheltering bulwarks of this fortress they established their convent and hospital, and, as far as their reduced finances permitted, continued to carry on those charitable duties which, during the most stirring times of warfare, had never been permitted to suffer neglect.

The Order may be considered at this period to have reached a very low ebb; and to have approached so nearly to extinction, from the numerous adverse circumstances with which it had been driven to contend, that it appears somewhat marvellous it should have been possessed of sufficient vitality to survive the blow. Whilst tracing the course of its history through the four succeeding centuries, we shall find it frequently overborne by the weight of accumulated calamities, and apparently on the very verge of destruction: but we shall as often find it rising again, like the phoenix from its ashes; and as the giant who, when wrestling with Hercules, received an accession of strength from his mother earth after every fall, so shall we find this illustrious Order, as soon as the dark clouds which overhung its fortunes were dispersed, springing up anew with increased vitality and redoubled renown.

The ladies of the Order, rudely torn from their homes, and unequal to cope with the hardships that must necessarily have beset a further residence in Palestine, aban-

doned the Holy Land for ever, and divided themselves amongst their various branch establishments in Europe. It has already been mentioned that they were possessed of a very extensive settlement at Bucklands, in Somersetshire, the gift of Henry II. to the Hospital; and hither came a great number of the wandering sisterhood. The queen of Aragon had also shortly before, with regal munificence, established an extensive nunnery at the village of Sixenne, near Saragossa, for the accommodation of the ladies of St. John. This also threw open its hospitable doors for the reception of all those who sought its shelter; and here these pious devotees passed the remainder of their lives in the strictest seclusion, mourning the loss of their sacred and long-cherished homes, and bewailing the untimely fate of those heroes of the Hospital who now lay cold and lifeless beneath the gory soil of Palestine.

The history of the Order, throughout its residence in the East, was so closely connected with that of the kingdom of Jerusalem, that it would have been difficult to trace the progress of the one without entering into some detail with regard to the other. Now, however, that the fortunes of that kingdom have been followed, from its first origin, through the various vicissitudes which led to the loss of its capital city, the remainder of its melancholy history may be glanced at more briefly, bearing in mind that, in all the wars and struggles with which the period was rife, the Hospitallers bore a noble part, contending with unflagging zeal against ever-increasing obstacles.

The incidents which marked the third Crusade have been so frequently recorded, and are so well known to all readers, that they call but for a passing remark in

these pages. Boasting among its leaders no less than four crowned heads, the emperor of Germany, Richard of England, Philip Augustus of France, and Leopold of Austria, this expedition found Guy de Lusignan roused from the torpor into which he had been plunged by the destruction of his kingdom, and engaged in the siege of Acre, aided by the military Orders. This city, the Ptolemais of the Romans, was the most important maritime post on the shores of Syria, and had opened its gates to the Saracen army without resistance after the disastrous conflict of Tiberias. For three years, from the date of its first investment, was its defence maintained, despite all the gallantry of the besiegers, led on as they were during the latter portion of the time by the lion-hearted Richard himself. At the expiration, however, of that period, the efforts of the Christian army were crowned with success, and the town was driven to surrender.

Hither, as soon as order was in some degree restored, the Hospitallers removed their convent from Margat; and it was in this new establishment that Ermengard Daps peacefully breathed his last, in the year 1192. The siege of Acre may be noted for the formation of a fourth military Order, which during its progress was called into existence. This fraternity, which received the name of the Teutonic Order, was composed exclusively of Germans. Their dress consisted of a white mantle with a black cross embroidered in gold; and the rules of their governance were in close approximation to those of the Hospitallers and Templars.

The capture of Acre led to no further successes on the part of the Christian army; dissensions, such as must ever be ready to spring up in a force composed of

so many anomalous and heterogeneous materials, soon arose, and the length of time during which the siege was protracted exhausted the enthusiasm of the army. Most of its leaders had already, on various pretences, returned to Europe, and the city had no sooner fallen into their hands, than a vast proportion of the remainder followed their contagious example. In vain Richard of England strove to keep together the few remaining fragments of the expedition; not even his fiery energy and dauntless perseverance could overcome the reluctance with which any further advance into the country was undertaken; so that he was at length, much against his own desire, driven to conclude a truce with Saladin, and to abandon the cause which he had so much at heart, and in which he personally had reaped such an ample meed of glory.

On the demise of Ermengard Daps at Acre, a knight named Godfrey of Duisson was elected in his place, whose lineage and nation appear to be very uncertain, though some writers affirm that he originally came from Picardy. Shortly after his accession an event occurred which, for a few short years, gave a little breathing time to the shattered fragments of the Latin kingdom. The renowned Saladin, that terror of the Christians whose ruthless scimitar had drunk the life's blood of so many of their number, and had torn the sacred city from their enfeebled grasp, died in 1193, leaving his empire to be divided amongst his eleven sons. As may readily be imagined, such a legacy, like the famed apple of the Goddess of Discord, kindled flames of civil commotion from end to end of the newly consolidated Saracen empire. Had this internecine warfare been permitted

to continue for any length of time, it is very probable that the Latins might have been enabled to re-establish themselves with greater durability, and more extended empire than before; but, unfortunately for the prospects of the Christian cause, Saffradin, brother of the deceased chieftain, taking advantage of his nephews' struggles against each other, overpowered them in detail, and reorganised the empire on a basis nearly as extensive as it had been during the reign of his brother.

While these events, however, were occurring, the Latins found time to make such preparations as were in their power, to secure their few remaining possessions from the attacks of the Infidel. Richard of England having, on his road to the Holy Land, touched at Cyprus, had been by its monarch refused permission to enter the harbour, or to refit at the island. Irate with this uncalled for want of hospitality, Richard, who was not a monarch to submit tamely to insult under any circumstances, and who was at this moment supported by a large force, immediately seized the island by storm, bringing away the king and his daughter prisoners in his train to Acre. Whilst, however, he was loading the father with chains of silver\*, he was, if ancient scandal may be credited, himself becoming entangled in the rosy bonds of love by the daughter. Be this as it may, he eventually bestowed her hand, and with it the kingdom of Cyprus, on Guy de Lusignan, whose position had become of that dubious nature, that he was not above wedding with the cast off mistress of the king when

\* The king of Cyprus murmured bitterly at being secured, like a common prisoner, with iron fetters. Richard, with sarcastic irony, directed chains of silver to be substituted; and, strange to say, the vain and weak-minded prince appeared much gratified at the change.

coupled with a throne, though only of such limited extent as that of Cyprus.

At Guy's death, his brother Almeric succeeded to that crown, and was shortly afterwards, through the good offices of the Hospitaller Godfrey, united to Isabella, the widow, successively, of Conrad and of the Count of Champagne, and at the same time the divorced wife of Humphrey of Thoron. As at Guy's death this princess became his undoubted successor to the crown of Jerusalem, Almeric, by his marriage, succeeded in establishing his claim to the dignity, destitute though it was of all the attributes of a kingdom. In order to enable him to reside constantly in Palestine, where his presence was most imperatively called for, to hold together the few remaining possessions which still acknowledged his sway, the two military Orders undertook to protect the island of Cyprus on his behalf, and to guarantee its retention under his government. This island, from its position, formed a most advantageous base of operations, from whence to support the isolated posts still held by the Christians in Palestine, and strong detachments from both Orders were sent there to insure its safety from aggression.

The chronology of these times is so very obscure, that it is an absolute impossibility to trace, with exactitude, the dates at which each change in the government of the Hospital took place. None of the fraternity, at this early period, seem ever to have undertaken the task of chronicling the achievements of themselves and of their companions in arms: we are, therefore, totally dependent on such writers as have treated generally of the fortunes of the kingdom of Palestine, and of the numerous Crusades by which it was from

time to time supported. The military Orders are only very cursorily mentioned, and the most confusing contradictions in names and dates constantly occur, rendering it very difficult to determine which are most probable to be correct. Godfrey appears to have died in 1194, and to have been succeeded by Alphonso of Portugal. This Knight laid claim to belong to the royal family of Portugal, since the inscription on his tomb, which was erected by himself during his lifetime, ran thus: "Alphonso, master of the holy Hospital of Jerusalem, son of the king of Portugal," &c. &c. As, however, the history of Portugal makes no mention of such a scion of the royal family, it is probable that, even could he boast of royal blood in his veins, it was sullied by the bar sinister.

The advent of Alphonso was the signal for the most rigid reform in the constitution of the Order. The century which had elapsed since their first establishment had brought many changes in the habits and mode of life of the period, by the introduction of luxuries which, during its earlier times, had been unknown. The Hospitallers had followed in the tide of progress; and advancing civilisation, with its softening influences, had produced many innovations by no means in accordance with the rigid code of regulations framed by the austere Raymond du Puy. Alphonso was one of those men so common in every station, and in all ages, who, without discernment sufficient to mark the signs of the times, are determined to abide rigidly by the rules of their forefathers. Need we look far to see many a parallel to this blindness and obstinacy, even in our own times? It is, however, utterly vain for any one man to attempt opposing himself to the stream of pro-



gress ever rolling onwards; and nothing short of complete isolation from all communication with the surrounding world, would have enabled the Hospitallers to conform to the antiquated views of their bigoted chief. Rules, which in the days of Raymond merely engendered simplicity of life and the absence of vain and ostentatious pomp, would, if enforced a century later, have involved a degree of austerity never contemplated by him. Impressed, however, with the necessity of a rigid observance of the oaths taken on his accession to office, Alphonso at once commenced to enforce the discipline originally ordained by Raymond.

In this endeavour he met with the most vehement opposition from the council where his intentions were promulgated, and so strenuously and pertinaciously were the objections of the fraternity urged, that he completely lost all control over his temper; and thundering forth from the presidential chair the imperious mandate, "I will be obeyed, and that without reply," he attempted to silence remonstrance by an appeal to his authority. Language such as this had not of late years been heard at the council board, and an immediate outcry proclaimed the resentment of the members. Open rebellion promptly succeeded to remonstrance, and Alphonso was, ere long, taught that the estimate he had formed of his magisterial power was greatly exaggerated. Disgusted at the failure of his attempt, and cowed by the storm of opposition which he had raised, he resigned his post, abandoned the Holy Land, and retired to Portugal; where he shortly afterwards fell in an engagement, during one of the civil wars of that nation.

The attempts made by the powers of Western Europe to restore the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem to somewhat of its pristine vigour were, during the first half of the thirteenth century, extremely numerous; and had they been properly directed, and never diverted to any other object than that for which they were organised, they must have succeeded in the perfect re-establishment of that kingdom. The history of the times, however, is filled with the petty jealousies and the rancorous hatreds which were perpetually arising to thwart any vigorous or concerted movement; and wave after wave surged upon the shores of Palestine, to be driven back, more through their own impatience, than the power of the Infidel. One of these expeditions, diverted from its original purpose, turned its arms against the city of Constantinople; and, wresting it from the enfeebled grasp of the Byzantine dynasty, converted it for a brief space into a Latin kingdom, the crown of which was given to Baldwin, Count of Flanders.

Meanwhile Almeric had died, leaving vacant the two thrones of Jerusalem and Cyprus; the former of which was inherited by Mary, daughter of Isabella by her first spouse. It was the unhappy lot of Palestine, at a time when she most had need of a clear head and a firm hand to guide her councils and rule her armies, that her crown should be worn either by women or by children. To obviate the evils likely to result from female sway at so critical a moment, a deputation was sent to Philip Augustus of France, requesting him to nominate a prince who should receive the hand of the new queen, and with it the crown of Jerusalem. John of Brienne, Count of Vienna, was by Philip selected as a prince worthy of this heritage of danger and glory; and immediately upon his arrival in the Holy Land

he was united to Mary, and assumed the sway of his attenuated realm.

While these changes were variously affecting Palestine, the dissensions between the two Orders of the Hospital and Temple, which had long been smouldering with ill-disguised virulence, burst forth into open hostility. There had during many years existed a deep-seated feeling of jealousy between the rival fraternities, a jealousy rendered the more rancorous on the part of the Templars from a feeling of inferiority on the score of wealth and worldly aggrandisement. Matthew Paris, who, as a contemporary historian, is worthy of credit in the matter, estimates the property of the Hospital in the various states of Europe, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, to have reached 19,000 manors, whilst that of the Temple only amounted to 9000. The term manor in those days was used to signify that portion of land which could be tilled by one yoke of oxen. This great difference in point of wealth, marking as it did the superior estimation in which the first-named Order was held throughout Christendom, naturally excited the most hostile feelings amongst their rivals, and this at last found a vent in open warfare.

In close proximity to the town of Margat, where, as has already been related, the Hospitallers established their convent after their expulsion from Jerusalem by Saladin, stood a castle possessed by a Knight named Robert de Margat, who held the property as a vassal to the Hospitallers, and acknowledged them to be his feudal lords. To this castle the Templars laid claim, and, supporting their pretensions by force, seized upon the disputed property. Robert de Margat immediately claimed the protection of the Hospitallers, whose vassal

he considered himself to be ; and these latter, incensed at the unprovoked outrage committed by their rivals, mustered their forces, sallied forth from their neighbouring establishment at Margat, and retook the post by storm. From this moment a systematic warfare sprang up between the Orders, and the most sanguinary combats ensued. Utterly oblivious of the vows they had taken at their profession, and of the obligations then imposed upon them, they turned those swords which had been consecrated to the sacred cause of religion, with fratricidal rage, against each other ; and, throughout the length and breadth of the land, men's hearts were filled with dismay at the lamentable spectacle thus afforded.

Alarmed at the imminent danger likely to accrue from this ill-timed antagonism on the part of those who had hitherto been the most energetic, and oftentimes the only defenders of the kingdom, the patriarch and the other ecclesiastics appealed to the Pope for his interference in the matter. That prelate, after having heard the opposing claims of the deputies which both Orders had despatched to Rome in their defence, decided that neither party was free from blame. The Hospitallers had acted unjustifiably and in opposition to the rules of their Order, in endeavouring to redress by force of arms the wrong which they considered had been done them ; and, on the other hand, the claims of the Templars over the castle in question were unfounded. Under these circumstances, he directed that, in the first place, the Hospitallers should retire from the disputed property, leaving it in the possession of the Templars, who, in their turn, should restore it to Robert de Margat at the expiration of one month. Matters were thus at length amicably settled, and a temporary truce, since peace it

could scarcely be called, was established between the rival factions.

John of Brienne, having failed in his efforts to carry with him to the East an army sufficiently powerful to establish the rights to which he had become entitled by his marriage with the young queen of Jerusalem, implored the Pope to aid him in this critical juncture. Innocent III., who at this time ruled the See of Rome, entered warmly into his wishes, and supported by Robert de Courçon, an English ecclesiastic who partook largely of the enthusiastic zeal of St. Bernard and Peter the Hermit, he caused a Crusade to be preached in every cathedral and church throughout Western Christendom.

The first results of these efforts showed themselves in the force which in the year 1216, with Andrew, king of Hungary, at its head, made its way to the East. At Cyprus Andrew met the Master of the Hospitallers, with whom he had appointed a rendezvous in that island; and, escorted by his fleet of galleys, they proceeded in company to Acre. Here he refused the palace which the king of Jerusalem had prepared for his reception, preferring to take up his abode in the convent of St. John. He was indeed so impressed with the admirable manner in which the duties of the Hospital were conducted in that city, as well as at Margat, which he likewise visited, that he announced his desire of becoming enrolled as one of its members. Anomalous as it may appear, for a monarch, whilst swaying the destinies of an empire, to take upon himself the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, his desire was complied with, and the ceremony of investiture completed. Thus the king of Hungary became the first crowned head who had been received as a Knight-Hospitaller of Jerusalem;

and he celebrated the event by a becoming act of dotation, settling upon the Order an annuity of seven hundred silver marks, secured upon the salt mines of his kingdom.

His brief sojourn in Palestine was, however, productive of little or no good to the kingdom : his was a mind far too unstable for any grand enterprise, and, ere he had been three months at the head of his forces, the mere impulse of restlessness, aided, as some writers assert, by grief at the assassination of his queen, the news of which had reached him during his stay at Cyprus, caused him to abandon the war, and, despite all the threats of excommunication fulminated against him by the patriarch, he returned to Europe.

John of Brienne was not deterred by this defection from carrying on his struggle for empire. Fresh bodies of Crusaders having made their appearance from Europe, it was decided that siege should be laid to Damietta, then considered the key to Egypt, and this was accordingly commenced in the month of May, A.D. 1218, the military Orders as usual occupying a conspicuous position in the van of the army. During its continuance, the sultan of Egypt, doubtful of the powers of resistance which the place afforded, and dreading lest its fall should occasion the loss of his entire kingdom, proposed a treaty to the Christian powers, in virtue of which, Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine, with two exceptions, were to revert to Latin dominion, and all prisoners in the hands of the sultan were to be released, provided the siege of Damietta was raised, and the invasion of Egypt abandoned. John of Brienne and most of his nobility, including the Master of the Hospitallers, were urgent in their desire that this most advantageous treaty should be accepted ;

but the Papal legate, Pelagius, who had usurped the most unlimited authority in the allied camp, was of a different opinion, and in this he was joined by the Templars, whose animosity to their rivals of the Hospital was such, that the mere fact of the latter having expressed themselves in favour of the acceptance of the treaty proposed by the sultan was in itself sufficient to cause them to urge its rejection. The opinion of Pelagius, backed as it was by the Templars, gained the day; the offers of the sultan were disdainfully rejected, and the siege was pushed on with redoubled vigour; without, however, the further assistance of John of Brienne, who for a time absented himself in dudgeon from an army of which he was indeed the nominal head, but where, in point of fact, the imperious legate ruled with absolute power.

After a defence protracted through upwards of a year, Damietta fell into the hands of the Christians, more on account of the complete exhaustion of its defenders, than from the efforts of its assailants. Its population, which at the commencement of the siege numbered upwards of seventy thousand inhabitants, could at its close barely muster three thousand; and the Christians, as they entered the place, found it nothing but one vast grave.

Fresh divisions arose in the councils of the army on the capture of Damietta. The king, who had by this time returned to his post, the Hospitallers, and those who had all along supported his views, contended strongly in favour of an advance on Jerusalem; whilst the legate, the Templars, and their party, were equally urgent in advising a penetration into the heart of Egypt, and the complete overthrow of that monarchy, as being

the most certain method of permanently securing the safety of the Latin kingdom. The latter gained the day; and the army, turning its back upon the sacred city, advanced into Egypt, accompanied by the king, who, though feeling most bitterly the secondary position in which he found himself placed, could not bring himself to abandon a cause in which he had so much at stake.

The Christians boldly pushed their way into the midst of the small islands comprising the delta of the Nile, the Egyptian forces retreating before them; but here they found a new and invincible enemy prepared to combat against them. The sultan, having caused the banks of the river to be broken down, flooded the whole country, and completely surrounded the Latin forces with an impassable lake. Advance or retreat were equally impracticable, whilst to remain where they were entailed certain and immediate starvation. In this unfortunate dilemma, brought on completely by the ignorance and presumption of Pelagius, the Christians had no resource but to enter into a composition with the enemy; and they were at length driven to purchase their liberty by the surrender of all their recent acquisitions. Damietta was restored to the Egyptians; the army returned to Acre; and thus fruitlessly ended a campaign which at one time bade fair to lead to the complete restoration of the kingdom of Palestine.

The unfortunate result of this expedition, however, could not dismay the high spirit of the people of Western Europe; and they at once prepared for further and still more energetic efforts for the recovery of Jerusalem. Herman de Saltza, the head of the Teutonic Order, returned to Europe to solicit aid from the



German emperor Frederic. He proposed to that potentate that he should marry Violante, the daughter and heiress of John of Brienne, at this time twelve years of age; and it was conceived that her father could be readily induced to resign his crown in favour of his new son-in-law. Flattered with this prospect, and tempted by the kingdom thus tendered for his acceptance, Frederic, with the sanction of the Pope, espoused Violante; and John of Brienne, weary of a throne which existed but in name, resigned all his pretensions in his favour.

Delays of various natures caused a period of five years to elapse before Frederic found himself on the shores of Syria; and, during this time, the ill feeling which had been gradually growing up between himself and the Pope broke into open hostilities. A sentence of excommunication was fulminated against the emperor, ostensibly on account of the delays which had interfered with his Crusade; and he, in his turn, invaded and ravaged the Papal dominions. Undeterred, however, by these ecclesiastical thunders, and whilst still lying under the anathema of his Holiness, Frederic proceeded to Palestine, accompanied by a considerable force in 1228; and prepared at once to march into the interior of the country.

A difficulty at first arose with the military Orders, who were unwilling to render any aid to a prince who had been placed beyond the pale of the Church, and to whom the Pope had forbidden them to render any assistance whatever. Eventually, however, matters were amicably arranged between them; and the army proceeded on its march to Jerusalem, meeting with no opposition on the part of the Saracens. Camel, the

sultan of Egypt, dreading the ambition of his brother Coradinus, and anxious consequently to ingratiate himself with the new comers, made overtures of peace to the emperor; and thus, without striking a blow, Frederic was enabled to conclude a treaty on behalf of the Christians, far more advantageous than any which his predecessors had extorted from the hand of the Infidel. Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Nazareth were restored to the Latins; and the Holy Sepulchre was to be once more free to their pilgrims, with the sole proviso that the followers of Mahomet were likewise to have uninterrupted access to the sacred spot, which they had named the Mosque of Omar. Whilst at Jerusalem, Frederic caused himself to be crowned in this church; but, owing to the ecclesiastical ban under which he lay, none of the clerical dignitaries of the kingdom, or of the Orders of the Hospital and Temple, assisted at the ceremony. The Teutonic Knights, however, preferring their temporal to their ecclesiastical allegiance, supported the emperor throughout, and their Grand-Master pronounced a laudatory oration at the close of the coronation ceremony.

This latter Order had, ever since its formation during the siege of Acre, rendered the most vital assistance to the feeble state; and acting, as it invariably did, in conjunction with the two others, it most justly shared with them the glory which the protracted defence of the relics of that kingdom had earned. From the date, however, of Frederic's return to Europe, the assistance rendered by the Teutonic Knights was lost to Palestine. Following in the train of their emperor, they returned to Germany, where their achievements, though frequently glorious and worthy of record, have no

further place in these pages.\* It is asserted by the imperial writers that, during Frederic's stay in Jerusalem, a most foul and treasonous conspiracy was entered into between the Hospitallers and Templars to betray him into the hands of the Saracens, to which disgraceful act they were instigated by his bitter enemy the Pope. This treachery was discovered through the magnanimity of the sultan of Egypt, who, with a righteous indignation at the authors of so disgraceful a plot, lost no time in making the emperor acquainted with the entire project. That there was some truth in the allegation appears, from collateral evidence, to be too true; although many of the Papal writers have not hesitated to assert that the story had its origin in the fertile brain of Frederic himself, who was anxious to frame some plausible pretext for abandoning an enterprise into which he had been forced by the remonstrances of the Pope, sorely against his own inclination. The discovery of this disgraceful conspiracy in a great measure accounts for, nay even to some extent excuses, the animosity with which Frederic ever after regarded those Orders, and the persecutions and extortions to which he subjected them. Matthew Paris, however, whilst recording the fact, expressly mentions that the infamy of the action lay in a less degree with the Hospitallers than the Templars; though he is silent as to the facts upon which he founds the distinction thus made between them. The historians of those ages were not exempt from the faults of later writers, in distorting facts in order to make them accord

\* A few members of the Order remained in Palestine until the final expulsion of the Latins from its shores; and they are mentioned as sharing in the defence of Acre, but the main body retired with Frederic.

with their prejudices ; and events were then, as now, depicted very differently when regarded through opposing mediums. Thus we find those who wrote in the imperial interest averring that, by the treaty entered into with the Saracens by Frederic, the Christians were once more placed on as advantageous a footing as that which they held before the ill-fated battle of Tiberias ; whilst the Papal writers assert that it formed an express stipulation in the treaty that the fortifications of Jerusalem, which had been razed by the Saracens during the siege of Damietta, should not be restored ; thus rendering the possession of the city by the Christians an absolute nullity. This stipulation is also distinctly alluded to by Abulfeda, and the fact that no attempts were made to restore the walls of the place during its brief reoccupation by the Latins appears to corroborate the statement.

As soon as Frederic had thus formally established his claim to the throne by the act of coronation performed in Jerusalem, he returned to Europe where his presence was urgently required, pledging himself, however, to maintain a considerable force for the protection of Palestine. Whilst these events were occurring, several changes had taken place in the governance of the Order of St. John. At the resignation of Alphonso of Portugal in 1195, Jeffrey Le Rat, a knight of the French language, was elected in his place, who, by the mildness of his government and the urbanity of his conduct, was not long in restoring that peace and unanimity in their councils so rudely disturbed by the violent reforms of Alphonso. Jeffrey died in 1207, and was in his turn succeeded by Guérin de Montagu, of the language of Auvergne. It was during his Mastership that both

the Crusades lately recorded took place, and he bore a prominent and glorious part throughout them. He lived until the year 1230, thus enjoying his dignities for a period of twenty-three years, a longer rule than that of any Knight who had been elected since the death of the venerable Raymond du Puy.

Bertrand de Taxis succeeded Guerin at a time when the affairs of the unfortunate kingdom were in a state of confusion even still more lamentable than that which was the usual lot of this precarious monarchy. The Emperor Frederic had found, upon his return to Europe, that the constant warfare in which he was engaged against the Pope, prevented him from sending those succours which on leaving Palestine he had faithfully promised to the council of the realm. His wife Violante had lately died in giving birth to a son, named Conrad, who was through her heir to the crown of Jerusalem. In the absence of the infant prince and his father, rival claimants appeared to dispute his title; and the scandalous injustice with which the emperor was at this time treating the military Orders, whose European property he was seizing, pillaging, and confiscating, wherever it was exposed to the violence of his power, rendered it but natural that they should avail themselves of this opportunity for revenge. To their credit, however, it is recorded, that in spite of the ill usage which they had been receiving at his hands, they nevertheless remained true to their allegiance to him as their legitimate sovereign, under all provocations, and in the teeth of the seductive temptations held out to them by his rivals. The Pope felt so deeply on the subject of these wanton aggressions on the part of the emperor, that he addressed a special letter to him on the subject, exhort-

ing him to make to both Orders immediate restitution, upon the plea of the good service which they were daily rendering in the protection of the tottering kingdom of Palestine.\*

This letter is the more important in an historical point of view, because in it the Pope warmly extols the military Orders, and appears to consider their conduct worthy of the highest approbation and sympathy; whereas we find him only eight years later writing in the most vehement strain to the Master Bertrand de Comps, and making the gravest possible charges against the discipline of the fraternity. In this document he accuses them, on the faith as he asserts of undeniable authority, of harbouring within their convents women of loose character, of possessing individually private property in opposition to their vow of poverty, and of assisting the enemies of the Church with horses and arms, together with a long catalogue of other crimes, evidently collected together by their inveterate and implacable enemies the ecclesiastics of Palestine.†

It is more than probable that some portion of these accusations may have been founded in truth. We have already seen Alphonso of Portugal endeavouring to introduce reforms into his convent, and losing his magisterial dignity in consequence; we may also safely conclude that the haughty spirits which so vehemently resisted his energetic measures had not become curbed during the milder rule of his successors. Yet it seems impossible to review all the concurrent testimony which bears upon the question, without feeling that the gravity

\* Vide Appendix, No. 11.

† Vide Appendix, No. 12.

of these charges is in no way borne out by the facts. Twenty years had barely elapsed since the king of Hungary, who, whilst residing at the convent, had had every opportunity of judging as to the regularity and decorum of their conduct, expressed himself so highly edified by what he there witnessed that he caused himself to be enrolled as a member of the fraternity. Twelve years later again we find, as above stated, the Pope himself once more reiterating his approbation of their conduct, thus ratifying the oft-expressed sanction of his predecessors; an approbation which could hardly have been extorted had such crying irregularities as those denoted in his second letter at that time existed; nor is it probable that these vices, so scandalous in their nature, and bearing such barefaced effrontery in their practice, could have gained a footing in the short space of eight years; it may therefore safely be concluded that, whilst in all probability such irregularities may have crept into the convent as would render a reform highly advisable, still that the crimes detailed with such malevolent emphasis in the Pope's letter to Bertrand, were for the most part the offspring of calumny.

It may not be amiss, while on this topic, to draw attention to the numerous members of the Order who, at this identical time, were earning for themselves, through the extreme sanctity of their lives, and the rigid austerity which they practised, the high honour of canonisation; an honour which, in those days, marked a life distinguished by a steady and resolute withdrawal from the lax morality of the age. Amongst these beatified personages may be noted Ubaldesca, a sister of the Order who passed her life in the convent of Carraja. Her sanctity was such that miracles had

been frequently attributed to her during her life ; and she was especially reputed to have, on one occasion, rivalled that performed by our Lord at the marriage feast at Cana. After her decease, which occurred in 1206, her body performed divers pilgrimages: a common fate for saints, to whose mortal remains the piety of succeeding generations very frequently denies that rest, the acknowledged privilege of the tomb, which is enjoyed without disturbance by the more humble and sinful section of humanity. During the grandmastership of Verdala, the sacred relics of this pious lady were transported to Malta, where they were deposited in the conventual church of St. John, and became an especial object of devotion among the faithful, certain indulgences having been, at Verdala's request, granted by the Pope to all worshippers at her shrine. Here she still remains, and it is to be hoped will be permitted to rest in peace, until the last trump shall once more summon her from her narrow bed.

About the same time, another sister of the Order, named Veronese, started into celebrity from her extraordinary devotion to the services of the Hospital. This lady's beauty was only to be equalled by her piety and chastity, which latter virtue appears to have been always so pre-eminent that, according to the veracious legend which records her life, three young men, who, upon one occasion, dazzled by her charms, forgot the respect due to her sex and profession, were struck dead at her feet ; she, however, with that merciful charity, so natural to her sex, caused them, by her prayers, to be restored to life, when it is to be hoped that they became imbued with a due sense of the wickedness of their ways.



And, lest it should be supposed that it was only amongst the ladies of the Order that this devotion and sanctity were to be found, history has also embalmed the names of many members of the rougher sex who, in addition to all the chivalric exercises of their profession, rivalled in their religious zeal the piety even of this fair sisterhood. Conspicuous on the roll were Hugh, head of the commandery of Genoa. Gerard Mecati, whose virtues are recorded by Paul Mimi, in his treatise on the nobilities of Florence; and Gerland of Poland, who was attached to the court of the Emperor Frederic, in the interests of his Order, where he set an edifying example to the dissolute courtiers of that prince, such as completely established his own reputation for sanctity, without, however, it is to be feared, having worked any striking reformation amongst the gay libertines by whom he was surrounded; and who were quite content to venerate him without being in any way tempted to follow his example.

It is difficult to conceive that whilst such shining lights as these were constantly emanating from the bosom of the society, and considered themselves privileged in dwelling within the circle of its influence, there could be anything radically amiss in its constitution. That most of the accusations brought against them were engendered by the malicious jealousy of their opponents appears to be the most rational solution of the question, and we are justified in still considering the Order of St. John at this period, even whilst we admit a serious deviation from the earnest and simple devotion of its founder, to have been a pattern for the age, and an admirable school, in which the youthful devotees of Europe were enabled to find

a free vent for the religious enthusiasm with which they were fired, without the necessity of placing any curb upon their martial ardour, at the same time that they beheld, amidst their leading dignitaries, a most praiseworthy example for their pious emulation.

## CHAP. VI.

REOCCUPATION OF JERUSALEM BY THE CHRISTIANS.—THEIR EXPULSION BY THE KORASMINS.—BATTLE OF GAZA.—DEATH OF VILLEBRIDE AND ELECTION OF CHATEAUNEUF.—REFORMS IN THE ORDER.—CRUSADES OF ST. LOUIS.—SANGUINARY COMBAT BETWEEN THE HOSPITALLERS AND TEMPLARS.—SIEGE OF MARGAT.—SIEGE AND FALL OF ACRE.

BERTRAND DE TEXIS, whose election in 1230 was notified in the preceding chapter, died in the following year; and of the career of his successor, Guerin or Guarin, nothing is known worthy of record, the very date of his decease being doubtful. It is, however, in most chronologies placed in the year 1236, when Bertrand de Comps was elected to the post of sixteenth Master, which office he retained till the year 1241.

In addition to the Pope's attack on the discipline and morals of the Order with which the reader is already acquainted, Bertrand witnessed the third reoccupation of Jerusalem by the Latins. Their brief tenure of this city, after the treaty of Frederic with the sultan of Egypt had been arranged, was brought to a speedy close by the latter potentate, who, on the expiration of that treaty, rejected all attempts at a renewal of its provisions, and drove the defenceless and helpless Christians out of the place. In 1240, however, Richard of Cornwall, brother to Henry III., king of England, made his appearance at Acre, accompanied by a strong body

of English Crusaders; a council, which was held at Spoleto in 1234, having decreed that another vigorous effort should be made to rescue the sacred province from Infidel domination. Divers causes had interfered to prevent the earlier arrival of this armament, but on its debarkation at Acre the earl was surprised at learning that the Count of Champagne, who had preceded him with the French Croisés, had, after being worsted in action by the sultan of Damascus, concluded a treaty so disadvantageous to the Christian cause, that none of their leaders, with the exception of the Templars, consented to accept its provisions.

Upon the arrival of Richard at the scene of action, he prepared at once to take the field, and from the energy of his character, and the force which he had at his command, the most sanguine hopes were entertained of his success. The sultan of Egypt, in whose possession the sacred city and its environs still remained, and who was at this time embarked in a war against the sultan of Damascus, felt that the time was most inopportune for resisting the demands of the new comers; he, therefore, without waiting for any aggressive movements on the part of Richard, offered to him a treaty by which he bound himself to restore to the Christians the cities of Jerusalem, Beritus, Nazareth, and Bethlehem, as well as Mount Thabor, and nearly all the remainder of the Holy Land. This treaty was accepted by Richard, with the approbation and by the advice of the dignitaries of the kingdom, including the Hospitallers, and its provisions were at once carried into effect; the cities mentioned being given over to the Latins, and immediately reoccupied by them. Upon this occasion there were no restrictions imposed as to the fortifying of the city, and

as it was felt that it was impossible the place could be held in security without the adoption of prompt measures, the most strenuous exertions were on all sides made to place the city in a defensible state. For this purpose the coffers of the Hospital were drained to their last farthing, and the power of the Order strained to the uttermost to further the great work.

The Templars, however, indignant that their previous treaty with the sultan of Damascus should have been repudiated by the Hospitallers, in their turn now refused to associate themselves in the treaty of the latter with the sultan of Egypt; and thus the absurd and fatal anomaly was to be witnessed of the two Orders remaining each at war with a prince with whom the other was in close alliance. To this unfortunate division much of the fatal result of their next campaign is to be attributed, a result which Bertrand de Comps was not doomed to witness, he having in 1241 died of the wounds which he received in an action against the Turkomans, who had made an irruption into the territories of the prince of Antioch, and whose complete rout cast a halo of glory over the chivalric end of the gallant and aged Master.

The short rule of his successor, Peter de Villebride, was marked by events most disastrous to the fortunes of the kingdom and of the Order, at whose head the unanimous voice of the fraternity had placed him. A savage horde, who dwelt near the shores of the Caspian Sea, known by the name of Korasmins, having been driven from their own wild fastnesses by the Mogul Tartars, poured over the neighbouring countries with the resistless impetuosity of a flood. The leader of this torrent of barbarians was Barbacan, a gene-

ral whose skill in war and intelligence in the art of government were such as to raise him in the scale of civilisation far above his wild followers. The sultan of Egypt, naturally fearful of the inroads of this rapacious swarm, and dreading lest they should turn their steps in the direction of his territories, endeavoured to divert the impetuosity of the current into another channel; and with a selfishness which the circumstances of the case rendered pardonable, he determined on sacrificing his weaker neighbours to the safety of his own kingdom. With this view he suggested to Barbacan that he would find but little difficulty in seizing upon the Latin possessions in Syria, and in order still further to induce him to turn his steps in that direction, he offered to assist him with a subsidiary force in the undertaking. This proposition was not of a character likely to meet with much opposition on the part of a man in the position of Barbacan, who, expelled from his own mountain home, had the wide world before him, and to whom it was perfectly immaterial whether his foe were Christian or Moslem, provided always that they were weaker than himself, and the prospect of booty sufficiently tempting to render the enterprise lucrative.

On, therefore, came the new foe, overrunning and ravaging the unfortunate province, which had but just returned to the domination of the Latins, and which was still suffering most severely from the effects of the constant and desperate struggles which it had been doomed to witness. Every effort, which the brief space of time permitted, had been made by the Hospitallers to place the sacred city once more in a defensible position; and, had a longer warning been vouchsafed to them, they would doubtless have succeeded in making such

an obstinate defence, that the undisciplined bands of the Korasmins would have shattered themselves in vain against the ramparts. As it was, however, only a few feeble earthworks had as yet risen; and, behind these, the military Orders felt that it would be madness to attempt a stand. They therefore determined, though not without much sad and painful deliberation, once more to abandon to the unhallowed tread of the Infidel that consecrated soil, the centre of so many aspirations, and alas! the grave of so many hopes. Many of the inhabitants, however, lately established in their new homes, blinded by the fury of their zeal, and burning to prevent a renewed desecration of their Saviour's tomb, persisted in remaining behind, and in opposing to the death the onward course of the invaders. Others followed in the track of the military Orders, who, after evacuating the city, had pitched their camp sufficiently near to watch the course of events.

As may readily be imagined, the Korasmins found an easy prey in the fanatical mob of undisciplined enthusiasts by whom they were confronted. Hurling themselves in resistless multitudes upon the feeble and unfinished intrenchments, they carried them at a single dash; and, pouring into the city, renewed once more those scenes of carnage and sacrilege which had been before enacted on the self-same spot. It is needless to pause on the painful picture: when savage and unbridled lust is let loose upon a defenceless multitude, the result may be easily conceived, and, in the present instance, the horrors perpetrated fully equalled anything which the most vivid imagination could dare to portray. Truly the curse which had been brought upon the city of Zion, by the murder of its God, was

even yet reaping its bitter fruit ; nor could the torrents of blood which had so often converted its streets into shambles, wash away the awful denunciation which that fell Deicide had provoked.

With a cunning, equalled only by their ferocity, these barbarians, so soon as they had established themselves securely within the heart of the city, raised once more upon its ramparts the standard of the Holy Cross. Deceived by the sight of this emblem of their religion, and imagining from its appearance that the enemy must have been worsted in their assault, many fugitive Christians, who had accompanied the Hospitallers in their retreat, determined, despite the earnest warnings of these latter, once more to return to their homes ; where, entrapped by the ruthless foe, they were speedily doomed to share the miserable fate of their comrades. Meanwhile, the Templars having discovered that a detachment of Egyptians were acting in unison with the Korasmins, called upon their ally, the sultan of Damascus, to aid them in repelling his old antagonist. In reply to this summons, a body of four thousand Damascene horsemen were despatched by the sultan, who joined themselves to the military Orders, and to such of the secular militia as could at the pressure of the moment be gathered together.

With this reinforcement the Christian army stood its ground ; and determined upon watching the course which the victorious Korasmins might take. These latter did not leave them long in suspense. Satiated with slaughter, and wearied with inactivity, after a few days spent amidst the wildest revels and the vilest debauchery, within the now desolate city, they advanced in a tumultuous horde, flushed with victory, and eager



for the fray, to overwhelm the handful of Latins by whom they were opposed. In this conjuncture, the councils of the Christians were much divided: the chiefs of the military Orders advised a prompt retreat; feeling that, owing to the enormous disproportion in their numbers, the chances of a combat must be most unequal, and consequently desperately hazardous. As, however, upon the occasion of the expedition into Egypt, the presumption of one churchman, the legate Pelagius, had caused the miscarriage of the operation, so now, by the precipitation of another, the patriarch of Jerusalem, whose rash advice overcame the prudent scruples of the other leaders, it was decided that they should stand their ground, and await the issue of a general engagement. It is one of the most curious phenomena of the early ages, that ecclesiastics were always to be found intermingling themselves even in the most secular matters, where they could hardly be supposed to have had any concern; nay, often, as in the present case, vehemently obtruding their own opinions in questions of a purely military character, in contemptuous opposition to those of the most experienced captains of the age.

On this occasion, the result could not long remain doubtful; and the valour of Christian chivalry, though strained to the utmost, expended itself in vain against the countless swarms opposed to them. The Latin army, when drawn up in its battle array, was divided into three corps. The Hospitallers, supported by the Count of Jaffa, constituted the left wing; the Templars, and the militia of the kingdom, were in the centre; and the auxiliary force of Turkoman cavalry formed the right wing. Upon this eventful occasion, all those jealousies

which had for so long a time divided the military Orders, and in a great degree neutralised every effort for the restoration of the kingdom, were extinguished in their zeal for the common cause; and the blood of both Hospitaller and Templar flowed freely in one united stream, a worthy sacrifice to their country's weal. For two whole days the struggle lasted with undiminished energy; although, at its very commencement, the Damascenes, either from treachery or cowardice, turned their backs upon the foe, and fled ignominiously from the field. Their defection left the Korasmins in a numerical superiority of at least ten to one; still the Christians held their ground undismayed, and the scale of victory for some time appeared equally balanced. It was not, however, within the powers of human endurance to bear up against the interminable bodies of new foes, unceasingly poured upon their exhausted ranks by the indefatigable Barbacan. At length, upon the evening of the second day, the sun set in fiery gloom upon the melancholy spectacle afforded by the utter destruction of the Christian force, which, decimated and overpowered by numbers, was compelled to yield through pure exhaustion.

Signal as was their defeat, it was unaccompanied by disgrace. Still struggling, though all was lost, the shattered remnants of the army refused either to turn or to yield, and there on the very ground where they stood, now strewn with the mangled and gory corpses of their comrades, they one by one fell, faithful even to the end in that holy cause which they had espoused, and to which their lives and their fortunes had been consecrated. In this fatal field the Masters of both Temple and Hospital found a noble grave, in company

with almost the entire body of their respective Orders ; only sixteen of the latter, and thirty-three of the former, surviving the indiscriminate slaughter which marked the close of the struggle. With this disastrous fight ended all hopes of resisting the victorious advance of the Korasmins ; the slender relics of the Christian force sought the shelter of the walls of Acre, where William de Chateauneuf was raised to the post of Master, vacant by the death of Peter de Villebride on the field of Gaza. Prior to his elevation, he had been a Preceptor in the Order, and it was a letter from his pen, recording the fatal issue of that battle, from which most of the details of the campaign have been preserved on the page of history.

Chateauneuf found himself presiding over the interests of his fraternity at a period when they had been plunged into a state of confusion and distress even greater than had ever before been their lot. Within the limits of the Holy Land there only remained a few feeble and wounded brothers, who, from the heights of the ramparts of Acre, beheld with grief and indignation the ravage of that sacred soil which they were no longer in a position to defend. Spread like so many locusts over the province, the Korasmins destroyed far and wide everything which fell within their grasp ; and wherever they turned their steps a heart-rending wail of distress and misery arose upon their fell track, which, like that of the Destroying Angel, showed the dark traces of their blasting power. Had they remained united amongst themselves, it is certain that they must speedily have achieved the destruction of the Christians ; and there is every probability that they could have even established themselves in secure and permanent empire.

on the wrecks of the two Saracen kingdoms of Egypt and Damascus. Most providentially, however, for the waning prospects of Christianity, the seeds of jealousy and mutual animosity speedily sprang up amongst themselves, commencing in trivial quarrels and unimportant skirmishes, but gradually increasing in virulence and intensity, until, eventually, they had so far enfeebled their power as to cease from being any longer an object of dread to the surrounding potentates. Hemmed in on all sides by inveterate, and now openly declared foes, and harassed by the peasantry of the district, whose bitter hatred they had incurred through the licentious and savage brutality of their conduct, they gradually diminished in numbers until, ere long, no trace remained of a power which had so lately been the terror of the East.

Freed from the imminent peril which had at one time threatened to annihilate them, Chateauneuf took the most energetic measures to recruit the ranks of his fraternity and to restore some semblance of credit to its exhausted treasury. Every preceptory in Europe was drained of its members, even novices being included in the conscription, and vast sums of money were also remitted from the same sources, so that with the revivifying power peculiar to the institution, we find it ere long once again flourishing with as stately a grandeur as of old, and still remaining, in conjunction with the Templars, the principal, nay almost the only, support of the kingdom.

Until this time, in order to prevent a Knight from yielding himself a prisoner to the foe, it had been esteemed a fundamental doctrine, that no member so situated should on any account be ransomed from the

public coffers: now, however, when their numbers had become so suddenly and fearfully diminished, it was deemed advisable for the public weal to depart, for once, from a rigid adherence to this regulation; and Chateauneuf despatched an embassy to the sultan of Egypt, in whose hands the prisoners captured by Barbacan at the battle of Gaza had been placed, with instructions to request their ransom, for which purpose a sufficient sum had been placed in their hands. The sultan, however, who was far-sighted enough to perceive, that in so far as it was the interest of the Hospitallers to ransom their brethren it must naturally be his policy to oppose such a consummation, refused in terms of the most ignominious opprobrium to accede to the request, quoting to the ambassadors, in support of his decision, the regulation of their own Order, forbidding any such transfer. The unfortunate captives were consequently compelled still to remain in durance vile, whilst the ambassadors returned to Acre after a bootless errand, in which much money had been uselessly wasted in bribery to the officers of the court, only to receive in the end a mortifying rebuff from the sultan. This refusal on his part has been very generally attributed to a close alliance which is supposed to have existed between himself and the emperor of Germany, whose persevering antipathy to the military Orders has been already touched upon.

Whilst thus restoring the fortunes of the institution, and re-establishing its power after the rude shock it had so lately received, Chateauneuf was not unmindful of interior discipline; and we may gather from several analogous circumstances, that at this period the most rigid austerity was enforced. In support of

this statement, we find a special licence issuing from the Pope, by which permission is given to the brothers to enter into conversation with any secular guest who may chance to be present at their refectory; otherwise they are enjoined to preserve a strict silence during the hour of meal: we also find it recorded by Joinville, the historian of the Crusade of St. Louis, that a dispute having sprung up between the Hospitallers and some French Knights who had accompanied that expedition, in which Chateauneuf considered the former to be in the wrong, that Master condemned the offending brothers to eat their meals upon the ground, instead of at the common table of the refectory, and they were expressly forbidden to drive away any dog or other animal who might choose to intrude upon their platters during the operation; nor was this discipline in any way relaxed until after the most urgent entreaties on the part of Joinville himself, on the occasion of a visit which he paid to their convent.

The Crusade of St. Louis of France was the offspring of the disaster of Gaza, and the consequent loss of the principal cities of the Holy Land. That monarch, of whom history has recorded every virtue which could adorn a hero, and whose piety was destined to earn for him the posthumous honours of canonisation, burning with an ardent and impetuous desire to achieve that which so many of his predecessors had in vain attempted, and who, whilst on a bed of sickness, had pledged himself to the undertaking even before he had heard the news of the fatal day of Gaza, now decided upon leading in person the chivalry of France to the rescue of their religion in the East. Accompanied by his three brothers, the Counts of Artois, Poitiers, and Anjou, and followed

by an army of 50,000 well-appointed troops, he landed at Damietta in the summer of 1249, having spent the previous winter at Cyprus. A very slight resistance was offered to his landing, and at the close of the short struggle he found himself master not only of the shore, but also of the city itself, with its powerful fortress, whose garrison, struck with panic at the bold and daring advance of the French chivalry, and mindful of the scenes which had been enacted on the same spot on the occasion of its previous capture by John of Brienne, had abandoned the citadel and taken to flight, leaving the occupation of the town open to the French.

Whilst at Damietta, Louis was joined by the whole strength of the military Orders, led by their respective chiefs in person, and also by a small body of 200 English lances under the command of William Longspee, who had already served with distinction in the previous Crusade of the Earl of Cornwall. An advance towards Cairo having been decided on, the army proceeded without interruption as far as Massoura, a fortified town situated near the confluence of the two branches of the Nile. Here they found the entire Egyptian force awaiting their arrival, within an intrenched camp on the far side of the river. For some time all the efforts which they made to achieve the passage, by means of a temporary bridge, were rendered futile through the opposition which the Egyptians brought to bear upon them. At length, however, a Bedouin Arab, tempted by the prospect of a large bribe, offered to conduct them to a practicable ford, through which the opposite bank might be readily gained. The king directed his brother, the Count of Artois, to cross the ford at the head of a chosen body of troops, consisting of the military Orders

and the English Knights under William Longspee. The Arab was found faithful to his trust; the ford was attained, the river passed, and the enemy, who had vainly endeavoured to oppose the operation, driven from the field. At this point a most unaccountable panic appears to have overwhelmed the Saracens: abandoning their intrenchments, under the idea that the whole French army was upon them, and even deserting Massoura in their terror, they fled in every direction, leaving the Count of Artois in undisputed possession of both camp and city. Had matters ended here, and had cool counsels been allowed to prevail, all would have been well; but it was the fate in every expedition which we have had to record, that some rash and hot-headed zealot was invariably permitted to overbear the more prudent advice of those who, from their position and long acquaintance with the warfare of Palestine, were best qualified to direct operations. The Count of Artois, rejecting with scorn and contumely the prudent advice tendered to him by Sonnac, the Grand Master of the Temple, supported though it was by Longspee and the other leaders, determined to push his advantage to the utmost, and heedless of the paucity of his numbers, dashed in hot pursuit after the retreating foe. These latter soon perceived the absurdity of their panic, and the numerical inferiority of the Christians: rallying rapidly at the call of Bendocdar, a valiant Mamelouk chief who had assumed the command after the fall of Sacadeen, killed in the previous engagement, they turned fiercely on the foe, and drove them in the utmost confusion back into Massoura. Here they found matters much changed from the time when the city, abandoned by its defenders, had first fallen into their hands. The



inhabitants, perceiving them hard pressed by the Moslem without, and almost insignificant in their numbers, commenced to harass them within the walls of the place by carrying on a street warfare of so irregular a nature, that the superior discipline of the Knights gave them little or no advantage in the struggle. In this combat, the whole detachment was annihilated. The Count of Artois, Longspee, and a host of other Knights were slain, whilst the Hospitaller Chateaufort fell a prisoner into the hands of the Saracens.

Louis beheld with the most lively grief and indignation this unfortunate issue to a combat commenced under such glorious auspices; and, crossing the ford with the remainder of his army, he advanced rapidly to the rescue. Here he was met by the Saracens, led on by Bendocdar, now completely rallied from their panic, flushed with their late success, and burning to wipe out the remembrance of their recent flight in Christian blood. The combat was long and obstinate, and at its close victory had not decided itself for either party, both equally claiming the advantage. Whatever the physical results of the day itself may have been, its moral results were most clearly in favour of the Infidel; hemmed in on the ground which he occupied, and cut off from all supplies on the side of Damietta by a Saracen force despatched by Bendocdar for that purpose, it was not long ere Louis found his army in a very similar predicament to that of John of Brienne. Pestilence of a most virulent and loathsome nature broke out in the midst of his camp, which rapidly became converted into one vast grave. Unable to retreat so long as a Saracen force interposed between himself and Damietta, Louis in this strait meditated a sudden attack in that quarter, trust-

ing that, by taking the Infidel unawares, he and his enfeebled army might be enabled to cut their way through. Before, however, he could carry this intention into effect, he was himself attacked in his intrenchments by the whole Turkish army. Wasted with disease, and prostrate from starvation, his troops were enabled to make but a slender resistance; nor was the chivalric daring which on that day distinguished his own conduct able to avert the impending catastrophe. Rejecting all advice to seek that safety in flight which might have been his, could he have brought himself to abandon his followers, he continued to struggle gallantly to the last; when, in company with the Counts of Anjou and of Poitiers, he fell a prisoner into the hands of Bendocdar.

That chief behaved towards his illustrious captives with a magnanimity and generosity rare in the annals of Moslem warfare, and treated them with the utmost consideration and respect. A treaty of peace was immediately set on foot, the terms of which could require but little dispute where one of the negotiating parties found himself in such a helpless condition. In return for the ransom of himself and his army, Louis covenanted to pay the sum of 800,000 bezants; and to restore to the Saracens possession of Damietta. In order to provide the stipulated amount, the Hospitallers freely placed their coffers at the king's disposal; but the Templars, ever greedy and avaricious, unwilling to part with their hoards, brought forward the rules of their Order as opposed to such an appropriation. Necessity, however, knows no law, and the king, disgusted with their ill-timed avarice, felt that the conjuncture was of too grave a character to admit of much delicacy on his part. He lost no time, therefore, in making a forcible acquisition of

their treasure to complete the sum demanded for his liberation. As soon as the terms of the treaty had been complied with on both sides, Louis and the relics of his army returned to Acre, utterly unable to attempt anything further for the good cause; and there he was induced to remain during the space of four years, partly owing to the entreaties of the military Orders, who considered his presence as a great safeguard for the precarious remnant of the kingdom, and partly from his own unwillingness to return to France whilst labouring under the disgrace of a reverse.

During his residence at Acre, he received a message from the chief of the Hassassins, demanding the payment of black mail as protection from assassination, and averring that all the other Christian monarchs who had warred in the East had subscribed to the custom, and purchased their safety by the payment of the toll. Chateauneuf no sooner heard of this audacious demand, than he instantly dismissed the ambassadors, with the assurance, that if the Old Man of the Mountain did not within fifteen days make ample reparation for his insolence to the monarch, he should receive a visit from the whole force of the Order, on which occasion he might rest assured that summary chastisement would be inflicted. Within the stipulated time the ambassadors made their appearance with the required amende: a ring and a shirt being tendered to Louis on the part of their chief; the former symbol typifying that he would encircle him with his protection, and the latter that he would cling to him with attachment.

Louis left the Holy Land in 1254, and the next few years were spent by the military friars in securing themselves within those posts which they still retained.

During this lull in the political storm, the feuds which had so long existed between themselves and the Templars, but which the urgency of their mutual peril had temporarily quelled, now broke forth with renewed virulence. Commencing in single combats, or in small detached parties, they rarely met without a struggle; and as the flow of blood on either side embittered the warfare, they gradually came to attack one another in considerable bodies, until at length, in the year 1259, the whole force of the fraternities met in a general engagement. Victory favoured the side of the Hospitallers, and the carnage was so fearful that scarce a Templar was left to survive the day so fatal to his Order. It was long ere they were enabled to rally from this fratricidal blow, and by the time that their ranks had been sufficiently recruited to empower them once more to show front against their rivals, the renewal of hostilities against their common foe overcame the bitterness of civil discord.

Shortly after this sanguinary contest, William de Chateaufneuf breathed his last, in the month of October 1259; and Hugh de Revel was nominated his successor. This Knight, the nineteenth Master of the Order, was the first who received from Pope Clement IV. the rank of Grand-Master, by which title the head of the fraternity was always afterwards known. The bull, by which this title was first conferred, was dated 18th November 1267.

Under the auspices of this Grand-Master, some vital changes were made in the constitution of the Order as regarded its European property. The various preceptories had been in the habit of remitting the surplus of their revenues, after deducting what was necessary for their own subsistence, to the general treasury in

Palestine. As, however, in many cases, sometimes owing to the mismanagement of the administrators, and sometimes from causes over which they had no control, the balance destined for remittance to the East was not forthcoming; and as, in order to support the enormous expenditure of a perpetual war, it was necessary that a positive and considerable sum should be relied on from their European possessions, it was decided, in a general council held at Cesarea, that a definite payment should be allotted to each preceptory, based on the receipts of a term of years, which they should be bound to remit to the convent under all circumstances; the balance of the revenue being retained for their own expenditure. This annual payment, which partook very much of the nature of a rent-charge, was termed a *responsion*, and was usually fixed at one-third of the gross receipts. The commission which was sent to each preceptor, to announce the changes proposed to be introduced, commenced with the Latin word *Commandamus*, whence arose the word commander, by which title the preceptor became eventually known. Priors were at the same time established, embracing several of these preceptories, at the head of which were placed priors, who were to have supreme control over all the establishments in their several districts, and who were to collect and remit the *responsions* due from them. The prior was to maintain a strict surveillance over his preceptories, and to act as a salutary check over the malpractices and extravagances of the preceptors, whose properties he was bound constantly to visit, and to ascertain, by personal observation, that due economy and discipline were practised.

Whilst thus organising the internal discipline of his

Order, Hugh de Revel was at the same time making the most strenuous exertions to maintain a bold front against the perpetual aggressions of his relentless foe; though, feeble as were his means of defence, and overwhelming the power against which he was called to contend, it is not surprising that each year witnessed some new calamity. In 1263, the sultan succeeded in gaining possession of the fortress of Azotus, in which ninety Knights of the Hospital had been placed by Revel to conduct the defence at the head of the garrison. One by one these brave men fell under the ruthless scimitar of the Moslem; and it was not until the last of their number had received his death wound on the blood-stained ramparts, that Bendocdar succeeded in entering the town. The glorious and obstinate defence of this place adds yet another name to that long list which the deeds of the Hospitallers in the Holy Land had caused to be enrolled in imperishable characters upon the annals of history; for never had that spirit of devotion, which they invariably displayed to the sacred cause they had espoused, shone forth with a brighter lustre than during this glorious though fatal struggle.

In the following year the Templars were, in their turn, compelled to yield the fortress of Saphoura, and these losses were speedily followed by others of still greater consequence. Antioch, Laodicea and Karac passed for ever from the Christian rule, and Acre itself was only for a brief period preserved by a report of an anticipated succour from the king of Cyprus; which induced Bendocdar, who dreaded another Crusade, to retrace his steps.

The second Crusade of Louis, in which he met his

death from the pestilence which annihilated his army, brought no relief to the suffering Latins of Syria, that expedition having been diverted into Africa, where it rapidly melted away in the pestilential swamps of Tunis. The efforts made in 1271, by Prince Edward of England, though conducted with energy, were equally fruitless, owing to the insufficiency of the force by which he was supported, and after having narrowly escaped death from the dagger of one of the band of Hassassins,\* that prince returned to Europe, leaving the prospects of the Christians in Syria utterly hopeless, although he had, more through the terror of his name and lineage, than from any other cause (the reputation of his ancestor, Richard Cœur de Lion, being still a household word throughout the Saracen provinces of the East), obtained a truce for ten years, during which period, a short breathing time was permitted to the

\* It is a painful duty when the historian is called upon to dispel the romance which the poetry of our forefathers has interwoven with the narration of facts. The story of the devotion of the princess Eleanor, who is said to have sucked the poisoned wound of her husband, bears with it a moral so useful to the fair sex in all ages, that it appears somewhat ungracious to refuse credence to so touching an episode. There is, however, too much reason to fear that this sweet tale of feminine devotion had its origin in the fertile brain of some monkish chronicler, and that Edward owed his cure to remedies which, whilst they were far less romantic, were probably more potent. Immediately after the receipt of his wound, and whilst the result appeared likely to prove fatal, Edward made his will. It was dated at Acre, June 18th, 1272; and the subscribing witnesses were Hugh de Revel, Grand-Master of the Hospital, and Thomas Berard, Grand-Master of the Temple. "En testimoniaunce de la queu chose, a ceo testament avons fet mettre nostre sel, et avons pries les honorables Bers frere Hue, Mestre de l'Hospital, et frere Thomas Berard, Mestre du Temple, ke a cest escrit meisent ausi lur seus."—*Acta Rymeri*, tom. i. ad ann. 1272.

harassed and dispirited Latins. During this peaceful lull, Hugh de Revel was called to his fathers, in the year 1278, and in his stead Nicholas de Lorgue was entrusted with the baton of Grand-Master.

The death of Bendocdar, in 1281, caused the treaty which he had made with Prince Edward to be brought to a premature close, and the atabal of the Infidel once more aroused the military friars from their brief repose. The commencement of the new war was signalised by an important success on the part of the Christians. One of the Moslem commanders, whilst on a plundering expedition, unwarily conducted his forces within reach of the fortress of Margat, still an important stronghold of the Hospitallers. The Knights who constituted its garrison sallied boldly forth, and encountering the enemy whilst they were encumbered with pillage, and consequently in a state of disorder, easily routed them, and annihilated the whole body. During the following year the sultan, enraged at this disaster, despatched an army of 5000 men to the attack of Margat, determined to wreak a bitter revenge on the authors of the previous reverse. Undismayed at the numbers of their opponents, the Hospitallers, who felt that they were too few in number to meet the foe in open combat, determined to have recourse to stratagem; in furtherance of this object, they posted a portion of their force in ambush, without the gates of the city, and the remainder advanced towards the enemy, as though determined to give battle. After a brief struggle, and almost at the first onset, they pretended to yield, and fled towards the town, as though struck with a sudden panic; preserving, however, their ranks with a precision which should have led the Saracen to suspect that some wile



lurked beneath so easy a victory. Heedless, however, of any such tokens, the Moslem, hurried away by the ardour of pursuit, dashed after the retiring foe with all the disorder of a rapid advance, and the confidence of a victory already gained. The scene, however, was soon destined to change ; once led into the defile, where the ambuscade was placed, the flying Hospitallers halted in their career, and turned fiercely upon the foe ; and whilst the Saracens were preparing for this sudden and unlooked-for attack on the part of those whom they had, as they conceived, been driving before them like chaff, the din and tumult of strife were simultaneously heard on their flanks, and in their rear. Thrown into the wildest and most hopeless confusion by this sudden appearance of enemies on every side, little or no resistance was offered ; the struggle speedily became a carnage, and the battle field a heap of mangled corpses, so that of the whole force but a very slender remnant survived, to convey to the sultan of Egypt the news of this fresh and still more serious disaster to his arms.

Aroused to a pitch almost of frenzy at the double defeat which he had sustained, the sultan vowed a deep and bitter revenge against the Christians, nor did he permit his purpose to swerve, although for some years the internal affairs of his own kingdom interfered to prevent his carrying it into execution. At length, however, snatching an interval of leisure, he himself advanced against Margat, at the head of a formidable army, in the year 1287. Aware of his intention, De Lorgue had thrown a considerable reinforcement into the place, the garrison of which calmly awaited the onset. The sultan, on arriving in front of the walls, commenced the siege in due form. The place was in-

vested, trenches were dug, battering rams, towers, and other engines constructed, and all the usual routine of a siege in those days strictly adhered to. On the part of the garrison every possible impediment was thrown in the way of the besiegers, and their constant and energetic sorties created so many obstructions, that the sultan appeared to gain little or no advantage over the place.

Whilst, however, this open warfare was being carried on, so much in favour of the besieged, a secret and insidious foe was at work, by which their speedy downfall was doomed to be compassed. The attack on the fortress through the ordinary method of siege operations was but a blind on the part of the sultan, who, whilst attracting the attention of the garrison in this manner, had secretly caused its ramparts to be undermined in every direction, supporting the tottering walls with huge beams of wood. Having completely accomplished this design, he summoned the garrison to surrender; a message which was received with shouts of scorn by men who conceived that they had foiled his worst attempts. What was their dismay and consternation on being informed that those boasted walls, behind which they deemed themselves so secure, awaited but a signal to crumble beneath their feet? Two of their number were despatched to ascertain the correctness of the statement; and these having received ocular demonstration of the fact, it was felt that further resistance was hopeless, and the town was surrendered to the sultan, the garrison being permitted to evacuate it, and retire to Acre. Immediately on obtaining possession of this fortress, which had during so many years held them at defiance, the Saracens razed its defences to the

ground, and thus for ever prevented its re-occupation by the Christians.

The last sad scene of this bloody drama was now rapidly approaching, for place after place fell into the victorious hands of the Sultan, until at length throughout the land the banner of the Cross waved nowhere save on the walls of Acre only. Nicholas de Lorgue was not, however, destined to witness the fatal denouement of the sad tragedy then enacting. Having visited the Holy See for the purpose of making a personal appeal to the Pope on behalf of the waning Church of Syria, and having utterly failed in the attempt—for in truth Europe was weary of sending her best soldiers, and her hardly-earned treasures, to be fruitlessly wasted upon the burning sands of Palestine—he returned in despair to Acre, where he breathed his last in 1289.

John de Villiers, a French Knight, was elected in his place, the fraternity feeling that in the perilous and desperate situation in which they were placed, it was absolutely necessary that their fortunes should be entrusted to the guidance of one whose mind was calm and far-seeing in the midst of danger, and the intrepidity of whose character was beyond the shadow of a doubt. These qualifications being eminently possessed by Villiers, no dissentient voice was raised against his advancement to a post which was in truth rather one of peril and honour, than of personal advantage.

After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the city of Acre became the metropolis of Christianity in the East; and its favourable situation on the sea-coast rendered it the mart of that vast commerce which annually flowed, both eastward and westward, in the mutual exchange of the treasures of Europe and Asia.

The fortifications consisted of a double rampart, by which the city was begirt and entirely enclosed on the land side: numerous flanking towers, placed in such close proximity that they effectually supported each other, strengthened this enceinte, the walls of which were so broad, that two chariots could with facility pass abreast on their summit. The fortifications had been strengthened by the accumulated additions of ages; each of the most celebrated amongst the Crusaders, who had at different periods resided within its walls, having added somewhat to the defences. St. Louis of France, in particular, had incurred considerable outlay in his desire to strengthen, as far as possible, this last and most important stronghold which the Christians possessed in the East.

The magnificence of the town itself has been a fertile subject for the descriptive talents of historians. The streets were wide and regular, the squares spacious, the public buildings imposing and grand, and the houses, which were all built either of marble, or the finest cut stone, were constructed of equal heights, and with flat roofs, so that it was easy to pass from end to end of the town, without descending into the streets. They boasted in every quarter of the city of the luxury of glass windows, then still far from common in Europe, and possessed even the yet greater refinement of stained glass in great perfection; an art in which they were far in advance of the nations of the West. Tradition revels in the picture which it draws of the splendour of all connected with this magnificent city. Silken canopies and awnings are said to have been stretched from side to side of the principal streets, for protection from the rays of the midday sun, shedding a rich and subdued

light on all around. The wealth of the world appears to have concentrated itself upon this favoured spot, and to have drawn thither the representatives of almost every nation under the sun.

So vast a congregation of varied ingredients, and such a constant stream of wealth flowing through its precincts, naturally engendered a vicious state of existence, and we find the city, in these its last days, a scene of reckless turbulence and unbridled debauchery. Prostitution, drunkenness, and other vices too odious to be particularised, stalked rampant through its streets, and the gaily-dressed and painted harlot of Acre was celebrated throughout the nations of the East. It was thronged by the inhabitants of no less than seventeen different countries, speaking different languages, governed by different laws, each occupying a separate and distinct portion of the town, having no community of interests with each other, and rendering allegiance to no supreme head; consequently, every species of vice and wickedness flourished unchecked, and the general demoralisation was such, that the city was become a complete sink of iniquity, so much so, that like Sodom of old, the cry of it had gone up unto the Lord, and its doom had been declared.

Many foul acts of wanton outrage having been committed on the Moslems of the neighbourhood, through the brigandage of some of its heterogeneous inhabitants, the Sultan Mansour, who only awaited a plausible excuse to complete the extermination of the Christians in Palestine, demanded instant reparation for these wrongs. The Grand-Masters of the military Orders both urged a prompt compliance with a request which, whilst perfectly reasonable in itself, was backed by the whole

power of Egypt, a power against which recent events had taught them that they were utterly unable to cope ; they justly, therefore, dreaded the wrath which the refusal to make reparation would necessarily provoke, and which they felt they had no adequate means of withstanding. Their advice was neglected with scorn, the counsels of prudence were stigmatised as cowardice, an answer of defiance was returned, and ere long the inhabitants learned with dismay that the entire strength of the Egyptian empire was on its way to crush this last stronghold of Christianity.

Mansour did not live to carry out the enterprise himself, having been poisoned by one of his generals whilst on the march to Acre ; but his son, Khaled, stimulated by the last words of his father, who had directed that his corpse should not receive the rites of sepulture until after the capture of the city had been accomplished, soon appeared before its walls with an army which the Arabian historians have computed at 160,000 foot, and 60,000 horse. Undismayed by this enormous force, the military Orders, at the first sound of the Infidel atabal, prepared to defend their city to the uttermost, or, following the example of so many of their brethren, to perish in the effort. As the undisputed sovereignty of the seas was still in their possession, they at once removed from the city, and embarked for Cyprus, the whole of the non-combatant portion of the inhabitants, leaving as a garrison a strength of some 12,000 men, in addition to those who were serving under the banners of the Hospital and Temple. Henry II., king of Cyprus, in whose person rested at this time the sovereignty of Jerusalem, on learning the strait to which this solitary remnant of his kingdom was reduced, landed in the city

with a reinforcement of 200 Knights, and 500 men-at-arms, and this was the sole auxiliary force upon which the garrison was enabled to rely as a support in their resistance against the countless hosts by whom they were beleaguered. This was therefore not a moment for ceremony, and in the choice of a commandant, the claims of the king, whose reputation as a soldier was, to say the least, of a very doubtful character, were overlooked in favour of one whose military renown and experience in arms were of a far higher stamp, and William de Beaujeu, Grand-Master of the Temple, was unanimously appointed to the onerous post. One of his first acts was to refuse with scorn the most munificent offers, which were tendered by Khaled, to tempt him to surrender the town; a magnanimity which secured for him the perfect confidence of his garrison, who felt that whatever perils they might be called upon to undergo from the scimitar of the foe, they had nothing to dread from treachery at home.

The siege was pushed by the Infidels with the greatest vigour, and the defence of the Christians was equally obstinate. Closer and closer were drawn the hostile trenches, and day by day saw their battalions encircling the doomed city within a narrower grasp. Fearful was the effusion of blood which marked the contest. Sortie after sortie was made by the Christians, led on by the heroic Beaujeu, in which prodigies of valour proclaimed the desperation with which they combated, and the piles of Saracen dead which lay strewn along the plain marked the fatal track of the Latin squadrons. With such an army, however, as that which fought under the banner of Khaled, the slaughter of a few thousands could have but little effect in enfeebling his attacks or averting his

fell purpose. Closer beneath the walls he pushed his advances, until at length he was enabled to bring his battering-rams into active play, whilst at the same time his miners were busily engaged in undermining the various towers by which the ramparts were flanked. Crash after crash marked the successive downfall of their bulwarks, yet still they struggled on with the most indomitable perseverance, and a courage whose heroism had in it something quite sublime.

At last the Cursed Tower, one of the principal points of defence in the city, shared the common fate, and opened a breach in the most vulnerable part of the ramparts. Henry of Cyprus with his auxiliaries had been stationed at this point, and gallantly maintained the breach against every effort of the Moslem until night intervened to cause a cessation of the struggle; then, however, perceiving that a renewal of the combat on the morrow would render his situation desperate, and in all probability lead to his capture, if not death, he determined on abandoning the post, and secretly regaining the shelter of his ships. Alleging as a reason the necessity for repose which the events of the day had rendered imperative for his force, he yielded the post to some Teutonic Knights, promising faithfully to resume it at daybreak the next morning; instead of which, having hurried on board his fleet, he set sail for Cyprus, under cover of night, and abandoned the heroic remnant of the garrison to their fate. The next morning at daybreak the assault was renewed by the Saracens with greater determination than ever, but the Teutonic Knights, who retained the post thus basely deserted, presented an impassable barrier of steel to their onset. Fiercely throughout the day the combat



raged around the deadly breach, until at length towards evening, overborne by numbers, and exhausted by their now prolonged defence, the Germans gave way, and the foe, with loud shouts of exultation, poured into the place. At this critical moment, when all appeared lost, Villiers, whose enthusiastic zeal always led him where the fight was thickest, comprehending at a glance the peril of the situation, directed his marshal to rush with the Hospitallers to the rescue. On came that fiery phalanx, like a wall of steel, hurling itself with irresistible force against the advancing stream of Moslems, who were pouring through the now defenceless breach. Never was the white cross of the Order displayed in deadlier fray; long and obstinate was the struggle; the one party striving to retain the advantage they had gained, and the other equally strenuous in their efforts once more to drive the foe beyond their walls. At length, the impetuous valour of the warriors of the Cross overcame every obstacle, and the terror-stricken Moslem, still struggling with his foe to the last, was once again hurled backward over the breach, and forced to retire with discomfiture to his intrenchments.

This was the last transient gleam of success which flashed upon the Christian cause. Innumerable fresh battalions were still at the command of Khaled, and these were poured in constant succession by their determined general against the exhausted and enfeebled defenders of the town. Thrice on the following day was the city lost, and as often regained by its dauntless garrison; but on each occasion the impossibility of maintaining the desperate struggle became more and more apparent; and though each noble warrior still brandished his bloody falchion undismayed, and trod

the rampart with a proud determination that the Moslem should cross it only over his lifeless corse, yet it was evidently the energy of desperation, and not of hope; and Beaujeu, with his coadjutors, felt that nothing short of a miracle could rescue the doomed city. Even in this hopeless condition the idea of a surrender never appears to have been mooted. Though it was beyond the power of these soldiers of Christianity to retain their footing in this last stronghold of their faith, still there yet remained to them one duty, which they prepared themselves to perform, and this was to seal their devotion with their blood.

At length dawned the fatal morning when the sacrifice was destined to be consummated, and whose sun was to set upon the complete expulsion of the Latins from Syria. Early in the day the marshal of the Hospitaliers, whose noble daring had on more than one occasion been the means of rescuing the city from immediate capture, fell at the head of his Order, while defending a breach which had been made practicable in the ramparts near the gate of St. Anthony. Dismayed at the loss of this gallant soldier, Beaujeu turned to Villiers, and requested him, as a last resource, to attempt a diversion, by sallying out of the town and attacking the enemy's camp, trusting in this manner to obtain breathing time in which to re-fortify the post. In willing obedience to a mandate which accorded well with the fiery ardour of his character, Villiers hastily assembled a troop of White Cross Knights, and issuing from the city by a side gate, made a circuit, so as if possible to fall upon the flank of the foe unperceived. Khaled was, however, too experienced a general to allow himself to be thus taken unawares, and Villiers

found an overwhelming force of cavalry drawn up to receive him. Feeling that his stratagem had failed, and that it would be sheer madness to attempt an attack on the dense and serried ranks in his front, Villiers reluctantly turned rein, with the intention of re-entering the town. Here, however, he learnt that their gallant leader Beaujeu was slain; that the Infidels had established themselves on the breach of St. Anthony; and that all was lost.

Perceiving that under these disastrous circumstances his presence could be of no further avail, and that it now became his duty to rescue such of his Knights as had hitherto escaped the scimitar of the foe, from the massacre which was even at that moment flooding the streets with blood, he drew off towards the shore, with the intention of embarking them on board the galleys which still remained at anchor in the roadstead. This was, after some difficulty, accomplished; the enemy being held in check by the archers, who, posted upon the vessels' decks, kept up an incessant discharge of arrows upon their advancing squadrons; and thus the sad and slender relics of that proud fraternity, who had during so many years erected the white cross of their Order as a bulwark, impassable to the Moslem, turned their backs upon the sacred soil of their adoption.

Broken in spirit, faint with exhaustion, and overpowered by an adverse destiny, they now, after two centuries of incessant warfare, found themselves floating on the wide ocean, a body of homeless wanderers, without an aim in view, or a purpose to accomplish. Sad fate for men, who in their own persons, as well as in those of their predecessors, had achieved so much for Christianity, and had gained such imperishable renown,

—a renown which reflected a still brighter halo from the fatal struggle now brought to such an unfortunate issue. Amidst the despairing shrieks of the captive inhabitants, and the ferocious shouts of exultation from the victorious Moslem, that were borne upon the wings of the wind, and that formed their last adieu to that land which they had loved so well, they turned the prows of their galleys westward, and reluctantly wended their sorrowful way towards the island of Cyprus; leaving nought behind them but one vast blank of desolation and despair.

## CHAP. VII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORDER IN CYPRUS.—ITS FIRST NAVAL ARMAMENTS.—DEATH OF JOHN DE VILLIERS AND ELECTION OF ODON DE PINS.—HIS MONASTIC SECLUSION.—DISSATISFACTION OF THE ORDER.—DEATH OF ODON DE PINS.—ACCESSION OF WILLIAM DE VILLARET.—EXPEDITION INTO PALESTINE.—PROJECT FOR THE CAPTURE OF RHODES.—PREPARATIONS FOR THAT OPERATION.—DEATH OF WILLIAM DE VILLARET AND ACCESSION OF FULKE DE VILLARET.—CAPTURE OF RHODES.—DESTRUCTION OF THE ORDER OF THE TEMPLE.

THE shattered and enfeebled relics of the unfortunate garrison of Acre found shelter within the island of Cyprus, where Henry of Lusignan, anxious to remove the stain cast upon his name by his dastardly flight from the beleaguered city, welcomed them with open arms. The town of Limisso was accorded to them as a residence; and here the Hospitallers, for the fourth time, re-established their convent; and, after a brief repose, commenced making such arrangements for the re-organisation of their body as the exigencies of the case seemed to require.

An imperative order was at once issued for each grand priory to despatch to Cyprus without delay all the available members who might be residing within its limits; and this injunction was obeyed with so much enthusiasm, that ere the expiration of many months

the attenuated ranks of the fraternity at Limisso once more became augmented into somewhat of their pristine magnitude. Nor was it in numbers only that welcome contributions poured in from Europe; the coffers of every priory was drained to the uttermost for the assistance of the general treasury; so that they were enabled again to open their Hospital, and to recommence the practice of those religious functions which had been so rudely disturbed by the repeated aggressions of the Infidel.

Although the Holy Land had completely passed away from the power of the Christians, the numbers of the pilgrims who annually sought its shores remained unabated; the duty, therefore, once again devolved on the military friars of rendering them such protection and escort on the road as lay within their means. For this purpose, the galleys which had been employed in their conveyance from Acre were again brought into requisition; and the brethren, driven from that sacred soil to whose protection they had so long devoted themselves, adopted a fresh career; and on the new element which they had chosen, soon succeeded in demonstrating to their Saracen foe that the flag of their Order was to be as much dreaded when waving over their galleys, as it had been of yore when borne triumphantly in the van during the constant struggles of the preceding two centuries. To the various ports of Italy and the Adriatic these new fleets wended their way, in the months of March and August; and, collecting the grateful bands of wandering devotees from these several points of embarkation, they escorted them safely to the haven of their wishes; whence, as soon as they had satisfied the cravings of their religious en-

thusiasm, they once more accompanied them home to the land of their fathers.

In these passages they not unfrequently encountered the hostile galleys of the Infidel, which, scenting their prey from afar, like the vulture on the battle field, were always to be found hovering around their would-be victims. They were not long, however, in discovering that their old foe had lost none of his vigour, and was as dauntless in enterprise as they had known him of old; and numerous Turkish prizes, which ere long graced the harbour of Cyprus, were the first promising tokens of that maritime supremacy which was eventually to assert itself over the waters of the Mediterranean. Many of these prizes were very rich, and individual Knights had taken advantage of their position to secure some of that wealth for themselves, which should have found its way into the public treasury. The discipline of the Order had been rudely shaken by the disaster of Acre; and the sudden flush of prosperity which thus beamed upon them in this first commencement of their new career, still further loosened the bonds of due restraint. The very island upon which they had established their convent bore amidst its balmy breezes the seeds of that luxurious voluptuousness which from the earliest ages has been its characteristic; and the Hospitaller, released from the restraint and the privations of a successful cruise, sought to make amends for the toils he had undergone by a period of luxury, if not of dissipation.

Two general chapters were held by order of John de Villiers, in order to check this rising tendency to display and self-gratification. No Knight was for the future to be permitted the possession of more than three horses; and all adornment in his equipments was once more

strictly forbidden. At the same time, stringent regulations were laid down respecting the debts which might be left by a brother at his death ; and the mode in which they were to be defrayed. From the fact of such a regulation being required at all, it appears pretty evident that these fast members of the Hospital were not content with spending the proceeds of their successful cruises in a manner little becoming those who had taken the oaths of poverty and chastity ; but, in the same way as we notice with the fast men of the present day, they must needs have entailed upon themselves the aristocratic appendage of debts. It was ordained, that in case the household and personal property of the Knight were not sufficient to liquidate his liabilities, they were to be defrayed out of the funds which he had originally consecrated to the Order on his admission ; a method of payment which seems likely to have pressed far more severely on the public treasury, than on the peccant individual ; and must also have had the effect of encouraging traders and usurers to grant increased facilities for the obtaining of credit, when they felt they had such undeniable security to fall back upon. However, the general stringency of the enactments made by these two chapters had the desired effect of checking the excesses of the turbulent ; and something approaching their former state of discipline and good order was once more established.

During the remainder of the rule of John de Villiers, their maritime expeditions continued without intermission, and they gradually curbed the power of the Infidel in this branch of warfare to so great an extent as to render the navigation of the Levant comparatively secure to the commerce of Europe. This was a boon felt and appre-



ciated by every nation ; more especially by those who, like the Venetians, owed their position in the scale of nations entirely to the magnitude of their commerce. Whilst the Hospitallers had been engaged in the defence of the Holy Land, their achievements, brilliant as they were, had been of assistance to but comparatively few of the vast population of Europe ; and although much religious enthusiasm had been awakened by the numerous tales of heroism and knightly daring which were the constant theme of the troubadour in hall and bower, still little or no permanent impression was left upon the hearers' minds. Now, however, when, in addition to the sacred cause of combating against the Infidel, there was added the more immediate and personal benefit of protection to their commerce, a cry of gratitude and acclaim arose on every side.

The difference between the conduct of the Hospitaller and the Templar was freely discussed, and payed the way for that complete overthrow of the latter Order which was even then hatching in the brain of Philip the Fair. They had both shared the same fate by their expulsion from Syria, and both had equally earned imperishable laurels by their gallant defence of Acre. But from the moment when they had turned their backs upon that scene of strife how different had been their conduct. The Hospitaller, availing himself of the nearest point from which he could still carry on the objects of his Institution, had established himself almost within sight of those shores from which he had been driven. Unable any longer to compete with his foe on the land, he had not hesitated to encounter him on a new element, and those Turkish rovers, who had for so many years been the terror of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean,

were taught to feel that the day had at length arrived when their supremacy should be ended. Instead of the slave marts of Egypt being filled with the captive Christian mariners, from amongst whom they had been accustomed to draw their supply, the tables were completely turned ; and the Turkish galley-slave, bending to his oar in one of the numerous vessels of his Christian captors, had ample opportunities for reflection, and for cursing the mischance which had brought these new and invincible foes across his path. The Templar, on the other hand, after a brief sojourn in Cyprus, instead of rendering the smallest assistance to his chivalrous and knightly brethren in their new undertaking, hurried with unseemly haste to his numerous wealthy European preceptories ; where the grossness of his licentiousness, the height of his luxury, and the arrogance of his pride, soon rendered him an object of the most invincible hatred amongst those who possessed ample power to accomplish his overthrow. During these last years of their existence little can be said in defence of the Order, and although the barbarous cruelty with which their extinction was accomplished has raised a feeling of compassion in their behalf which bids fair to efface the memory of their crimes, still it cannot be denied that they had of late years so far deviated from the original purposes of their Institution as to render them highly unfit depositaries of that wealth which had been bequeathed to them for purposes so widely different from those to which they had appropriated it.

In the year 1294, having greatly raised his Order in public estimation, John de Villiers breathed his last in his convent home at Cyprus, and his place was filled by Odon de Pins, a knight of Provence. This aged brother

was more celebrated for piety than for military exploits, and in the governance of a fraternity of monks might have proved a most edifying chief; but in the turbulent days amidst which his lot was cast, he was not possessed of a mind that could control, either the fierce spirits under his charge, or the aggressive neighbours by whom he was surrounded. Occupied in the peaceful duties of his convent and hospital, he utterly neglected those other obligations of his post, which were far more congenial to the temperament of his subordinates.

Having lost their all in the abandonment of Acre, his Knights were still burning to recruit their shattered finances by a continuation of those maritime forays which they had so successfully commenced under Villiers. Whilst the galleys of the Infidel, laden with the wealth of the East, were still to be found ploughing their way through the blue waters of the Levant, and requiring but a few dauntless and daring spirits to claim them for their own, it is not surprising that the inertness and monastic seclusion of Odon de Pins rapidly gave rise to murmurings on the part of the more active and restless of his fraternity. Greater and greater became the dissatisfaction as time wore on, and the harbour of Cyprus no longer bore on its bosom those prizes, which, in the time of his predecessor, had so often lain there in triumph. Utterly heedless of the increasing marks of discontent which showed themselves on all sides, Odon continued as regular as ever in his attendance on the religious duties of his profession, and equally negligent of its military obligations. Unable any longer to submit to this compulsory inactivity, the fraternity made a general appeal to the Pope for permission to depose their chief, enumerating the various causes for dissatisfaction

to which they considered his conduct had given rise. The Pope summoned Odon to appear before him at Rome, in order that he might decide in his presence as to the justice of the appeal; and the Grand-Master, like an obedient son of the Church, instantly prepared to obey the mandate, and set forth on his journey. He was not, however, destined ever to enter the presence of his ecclesiastical superior, for having been seized with illness on the road, he gradually sank under his complaint, and eventually death put an end to his troubles, as well as to the disputes and disagreements of which he had been the cause.

His successor was William de Villaret, also a Knight of Provence, who at the time of his election was Grand Prior of St. Gilles, and at the moment residing in his priory. His brother Fulke was also a Knight of St. John, and of great eminence, so much so that he was destined at the death of William to succeed him in the government; his sister Jourdain was the Superior of the convent of Hospitaller ladies in Quercy; so that the family may be considered to have attained the highest possible dignities in the Order to which they were attached. Villaret used no haste in quitting his priory upon receiving the intelligence of his elevation; but, availing himself of the authority with which that appointment invested him, he made a magisterial inspection of all the priories in France, directing the most searching reforms, and eradicating numerous obnoxious abuses. This done, and having paid his Holiness a flying visit en route, he proceeded to Cyprus, to assume the sway which had been delegated into his hands.

One of the earliest and most important acts of his rule was a descent upon Palestine, undertaken by the

Hospitallers, in alliance with Gayan, king of Persia. The accounts of this prince vary considerably ; some writers having asserted that he was a Christian, others that he was a Mahometan, whilst there are not wanting those who state he was a Pagan. Be this as it may, he was undoubtedly a bitter enemy to the Saracens, and had entered willingly into an alliance with the king of Cyprus, the Hospitallers, and the king of Armenia, having for its object the expulsion of his antagonists from Palestine, which he desired to see once more in the possession of the Christians, who, he considered, would form an admirable barrier on the frontier of his dominions. The records of this expedition are but few and scanty ; so much so, that its actual occurrence has been held highly problematical. Still, there remains sufficient testimony to render it a matter of little doubt, not only that the Christians did actually once more make good their footing in the Holy Land, but that they advanced so far as, and took possession of, the sacred city itself. The policy of the Saracens, however, had rendered this advance of no permanent avail to their foes ; they had taken the precaution of destroying the fortifications of every city within the limits of Palestine ; the possession of which, therefore, must eventually have remained with that power which could maintain the largest force in the field. Accordingly we find that the Hospitallers, having once more gladdened their eyes with the sight of those holy places, so familiar to their memory, were obliged to retire from the superior force which the Saracens were bringing against them, their ally Gayan having been suddenly called away in the midst of the campaign to quell a rebellion in his own dominions.

Thus driven from Palestine, and yet eager to bestir himself in the interests of his Order, the mind of Villaret gradually became impressed with a desire to obtain for his convent a new and more permanent home than that which had been accorded to them in Cyprus, a home where they should be enabled to consider themselves as lords, and not be merely tolerated as unwelcome guests; the position which they had for some time been doomed to occupy. Various subjects of discord had gradually grown up during their residence at Cyprus between themselves and the king; oppressive taxes and other exactions had been imposed upon them, and, despite the earnest remonstrances of the Pope, their payment had been insisted upon; it was, therefore, but natural that Villaret should desire to change his home to some more hospitable locality, and to seek to obtain for his name a lasting renown, by regaining for his Institution a position of dignity more in accordance with that which hitherto they had been accustomed to occupy.

For this purpose he turned his eyes in the direction of Rhodes, a spot which appeared in every way adapted to the purpose he had at heart. This island had originally formed a dependence of the empire of Constantinople. At the time when that kingdom fell under the power of the Latin Crusaders, it became the prey of the Genoese, in whose possession it remained, until Vatiens, one of the most talented princes of his age, succeeded in expelling the intruders, and restoring it to the empire from which it had been torn. Gradually, however, its governors established themselves as independent princes in the island; and in order to make good their pretensions against the emperor, they opened

their ports for the reception of all the Turkish and Saracen merchants who chose to make it their home ; and the corsairs who ravaged the Mediterranean were always sure of a hearty welcome and a safe shelter within its harbours. To repel this noxious swarm, and to destroy their nest, erecting in its place a stronghold of Christianity which should be a terror to the Infidels, seemed to Villaret an object worthy of his ambition, and one whose attainment would secure for him the deepest gratitude from all the powers of Europe.

Impressed with these views, he determined upon making a secret but close reconnoissance of the island ; and was preparing for this duty when, in conjunction with the Grand-Master of the Temple, he received a summons to repair to Rome ; ostensibly for the purpose of a conference as to the propriety and feasibility of a new Crusade. This, however, was only a subterfuge on the part of the Pope to conceal the ulterior designs he had in view, and of which we shall hear more anon. The Grand-Master of the Templars lost no time in repairing to Rome in accordance with his instructions ; but Villaret excused himself from the journey, on the plea of the urgent business in which he was then engaged ; indeed, he was at that moment in the act of starting from Cyprus, burning with anxiety to obtain the most accurate information which might assist him in the prosecution of his enterprise.

He coasted cautiously round the island, marking well its various points of defence, as also those which seemed to him the most vulnerable, the positions of the harbours, the sites of the towns, and the number of their inhabitants. By the time he had concluded his survey, he discovered that the undertaking was one of no

ordinary magnitude, and that the island possessed the most formidable means of defence, if its inhabitants knew how to avail themselves skilfully of their advantage. Undeterred by the knowledge of these difficulties, he returned to Cyprus determined to lose no time in organising his expedition, and carrying his resolution into effect. Unfortunately, however, in the midst of his preparations, a sudden and violent illness put a period to his existence, and postponed for awhile the execution of a project he had had so much at heart.

This event occurred in 1308, and the Order, by the members of which he was much regretted, elected his brother Fulke in his place; conceiving, with great justice, that as the latter had always been in his confidence, there could be but little doubt that he was the best fitted to carry out the grand design of his brother. His first act on assuming the reins of office was to proceed at once to France, in order to procure an audience with Clement V. and Philip the Fair, from both of whom he hoped to obtain ample assistance in his project. He found the two potentates in close and secret conclave at Poitiers, in company with James de Molay, the unfortunate Grand-Master of the Temple, who had arrived there during the preceding year, in profound ignorance of a cruel plot then framing against himself and his fraternity. Villaret lost no time in opening his mind to both Pope and king, pointing out the innumerable advantages which the acquisition of Rhodes by the Knights of St. John would confer upon the whole of Europe. Clement V., with an excusable ambition that the period of his papacy should be marked by an event so important to Christianity, entered warmly into his schemes: not content with contributing a large sum of money from



his own private resources, he used his utmost influence to obtain for Villaret such assistance, both in men and money, as his papal authority could extract from the various nations who acknowledged his supremacy.

In order to prevent the secret of the enterprise from transpiring, a new Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land was preached, backed by the promise of plenary indulgence to those who should either join the expedition or contribute funds for its support. To the Grand-Master he yielded the right of nomination to the post of archbishop of Rhodes, in the event of his success requiring the creation of such a dignity. Large numbers of enthusiasts responded eagerly to the papal appeal, and flocked to Brundisium, which had been appointed the rendezvous from which they were to embark. Villaret found that he had not means of transport for one third of those who proposed to accompany him, great part of whom were but a disorderly throng, more likely to impede than to assist him in his projected enterprise. Selecting, therefore, only the flower of these hosts of volunteers, he embarked them on board the galleys which had been expressly furnished for this expedition, as the joint contribution of Charles II., king of Sicily, and the republic of Genoa.

Villaret was a man of a very haughty and reserved character, and not one to submit with impunity to the cross-examination of his inferiors. In his hands lay the chief command and entire control of the expedition, and the known peculiarities of his disposition may have aided him materially in preserving within his own breast the secret of its destination. Passing Rhodes at some little distance, in order to avoid awakening the suspicions of its inhabitants, he proceeded to Cyprus, where he embarked

such members of his Order as had remained there during his absence in Europe. He thence proceeded in a north-easterly direction, and having left Syria on his right, he entered a port in Asia Minor. Every one was now eager to learn their ultimate destination, but Fulke was still impenetrable in his reserve. To his own Order only did he unfold his design, with strict injunctions of secrecy, for from them he was sure of a cheerful, nay even an enthusiastic support. To the remainder of his forces he still maintained the fiction of a Crusade, with the prospect of which it was his intention to blind them until the proper moment arrived for throwing off his disguise.

His object in thus putting into port was to enable him to send an embassy to Constantinople, to demand from the emperor the sovereignty of Rhodes, when he should have achieved its conquest, promising in return an annual contribution both of men and money to the Greek empire, in case his request were granted. The emperor, however, although his authority over Rhodes was at that moment purely nominal, the reality having long since slipped from his grasp, declined to consent to this proposal. It is likely that he conceived he had a greater prospect of being enabled to regain possession of the island, whilst it remained in the hands of Saracen pirates, than if it once became the stronghold of the Order of St. John. This refusal having been fully anticipated by Fulke, had but little weight in dissuading him from his task, on the prompt execution of which he was more than ever intent. Whilst awaiting the answer from Constantinople he had despatched spies into Rhodes, with a view to obtaining most accurate information with respect to the island. These spies had returned with such tempting accounts of its wealth and fertility, of the beauty of

its towns, the verdure of its fields, and the commodiousness of its harbours, that his impatient spirit yearned to hold within his grasp the possession of so lovely a spot.

Once more embarking his forces, and now at length revealing to them their destination, he speedily sighted the much-coveted prize, and without allowing the inhabitants time to recover from the surprise and panic into which the sudden apparition of his fleet had thrown them, he made a descent upon the coast, and after a slender and ineffectual resistance on their part, effected a landing. By this prompt measure the open country fell in a great measure into his hands; still, as the town of Rhodes remained in the possession of the Saracens, this occupation availed him but little, and he felt that the greatest part of his task remained yet to be performed, so long as the banner of the crescent continued to wave over its ramparts. Gallantly, therefore, did he attempt by a daring storm to carry off this stronghold of the pirates, but in vain; the number and valour of the besieged, added to the strength of the defences by which they were surrounded, more than counterbalanced the impetuous energy of the crusading invaders, backed though these latter were by the veterans of the Hospital, and led on by the daring Villaret himself.

Many of the Saracens, who had during the first moments of panic embarked on board their galleys, and put to sea, finding that all was not lost as they had imagined, returned to port, and aided to swell the strength of the garrison. The emperor of Constantinople also, so soon as he had learnt that the contemplated descent upon Rhodes had been actually effected, despatched at once an auxiliary force to assist in driving out the invaders, trusting that after their expulsion he

might succeed in regaining possession of the island for himself. In the face of this augmentation in the numbers of the foes against whom he had to contend, Villaret was doomed to witness a rapid decrease in the strength of his own forces. Many of those gallant spirits who in a moment of enthusiasm had joined the Crusade, under the firm conviction that its object was the expulsion of the Saracen from Palestine, and the restoration of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, found their religious ardour considerably abating when they discovered that they were called upon to combat, not for that sacred object which had been for centuries the incentive to European valour, but for the private advantage of an Order which, notwithstanding the numerous benefits it was daily conferring on Christianity, was by many regarded with jealousy and suspicion, if not with actual dislike. One by one the warriors of Europe abandoned the enterprise, and shrank stealthily away from the scene of a strife which was daily becoming more and more unpromising. Eventually, Villaret found himself abandoned by all, excepting the members of his own fraternity, who having staked everything on the cast, had, with him, determined to stand the hazard of the die.

Under these adverse circumstances, all further attempts at the capture of the city were for the moment out of the question, and it was not long ere he found himself surrounded by his foes and in a state of siege within the limits of his own camp. Aroused into a state of fury by the audacity of this leaguer of Greeks and Saracens, Villaret assembled all that remained to him of his invading army, and, after a brief and spirited harangue, he led them forth to the assault, determined either to clear the country of the enemy or to sacrifice

the slender remains of his force in the attempt. The struggle was long and obstinate, and the loss of the Hospitallers such as, in their state of numerical weakness, they could but ill afford. Desperation at length inclined the balance in Villaret's favour, and ere that evening sun had set he had the satisfaction of once more standing master of the field and witnessing the dispersion to the four winds of heaven of the numerous battalions who had hemmed him in.

The routed Saracens, taking advantage of the approaching darkness of night, flung themselves headlong into their galleys, and, crossing over to the main land, spread throughout the province of Lycia the dismaying intelligence of their utter defeat. Meanwhile Villaret, having re-assembled the proud relics of his force, returned once again to his attempts upon the city; but, finding himself far too much enfeebled to achieve its capture by assault, he determined to convert his attack into a blockade, and to await the arrival of reinforcements from Europe. His steady perseverance and dauntless energy carried him triumphantly through the difficulties of this crisis. He succeeded in obtaining a large sum of money, by way of loan, from the Florentine bankers, upon the security of the revenues of his Order, which he pledged for the purpose,—a security which, from many concurrent causes, could hardly have been considered safe, and which must have required no little financial talent on his part to have rendered marketable. Provided thus with the sinews of war, he was not long in calling to his side, and arraying beneath his banner, a considerable number of those mercenary troops whose services were at that time always to be purchased by a good paymaster.

Finding his numbers now once more restored to something of their pristine state, and his foes, cooped up within the walls of the town, being much disheartened by the lengthened blockade to which they had been subjected, he determined once more to resume active operations, and, on this occasion, with greater success than before; for, on the 5th of August, 1310, the white cross banner of the Hospital was waving over the ramparts of Rhodes; and the remnant of that nest of pirates who escaped the exterminating sword of the invader, had fled in confusion to the shores of Asia.

No authentic records of this struggle now exist or appear ever to have come to the aid of the historian of this epoch; the only account of its transactions having been the somewhat apocryphal details which could be gathered from the study of a set of tapestry hangings commemorating the events of this siege, which for many years decorated the residence of the Grand-Master, in the convent at Rhodes. It has been recorded by some of the older historians,—although those of a later date have rejected the fact as an absurd fable,—that an entry was finally obtained within the ramparts of the town by the following stratagem. On a dark and foggy morning (and of a truth the day must have been very dark and very foggy), some of the most daring of the Knights of the Hospital arrayed themselves in the fleecy clothing of those gentle denizens of the mountain pastures who were wont daily to pass the gates of the town in search of food. Joining the flock whilst returning homewards into the city, they entered along with them unperceived, bearing out truly the simile of wolves in sheep's clothing. Once within

the ramparts of the town, they were not long in announcing to the shepherds their true character, and, gaining possession of the principal gate, soon admitted their expectant brethren. Without attaching more importance to this fable than its manifold absurdity warrants, we are compelled to admit that all details as to the actual capture of the city of Rhodes are wanting. It has been presumed, and probably with some reason, that a large fire, which nearly destroyed the whole convent during the first century of their residence in the island, may have consumed such documentary evidence of the transaction as was likely to have been retained amongst the public archives.

The name of Rhodes appears to have been derived from the number of roses for which the island was famous, it having been previously called by the Greeks Ophieuse, or the Island of Serpents, owing to the number of these venomous reptiles with which it was at that time infested. Possessing a mild and temperate climate, which, while far removed from the scorching heat of the tropics, was at the same time totally free from the chilling blasts of more northern latitudes; with a soil the fertility of which was such as to render the whole island a garden, broken into alternate masses of hill and dale, whose rich and varied undulations were clothed with the most brilliant verdure, it was indeed a spot likely to attract the attention and excite the desires of a body of men who, like the Hospitallers, were in search of a permanent home. During the earlier ages of the Greek monarchy, Rhodes had been celebrated for the civilisation and manufacturing skill of her children; it was computed that at one time no less than 2000 statues adorned the island, whilst as workers in metals

the Rhodians never were surpassed. Its hardy population furnished a constant supply of mariners, who in the pursuit of commerce were to be met with at every point within the coasts of the Mediterranean, and whose skill and energy raised the general character of their island to a very elevated point amidst the European commonwealths. When, however, in later years, the island fell under the domination of the effete empire of Constantinople, it gradually became inoculated with the same vices, and the same decay, that were slowly but steadily achieving the overthrow of the mother country. At the time that the Knights erected their banner upon its walls, the inhabitants had lost all that energy and strength of character which had of old distinguished them, and had bowed in abject submission to the yoke of the Saracenic pirates whom they had received within their ports.

Villaret's first act, after having secured possession of the town of Rhodes, was to embark on board his fleet with a large portion of the force that remained under his command, and paying a visit to the various small islands by which he was surrounded, he speedily enforced their submission to his authority. In this manner he successively touched at the islands of Nisyrus, Leros, Calamos, Episcopia or Telos, Calchos, Symia, and Cos; in none of which did he find any difficulty in asserting his rights of domination. In the latter island he determined to establish a small subsidiary fortress, perceiving its importance as a point of support to the principal island. Having completed these precautionary measures for the protection of his newly-achieved conquests, Villaret returned to Rhodes, for the purpose of taking steps to establish his convent in perpetuity in the island. From



the time of the first landing of the Hospitallers, until their final settlement in undisputed sovereignty over that and the adjacent islands, a period of nearly four years had elapsed, the whole of which was passed in a constant succession of struggles before the last of their piratical opponents had been driven to the mainland.

But while these events were occupying the energies and engrossing the attention of the members of the Hospital, changes of the most vital importance had occurred in Europe, which materially affected their future fortunes, and to which it will be necessary now to refer.

After the death of Pope Benedict XI., the conclave of Cardinals, assembled to elect his successor, found themselves divided into two factions, which might be distinguished as French and Italian. Fortunately for the interests of Philip the Fair, the leader of the French party was Cardinal Dupré, a consummate politician, and well versed in the intrigues of a court. Perceiving that his party was not sufficiently numerous to carry the election of a French nominee, and trusting that he might meet the views of his monarch in a different manner, he, on behalf of his French colleagues, intimated to the adverse faction that he would allow them the nomination of three candidates for the post, provided they would consent to the election of whichever of the three he might select. The Italians, perceiving that by nominating three of their own side as candidates they could ensure the election, acceded at once to the proposal, and submitted the names of three rampant Ultramontanists for Dupré's choice. Amongst these was Bertrand de Got, the archbishop of Bordeaux, a man of unprincipled character, loose morality, and overweening

ambition. Dupré conceived that in this prelate king Philip might, if he acted judiciously, find a willing tool, although he was at that moment his open and avowed enemy. He therefore at once secretly despatched a messenger to Philip, informing him of the decision at which the cardinals had arrived, and that the nomination of the archbishop of Bordeaux lay within the power of the French party. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Philip immediately wrote to Bertrand begging him to repair at once with the utmost privacy to an appointed rendezvous, where the king was anxious to submit for his acceptance certain offers of great advantage to himself. The result of this clandestine interview was, that Philip consented to procure his nomination to the Papal See; whilst on his side, Bertrand pledged himself to carry out the king's views in all matters relating to Church government in France. It has been very generally recorded that, in addition to these promises, the expectant Pope was required to pledge himself to exercise the whole authority of his position in order to carry out the speedy and complete destruction of the Order of the Temple. Between this fraternity and Philip a bitter and undying hatred had been engendered, much fostered by the numerous acts of arrogance and insubordination to his authority, of which its members had been so frequently guilty.

In order to carry out these projects, Bertrand had been no sooner elected to the chair of St. Peter, under the title of Clement V., than he prepared to take the first steps towards their annihilation, by securing the person of the Grand-Master, James de Molay. For this purpose he wrote, as we have already seen, to the chiefs of both Orders, requiring their immediate pre-

sence at Lyons, where his court was at that time established, for the ostensible purpose of deliberating with him as to the propriety of organising a new Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. John de Villiers declined obeying this mandate, not from any suspicion of treachery or danger, but simply because he was at the moment busily engaged in preparing for a descent on Rhodes. James de Molay, however, who was the only victim Clement cared to entrap, most unfortunately for himself and his Order, lost no time in repairing to France, where he arrived in the early part of 1307, bearing with him a large accumulation of treasure, the property of the fraternity, which, for greater security, he lodged in the Temple at Paris. He was at first treated with every consideration by both king and Pontiff: various discussions took place between Clement and himself, both as to the advisability of a Crusade, and also as to a projected union of the two Orders; indeed, Clement was so urgent on this latter point, that it may be doubted whether he did not trust, by some such amalgamation in which the Templars might lose all individuality and become merged into the Order of the Hospital, to avoid proceeding to those extremities against them which the ruthless Philip contemplated, and to the execution of which, by his promises to that monarch, he stood pledged. Be this as it may, Molay steadfastly rejected the proposal, and in a lengthy document, which history has preserved, he adduced numerous arguments in support of his opposition to the measure. From this moment his fate was sealed; if the Pope had intended his proposal as a compromise whereby the lives and property of the Order might be preserved, the antago-

nism of Molay had caused its failure, and from that moment he determined to let matters take their course.

The pear was now ripe, the moment had arrived for which Philip had so deeply and so constantly plotted, and the fatal blow was to be no longer delayed. Secret orders were simultaneously issued to the judicial authorities throughout all the provinces of France, directing them to take a speedy and complete survey of all the Temple preceptories within their districts; making themselves thoroughly acquainted with the number and persons of such Knights as were there resident; and on the 13th of October they were to be all surprised and made prisoners. An inquiry under the Inquisition was to be at the same time instituted, the application of torture being authorised, in order to furnish such confessions from the lips of the unfortunate captives as might justify the proceedings taken against them.

These instructions were faithfully carried into effect, and on the appointed day, every Templar at that time within the limits of the French dominions was seized, and either cast into a dungeon, or placed in close confinement within his own preceptory. The witnesses, by whom the accusations brought against the Order were sustained, consisted of two reprobates, both under sentence of perpetual imprisonment: the one, Nosso de Florentin, an apostate Templar; and the other, Squire de Florian, a citizen of Bezières. Both of these worthies having been confined in the same dungeon, found ample time, in their enforced hours of idleness, to concoct a string of charges, such as required the full amount of credulity prevalent in those days to believe, and by which they trusted to purchase their own

liberation from the punishment which their crimes had justly brought down upon them.

These charges, which were afterwards framed into a regular act of inquisition, embraced no less than seventy-seven different items: the first thirteen of which imputed to the fraternity a total disbelief in God, our Saviour, the crucifixion, the blessed Virgin, and the other Saints; and that they performed divers acts of sacrilege, such as trampling and spitting upon the cross and the image of our Saviour. The next two articles accused them of worshipping a cat as a mark of contempt of the Christian religion. The next eight articles included a repudiation of the Sacraments of the Church. The following six implied a belief in the power of the superiors of the Order to grant absolution. Then followed six more items, accusing the fraternity of a number of acts during their reception of a novice which cannot be further alluded to. Three more made it a crime that the reception was performed in secrecy. Crimes and abominations, too disgusting to be named, formed the subject of the next seven, after which came twenty-one more accusing them of the worship of idols, and the remaining articles related to matters of heretical depravity. The idol alluded to as an object of worship was described as having "two carbuncles for eyes, bright as the brightness of heaven," and as covered with an old skin embalmed, having the appearance of a piece of polished oil-cloth. In their rites and ceremonies to this attractive object of worship, they were supposed to cook and roast infants, and to lubricate their idol with the fat; it was also said that they burnt the bodies of their deceased brethren, and made the ashes into a powder, which they administered to

the novices of the fraternity to confirm them in their idolatry, together with other abominations too absurd and horrible to be recapitulated.

On the 19th October 1307, the Grand Inquisitor commenced his examination of the Knights confined within the Temple at Paris, whose number amounted to 140. These unfortunate wretches were, one after the other, subjected to the most fearful tortures, under the skilful hands of the Dominicans, at that time justly esteemed the most expert torturers of the age. Whilst these revolting barbarities were being perpetrated in France, Philip had written to Edward II., who had just ascended the throne of England, enumerating the various accusations then being brought against the Order; and urging upon that monarch the necessity of his following the same line of conduct. To this letter Edward sent an answer, the tone of which implied a strong disbelief in the imputations sought to be cast upon the Templars, and refusing to take active measures in the matter without a rigid preliminary inquiry. It may be assumed that the result of this investigation was favourable to the accused, since on the 4th of December in the same year, we find Edward writing to the kings of Portugal, Castile, Aragon, and Sicily, requesting them to pay no attention to the accusations then being brought against the fraternity. He at the same time wrote to the Pope, to state his conviction that these rumours of foul and discreditable practices were utterly void of foundation. Unfortunately, however, for the Templars, the Pope had just addressed a bull to Edward, dated the 22nd November 1307, which must have reached him within a few days after he had despatched his own missive. In this document his

Eminence reiterates all the accusations that had been previously brought forward, and which he says are confirmed by the confessions extorted from the Knights who are prisoners in France. He therefore directs Edward, in that tone of arrogant superiority with which the pontiffs in those days were wont to address the monarchs of Europe, to cause all the Templars within his dominions to be taken into immediate custody, and their property to be committed into the hands of trustees, that they might be held in safety until he should send further instructions on the subject.

Whether this bull had really the effect of convincing Edward of the justice of the accusations, or whether he felt himself unable to cope with his ecclesiastical superior; or again, whether he foresaw in the impending dissolution of the Order a prospect of securing for himself, or for some of his unworthy favourites, a goodly slice out of that fair patrimony which the Templars had so long enjoyed within his dominions, and whose broad acres seemed now likely to fall a prey to the strongest arm; whichever of these reasons influenced the decision of the king, it is very certain that, in obedience to the orders of the Pope, all the Templars in England, save such as were sufficiently fortunate as to elude the grasp of the myrmidons of the law, were seized within their preceptories, on the 8th January 1308, to the number of 229. It will not be necessary to enter into any details of the proceedings that were carried on in both countries, the accusations being in most cases practically the same, and the results obtained not very dissimilar. Whilst, however, the examinations of the prisoners in England were carried on with comparatively but little cruelty, those undergone by the un-

fortunate victims of Philip's malevolence were coupled with every species of torture which the diabolic ingenuity of the priesthood could devise. A large number perished under the hands of the examiners; and many more sought a temporary relief from their agonies by acknowledging the justice of the accusations made against them.

There yet remained, however, a noble band, whose powers of endurance had enabled them to survive those tortures, under which their weaker brethren had succumbed, and the constancy of whose courage had been such as to have supported them even in that moment of fearful trial, and to have enabled them, manfully and firmly, to assert their innocence, even to the last. Of these noble specimens of the Christian soldier, fifty-four were burnt alive in Paris in one day, and they testified in the hour of death to the fair fame of their Order, and the fearful injustice of the persecution to which they had been subjected.

It was at length determined, between the king and Pope, that matters should be brought to an immediate termination; and a solemn council was convoked in the winter of 1311, to decide upon the ultimate fate of the fraternity. The members of this council, ecclesiastics though they were, and antagonistic though they had often proved themselves to the Templars, shrank from the task of annihilating an Order which, for so many years, had by its noble deeds of daring in the Christian cause, gained for itself the applause of every gallant spirit in Europe. Neither Philip nor Clement were to be turned from their fell purpose by the reluctance of a council of ecclesiastics; and the latter, in virtue of that plenary authority to which his position entitled him,



decreed on his own responsibility, and without even the form of sanction from the council, the utter and immediate suppression of the institution. After much discussion, and a variety of counter propositions, it was decided that all the estates of the Templars throughout Europe were to be adjudged to the Knights of Rhodes, under whose charge their revenues were to be placed, consecrated to the defence of the Holy Land, and of the pilgrims who annually sought its shores.

The concluding act of this bloody drama remained yet to be performed; the Grand-Master and the three grand-priors of Normandy, France, and Aquitaine, still remained languishing within the dungeons of their persecutor. The extremity of the torture to which they had been subjected had elicited from each of these dignitaries a partial confession on some of the absurd accusations brought against them; and it was felt necessary, in order to justify the atrocious cruelties and the scandalous spoliation of which the fraternity had been the victim, that this act of confession should be reiterated with the utmost publicity by these unfortunate Knights. For this purpose a scaffold was erected in front of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, and on the 18th of March 1313, the citizens were called together to hear the confessions of these four principal officers of the Order read aloud, and confirmed by themselves. As soon as the prisoners had taken their places on the scaffold, the bishop of Alba, after a violent harangue, in which he recapitulated the principal accusations that had been brought against the Templars, gave forth to the public the contents of a document, purporting to be an admission, on the part of the Grand-Master and his three companions, of their guilt. Upon being required to confirm

these confessions, the priors of France and Aquitaine admitted the truth of the statements, and this act of cowardice on their part purchased an ignominious prolongation to their existence; but James de Molay, advancing to the edge of the scaffold, in a loud tone of voice utterly repudiated his previous admissions. He announced to the assembled multitude, that not only had they been originally extorted from him in a weak moment, under the agony of torture, but, that they had also been distorted and interpolated in the most scandalous and barefaced manner, by the inquisitors before whom the examinations had been conducted, and who, he stated, deserved the death to which Saracens condemn those who have been convicted of lying and forgery. The prior of Normandy commenced to make a similar recantation, but the assembled authorities hurriedly brought his address to a close, and the two recusants were at once taken back to prison. The indignation of Philip, at this unexpected result to a proceeding by which he had contemplated a complete justification of the severity of his previous persecutions, was unbounded, and he determined to wreak an immediate and fearful vengeance on the authors of his disappointment. Without the loss of an hour, the fiat for their prompt execution was issued, and that same evening James de Molay and his fellow victim, Guy the prior of Normandy, were both burnt before a slow fire, on a small island in the river Seine, on the spot where the equestrian statue of Henry IV. now stands.

The promulgation of the papal mandate, announcing the extinction of the Order of the Temple, had been followed by a bull which, in accordance with the decision of the council before-mentioned, decreed that their pro-

perty should be transferred to the Knights of Rhodes; but, for a considerable period this mandate remained utterly unfulfilled; and even eventually, only a small portion of their revenues returned to the coffers of the Hospitallers. In Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, the respective monarchs erected new military Orders, with themselves as Grand-Masters, under the title of perpetual administrators, for the ostensible purpose of repelling the inroads of the Moors; by which means they retained all the property of the quondam fraternity within their own hands. In France, Philip laid a claim to the sum of 200,000*l.* as a reimbursement of the expenses which the prosecution of the Templars had cost him, and his son extorted a further sum of 60,000*l.* before he could be brought to transfer the much-coveted lands into the possession of the Hospitallers. In England, the overthrow of the Order was followed by a general scramble for the good things thus left without an owner. Some Edward seized for himself, others he transferred to favourites about his court, whilst many more were claimed by the heirs of the original donors. The Pope, indignant at this secular appropriation of ecclesiastical property, wrote most urgently and menacingly upon the subject; and ultimately the pious dread of the papal fulminations extorted an act of parliament, in the year 1324, by which the Hospitallers were put into legal possession of their rights. They found, however, to their cost, that in those troublous times, there was a vast difference between legal right and actual possession, and the struggle between themselves and the many vultures who had settled upon their prey, was continued for a lengthened period, and rendered the addition to

their property in England a matter far more nominal than real.

Such was the end of the Order of the Temple, an institution coeval with that of the Hospital, and which had stood side by side with it on many a well-fought field, and during many a protracted struggle; now, however, whilst the one Order had by its recent conquest of Rhodes raised itself to a yet higher pinnacle of fame than it had before attained, the sun of its rival's glory had set in gloom, and was for ever quenched in blood.

The accusations by which its overthrow had been achieved, were in themselves so preposterous and even ludicrous, that they were evidently but a cloak behind which to conceal the actual motives which influenced their persecutors. To the reader of the present day it seems extraordinary that such childish and ridiculous fabrications should have entered the imaginations of men like Philip and his coadjutors, who were distinguished for the vigour of their judgment, and the wisdom of their policy, unscrupulous though it often was. The result, however, proved that they did not underrate the intelligence of the age; and that they had suited their fables to the capacity of those for whose benefit they had been concocted. No statement was too gross, no imputation too transparent, for the vulgar prejudices of the fourteenth century; so that under the cover of popular ignorance, and beneath the mask of pious enthusiasm, a bitter vengeance was wreaked for many a bygone injury, and many a forgotten insult; forgotten, that is, by the haughty Templar, in all the pride of his wealth and position, but not by those who were biding their time, and by whom it was carefully nursed in silence, and in

secret, until that fatal hour should arrive, when a prompt and ample revenge might be secured in his blood.

Still, although it cannot for one instant be denied that the pretences, under cover of which the annihilation of the fraternity was achieved, were utterly false and without foundation, it does not follow that therefore they are to be acquitted of all evil, and to be surrounded by that halo of martyrdom which it has been the object of so many panegyrists to spread over their later days. The ordinary reasons attributed to Philip, Clement, and the other authors of their overthrow, will not suffice entirely to account for their catastrophe, though doubtless they may have had much weight in the matter. If it were avarice alone that prompted the act, how came it that Clement, who was the principal agent in the transaction, instead of appropriating their revenues to himself, or even to the ecclesiastics under his own immediate control, exerted his authority to the utmost to transfer that property to the rival fraternity of the Hospital? Again, how came it that that Order was not called upon to share the same fate? Had the amount of their worldly possessions been the only object by which the decision of their judges was influenced, the Hospitallers would have been the first to fall. They were more numerous, and endowed with ampler revenues, if not in England, most certainly in France, where the persecution was first hatched; they would, therefore, have afforded a far richer booty to the spoiler than could have been extorted from the Templars. Had this motive of avarice been the only incentive which prompted Philip in that ferocious onslaught, which he had originally devised, and which he was the chief agent in carrying into execution, his was not the

character to have tamely submitted to be defrauded of his gains, at the very moment when they had fallen within his grasp, through an abject fear of those ecclesiastical fulminations which were the only weapons Clement could have wielded against him. That pontiff was a creature of his own, elected by the favour of his nomination, and pledged to support him in all his undertakings. What then had he to fear, even though he had retained within his own hands every acre of land which throughout the breadth of his fair kingdom had once been lorded over by the Red Cross Knights?

We must needs look deeper than this for the motives which prompted the annihilation of one Order whilst it aggrandised the other on its ruins. At this distance of time, and in the absence of any conclusive evidence upon the subject, it would be very difficult to assert positively what these motives may have been. That the Templars had, of later years, achieved for themselves a reputation far from enviable, is an indisputable fact; that general dissoluteness, riot, and debauchery of every kind, had for a lengthened period been rampant within their preceptories, must be admitted by every impartial student of history. To drink like a Templar had become a bye-word throughout Europe; nor were their vices confined to intemperance only; they had indeed become cankered and corrupted through the vitiating influence of inactivity and idleness; the objects for which they had been instituted, and which had held them together during two centuries, had been abandoned finally and for ever. The Templar in his saddle, crossing the sandy plains of Palestine, was an institution of the country; and, as such, it grew and flourished, and the European preceptories became only so many off-

shoots and nurseries, from whence the parent stem was nourished; but now that the stately tree had been felled, that Syria had been abandoned, and that nought was left but the clinging roots, which spread their ramifications within the soil of every country in Europe, devoid of strength sufficient to enable them to spring up afresh, and yet drawing from the impoverished land, in the midst of which they had been planted, that sustenance which could but ill be spared, it was felt that their day was passed, and neither Philip nor Clement hesitated to root them out, and destroy them for ever.

^ Even at the present day there are not wanting those who, without absolutely going the lengths of the accusations enumerated above, still consider that there existed among the fraternity an unholy compact, which bound them together within its secret spell; there was in their mode of reception, and in many other formula of the Order, so much that was hidden from the vulgar gaze, and such strict secrecy was practised, that it is not impossible this suggestion may have had much truth in it; at all events, it is a curious fact that the Hospitallers, against whom no similar accusations were levelled, abjured all secrecy in their forms and ceremonies; nor is it easy to imagine the object of such a rigid silence, if there were nothing behind which required concealment. The greatest of our modern novelists has, in his romance of "Ivanhoe," placed in the mouth of Brian de Bois Guilbert, a Knight of the Temple, during his interview with Rebecca, a confession that within the secret conclave of his Order the difference of creed was held in derision as a nursery tale, and that their wealth was dedicated to ends of which their pious founders

little dreamed, and which were concealed from all such as embraced their Order on its ancient principles. Sir Walter Scott, who was undoubtedly the most faithful portrayer of character of his age, would never have ventured upon such a trait as this, had he not been well assured of its probability. All concurrent testimony of collateral circumstances point that way, and account for the apparent anomaly, which left the one Order intact whilst it destroyed the other.

Still, whatever may have been their crimes, it is impossible for the historian to touch upon this last sad scene in their eventful career without some expression of pity for their cruel fate. However they may have degenerated of late years, they had for two centuries nobly borne their part in the struggles of the East, and had earned for themselves a name within the page of history of such high renown, that it should have saved them from so fearful an end. Within these pages their name will not again appear; from this date their brethren of the Hospital will be left to struggle on alone, and the ill-disciplined gallantry and the impetuous valour of the Templar, now that he is no more, must be pleaded in palliation of those crimes which so unfortunately blotted his fair fame.



## CHAP. VIII.


VILLARET ESTABLISHES HIS ORDER AT RHODES. — HIS ARROGANCE. — PLOTS AGAINST HIM. — HIS FLIGHT TO LINDOS. — APPEALS TO THE POPE. — HIS RESIGNATION. — APPOINTMENT OF ELYON DE VILLANOVA. — DIVISION OF THE ORDER INTO LANGUAGES. — DEODATO DE GOZON AND THE DRAGON OF RHODES. — WAR AGAINST THE TURKS. — CAPTURE OF SMYRNA. — ELECTION OF DEODATO DE GOZON. — HIS RESIGNATION. — INTRIGUES OF HEREDIA, THE CASTELLAN OF EMPOSTA. — EXPEDITION TO ALEXANDRIA AND CAPTURE OF THE TOWN. — ELECTION OF HEREDIA AS GRAND-MASTER. — HIS PREVIOUS HISTORY. — HE ESCORTS THE POPE TO ROME. — HE JOINS THE EXPEDITION TO PATRAS. — CAPTURE OF THE CITY. — HEREDIA FALLS INTO THE HANDS OF THE TURKS. — HIS RANSOM. — SCHISM IN THE CHURCH. — HEREDIA RETURNS TO AVIGNON. — HIS DEATH.

VILLARET having by his recent successes found himself in undisputed possession of the Island of Rhodes, lost no time in commencing to secure his position, by restoring the shattered ramparts of the town. At the same time he made such arrangements, in connexion with the islands surrounding his stronghold, as their close proximity seemed to render advisable.

The principal of these was Cos, afterwards called Lango, and at present known by the name of Stanchio. This island was considered to be of so much greater importance than its neighbours that Villaret determined to render it secure from a coup de main by the erection of a castle, which was garrisoned by a body of Knights. After the division of the Order into languages,

its administration was exclusively confided to the Knights of Provence, under whose charge it remained until at the general chapter held in 1356, at Avignon, this monopoly was abolished, and the governance was again thrown open to the whole Order. Its possessors for the time being were held bound for the supply of a galley of twenty-six oars, fully manned and equipped, as their contribution towards the general fleet of the Order. Of the other islands, Calamos and Leros were celebrated for their marble quarries, and being otherwise very sterile, their inhabitants subsisted entirely by commerce. Symia was esteemed valuable to the interests of its new lords, owing to the excellence of the wine which it produced. It also carried on an extensive trade in sponges, which were raised from the bottom of the sea by divers. So much was this calling recognised as peculiar to the island, that it is recorded as one of its municipal laws, that no youth was eligible for matrimony until he was able to penetrate a certain depth beneath the water, and to remain there for a specified length of time. Its ship carpenters had also achieved a wide reputation; their light craft were known throughout the Mediterranean for superior excellence, both in rowing and sailing. On the summit of the most considerable height within this island the Grand-Master erected a post of observation, from whence the intelligence of any approaching danger might be conveyed to Rhodes, either by means of signal fires, or by one of its swift boats. The smallest of the islands was assigned as the private domain of the Grand-Master; and, although there is some doubt in the matter, still the general opinion appears to be that it was the Island of Patmos, celebrated as the spot where St. John devoted the last years of his life to the writing

of the Apocalypse. Within a few miles of Cos, was another island, named Nisyrus, in which was a hot spring of medicinal water, and an excellent harbour. It abounded in delicious fruit of every description, and its advantages as a residence were so apparent, that it was not long in growing into a place of importance. A considerable town rapidly sprang up, ornamented with columns and statues formed of the porphyry with which it abounded ; and eventually it rose to be a bishop's see, subordinate to the archbishop of Rhodes.



Having taken such steps for the security of his government as a personal inspection of these islands proved to be necessary, Villaret returned to Rhodes, trusting to enjoy a period of repose after the lengthened struggle in which he had for several years been engaged. His hopes were not, however, as yet destined to be realised; the Saracens whom he had expelled from Rhodes had fled to the court of Osman, or Othman, a Turkish prince, at that time the ruler of Bithynia, in Cappadocia, together with much of the adjacent territory. This prince beheld with extreme jealousy the establishment of so redoubtable a foe as the Hospitallers had always proved themselves to be, to his nation and religion, within such close proximity to his own dominions. It was not difficult, therefore, for the Rhodian fugitives to persuade him to attempt the expulsion of the White Cross Knights from their new home.

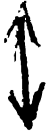
Collecting a considerable force, he made a descent on the island before Villaret had had time to raise the fortifications of his stronghold to anything like a point of security. The determined valour of his Knights, however, was amply sufficient to supply all deficiencies in the strength of his ramparts ; and, after several un-

successful assaults, Othman found himself compelled to abandon his attack, and to retire crestfallen to his galleys. Amadeus V., Count of Savoy, rendered loyal assistance to the besieged Hospitallers during this attack, which took place in the year 1315, in commemoration of which assistance, his descendants have since that time always borne on their shield the white cross with the word "Fert," as a device, that word being composed of the initial letters of the sentence, "*Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit.*"

The failure of Othman's enterprise left Villaret a period of leisure in which to complete the establishment of his government. Under his able superintendence, and expedited by his energetic promptitude, the ramparts of Rhodes were rapidly restored to a state of perfect security. The Saracen inhabitants of the town having all either fled of their own accord, or been expelled by the new comers, Villaret felt it necessary to restore his population by attracting to his capital a sufficient number of Christian inhabitants to fill the place of their piratical predecessors. Trade was encouraged in every possible way; merchants from every nation in Europe were tempted, by the freedom from restrictions which the commerce of Rhodes enjoyed under this politic chief, to make it their permanent residence. Within a very few years its harbours were filled with rich argosies, laden with all the most precious commodities of European traffic, from whence they bore back on their return voyage the no less valuable merchandise of the East. To protect this vast and annually increasing trade, the galleys of the Order, now grown into a regular fleet, traversed the Levant in all directions, at one time conveying the

homeward-bound merchantmen to their destination, and at another falling upon the Infidel corsair wherever he dared to show his flag ; but rarely, indeed, returning to port without some substantial tokens wherewith to remunerate themselves for the hardships and perils of their voyage.

The wealth of the community was now increasing with amazing rapidity ; the lately acquired revenues of the Temple, although as yet they had actually produced little or nothing to their new possessors, still appeared likely so to augment their funds as to warrant a considerable increase in the public expenditure of the fraternity. This rapid acquisition of wealth soon produced its customary fruits ; luxury in every form gradually usurped the place of that simplicity which had been the original object of the early Hospitallers, and which so many of their succeeding chiefs had endeavoured to retain. The renown which the capture of Rhodes had reflected upon the Order had attracted into its ranks a vast number of the younger members of the noblest houses in Europe, youths whose minds were filled with all the martial ardour incident to their age and station, but in whose hearts there was kindled but little of that religious enthusiasm, which two centuries before had recruited the ranks of the institution with a body of men as austere in their private life as they were chivalric in their warlike zeal. The age had indeed changed, and with it the thoughts and feelings of the vast majority of mankind. The sentiment of piety, which, though rude in its mode of expression, had still formed the main incentive to the deeds of daring hitherto recorded, was now giving way to the more material and worldly aspiration of glory. It was



thought by these young candidates for knightly fame that, provided the Hospitaller was ever ready to meet his foe, either upon the deck of his galley or behind the ramparts of his stronghold,—provided he was at all times ready to shed the last drop of his blood in the defence of his Order and of his faith,—it would matter but little what his private conduct might be, and, whilst he could point to the deeds of daring which had rendered his name famous among his brethren, he deemed it quite unnecessary to practise those austerities which the rules of his Order had enjoined for his guidance.

Many, indeed, of the older Knights beheld with dismay and anguish this rapid and complete demoralisation which was undermining the first principles of their institution, and were loud and urgent in their remonstrances to the youthful offenders, endeavouring to restrain some of the most notorious of those excesses which they feared would bring them into disrepute. They pointed to the fearful tragedy which had so recently been enacted against their brothers in arms, showing how the same weapons that had been employed in the destruction of the one Order, might at any moment be made available for that of the other, should they by their conduct draw down upon themselves the odium of the powers that be. The revenues of the Templars were, as they justly remarked, more apparent than real, whilst, on the other hand, the public treasury was encumbered with the enormous liabilities arising from the sums of money borrowed by Villaret of the various bankers of Genoa and Florence, to enable him to achieve the conquest of Rhodes.

What, however, rendered all their exhortations futile,

was the fact that their Grand-Master himself, the man to whom everyone naturally looked for an example and a support, was in his own person outvying his youthful disciples in the extravagance of his luxury, and the dissipation of his life. Surrounded by favourites, on whom he bestowed all the patronage of his office, he gradually assumed an overbearing arrogance of manner towards all who were not disposed to render him an absolute homage. He appeared to consider that the acquisition of Rhodes, through the power of his genius and the dauntless perseverance of his will, had invested him with a sovereignty in the island, far more absolute than that appertaining to his magisterial position. That supremacy, which others considered as vested in the Order, and of which he was merely the chief administrator, was by him considered as a personal matter, peculiar to himself alone. The murmurs which the arrogance of his conduct gradually engendered, were at first low and suppressed. Men were loth to think hardly of the hero under whose guidance the Order had added so much to its renown. They were prepared to tolerate much in him which they would never have borne in another; but patience and forbearance have their limits, and Villaret gradually found that the brilliancy even of his reputation became eventually insufficient to stifle the murmurs excited by his haughty bearing.

This secret disaffection became at length converted into open complaint, and rose to such a pitch, that Villaret was summoned before the council to give an account of his government, and to answer the numerous charges which had been preferred against him. These consisted, not merely of allegations relating to his intolerable pride and hauteur towards those with whom

he was brought in contact; but, at the same time, of mal-appropriation of the public revenues. He was accused of having squandered these, partly to support his own magnificence, ostentatious display, and luxurious mode of living; and partly by bestowing them, with a lavish hand, on the sycophantic crowd of favourites with which he was surrounded. To this summons Villaret paid not the slightest heed, asserting that his position placed him completely above the jurisdiction of the council; and as it would have been impossible to adjudicate upon his alleged delinquencies in his absence, the malcontents were sorely puzzled to decide as to what should be their next step. At length an aged Knight, named Maurice de Pagnac, probably not without an eye to future contingencies, proposed that Villaret should be boldly seized within the precincts of his palace, and brought, *vi et armis*, before the council.

The execution of such a measure would, it was felt, involve no slight hardihood, owing to the extreme difficulty of approaching the person of the Grand-Master, as he was invariably surrounded, not only by his own favourites among the fraternity, but also by a compact body-guard of mercenaries, whom he retained in his pay. The attempt was therefore deemed impossible by day, as the certain result of such a step must have been a sanguinary, and probably a fruitless, contest; but it was thought more feasible to effect his seizure secretly by night, when the attendance on his person was naturally much reduced. One of his valets was bribed to undertake the conduct of the affair; and in consideration of an ample pecuniary equivalent for the service he was rendering, undertook to admit a body of the conspirators into the sleeping apartment of the Grand-



Master, where his capture might easily be effected. All being now satisfactorily arranged, and the plot having assumed a very feasible aspect, nothing remained but to fix the time for carrying it into execution. The conspirators, however, found to their cost, that a traitor is an edged tool, likely to cut both ways, and not more to be trusted by his new employers than by his original master. Whether the valet was over-bribed to reveal the conspiracy, or whether he was in reality, as has been alleged, so faithfully attached to his lord as to have shrunk from entering into the views of his enemies, it is very certain that he revealed the entire plot to Villaret, who was thus put completely on his guard as to the insidious designs in agitation against him.

The promptitude and boldness of his character stood him in good stead at this critical moment, nor was he long in forming a decision as to the line of conduct he intended to pursue. Under the pretence of a hunting party in the country, he, with a chosen body of his adherents, left his palace on the morning of the day which was to have ended in his capture, and betook himself in all haste to the Castle of Lindos, a fortified post, about seven miles from Rhodes, protecting a small but convenient and well-sheltered harbour. Once safely lodged within the ramparts of this asylum, Villaret bid defiance to the wiles of his antagonists, and protested against any acts to which the council might resort during his absence. Enraged at the failure of their enterprise, and conceiving that, by this act of open defiance, Villaret had completely compromised himself, the malcontents once more assembled in solemn conclave at the council board, where they found themselves joined by many of the more moderate members, who had hitherto remained

neuter, but who now threw the weight of their influence into the adverse scale, when they found that their chief had so far outstepped the limits of his authority as to seize upon and retain, in defiance of their orders, a stronghold of which they alone were the lords, and which he was garrisoning with foreign mercenaries, unconnected with the Order.

Loud and stormy was the debate, for, even then, Villaret was not without his friends, whose allegiance he had secured, either by the brilliancy of his former reputation, or by the munificence of his later days. Their voices, however, were not sufficient to stay the progress of the storm; his last offence had been too open and barefaced to admit of explanation, and a decree was therefore passed deposing him from his office. The next step necessary to be taken was to provide a successor to occupy the vacant post; and here the politic wiles of Maurice de Pagnac reaped their expected fruit. He had, from the very first, been the leader and the mainstay of the insurrectionary movement, to whom each one had looked for guidance and support in the desperate crisis which was clearly drawing on. Now, therefore, when a chief was required, of sufficient energy to establish and retain his usurped authority, every eye was naturally turned on him, as the most fitting candidate for the difficult post. He was therefore unanimously elected as the new Grand-Master, and a report of the whole proceedings, together with the fact of his nomination, was at once forwarded to the See of Rome, for the decision and approval of the Pope.

Villaret, at the same time, from his fastness at Lindos, likewise forwarded his version of the affair in an appeal

to his ecclesiastical superior. Here, then, was a tempting opportunity presented to the pontiff of intermeddling in the affairs of the Order, and of measuring his influence and authority therein. Three several bulls were at once issued by him, dated in the year 1317, in the first of which his Holiness thus addressed Villaret: "We are sorry to learn that you have been assaulted and compelled by your own Knights to fly from the city of Rhodes into a fortress in another part of that island; and although their conduct appears to have been highly incorrect, still you are accused of having excited it; we therefore cite both them and you to our presence, in order that we may investigate the affair, and base our decision on correct information." The second brief was addressed to Pagnac, citing him to appear likewise at Avignon, and the third nominated a Vicar-General, who should act as a *locum tenens* for the Grand-Master during the absence of the two claimants for that dignity.\* The Knight, who was selected by the pontiff to hold this post, was Gerard de Pins, a personage of considerable note and very weighty influence amongst his brethren. During the disputes which had led to the deposition of Villaret and the election of a rival, he had retained a strict neutrality, supporting neither side, but lending the powerful influence of his example to those who were endeavouring to heal the schism thus unfortunately generated in their midst.

The nomination of the Pope was acquiesced in by all

\* These three documents are all in existence amongst the papal archives at Rome.

parties without dispute, and during an interval of fifteen years, which elapsed before a Grand-Master once again ruled in *propria persona* in Rhodes, he maintained the dignity of his Order with the most exemplary firmness.

The two claimants, whose disagreements were about to become the object of papal decision, departed on their journey to Avignon; the city to which Clement had, on his election to the chair of St. Peter, transferred his seat of government, and where his successor, John XXII., the then pontiff, still resided. During the course of this voyage Pagnac had ample opportunities for discovering that the sympathies of Europe were strongly biassed in favour of his rival. Wherever they passed, he found that Villaret was received with all the honours due to the chief of a powerful Order, who had in his own person, by the conquest of Rhodes, achieved a European renown; whilst he himself was, by the vast majority, looked upon simply as an insurrectionary firebrand who had, from motives of ambition, excited those Knights, over whom he had any influence, to revolt against their legitimate chief. When they arrived at Avignon, he found matters not one whit improved; whatever might be the views of John with reference to the conduct of Villaret, he was certainly by no means disposed to favour Pagnac, and that Knight soon perceived that all chance of establishing his claim to the dignity of Grand-Master, for which he had so long toiled and plotted, and to which he so ardently aspired, was at an end for ever. In the bitterness of disappointment he withdrew himself from the papal court to indulge in solitude that chagrin with which he was overwhelmed; a chagrin which preyed

so actively on his feelings, that he sank under its influence.

His death removed one great difficulty from the path of the Pope, who now saw his way clear to the solution of the difficulty in a manner which should enable him to place a creature of his own at the head of the Order. With this view he reinstated Villaret in his office; not, however, before he had exacted from him a pledge that he would resign it again immediately, receiving in return the promise of a priory to which he might retire, and in which he might enjoy the dignities of his station and the revenues of his new office, free from all control on the part of the Order to which he belonged. Villaret having, in accordance with this pledge, resigned his post into the hands of the Pope, John summoned to Avignon all the Knights of the Hospital who were within reach of his influence, and there, beneath his own surveillance, and under the pressure of his own immediate presence, he caused a successor to be elected, in whose allegiance and ready obedience he felt sure that he could confide. Elyon de Villanova was the Knight thus selected, and irregular as was the mode of his nomination, the fraternity felt themselves unable to resist it; he was, therefore, duly recognised by them as their new chief, and took his position on the rolls of the Order as the twenty-fifth Grand-Master, in the year 1319. Villaret received the priory which had been promised to him, and retired thither in bitterness of spirit, to end in solitude and disgrace that life, the earlier portion of which had been so brilliant and prosperous. Sad fate for a man who had undoubtedly done great things, not only for his own Order, but for Christianity at large; and the

student of history will not fail to sympathise with that noble though ambitious spirit thus untimely doomed to a life of inglorious inactivity. No records bearing upon the rest of his career are now in existence; all that is known is that he died at Montpelier, where, in the Church of St. John, his monument still exists, on which his dignities are recorded, but without any mention of his degradation.\*

By this arrangement on the part of the Pope, the interests of the Order suffered a double injury. In the first place they received as a chief a Knight not of their own selection, but a nominee of his, and one who soon gave evidence of the influences under which he was acting by bestowing some of the most valuable property of the Order upon the needy relatives of his patron.† The other injury inflicted on the Hospitallers, was the alien-

\* The inscription runs thus :—"Anno Domini MCCCXXVII. die salicet 1<sup>er</sup> Semptembris obiit nobilissimus Dominus Frater Folquetus de Villareto Magister magni Hospitalio Sacræ Domus Sancti Joannis Baptistæ Hyerosolimitani Cujus anima requiescat in pace. Amen. Dic pro me pater et ave."

† It is stated in many histories that Pope John XXII. was the son of a cobbler. Whether this be true or not, it would be difficult now to determine; but there is no doubt whatever that he sprang from a very low origin. An amusing story is told of his election. It appears that he had earned a very high reputation for sanctity and humility; two virtues which shone so pre-eminently in his person that he received the cardinal's hat amidst universal approbation. This dignity did not appear in the least to exalt the lowly churchman in his own eyes; and when the election of a Pope at the death of Clement gave rise to much dispute, he took no share therein. It was therefore unanimously agreed between the rival candidates that the nomination should be left in his hands. To their amazement and consternation, this humble priest, in his mildest voice, pronounced the words, "Ego sum Papa," and thus nominated himself to the vacant dignity.

ation from their jurisdiction, during the lifetime of Villaret, of the priory to which he had been nominated. They thus learnt the bitter lesson, that by disagreement among themselves they were paving the way for the admission of a power which would be exercised in a manner highly prejudicial to their interests.

Villanova was in no hurry to exchange the luxuries of the papal court for the comparative banishment of a residence at Rhodes, and for a period of thirteen years he, under one pretence and another, postponed his departure. During this interval a general chapter was held by his mandate at Montpellier, at which the Order was, for the first time, divided into languages. Most writers, in treating of this subject, have dated this method of dividing the fraternity almost as far back as its first establishment. There appears, however, nothing whatever in the records now existing to warrant any such supposition, it being at this council that a division into languages appears for the first time. The Order, although originally established by Italian merchants, had rapidly become decidedly French in its composition, and this element had always afterwards preponderated. The assembly of the council at Montpellier added yet further to the influence of the French members. We find, therefore, that in fixing the number of the languages at seven, no less than three of those seven were French: viz. the languages of France, Provence, and Auvergne. The other four being Italy, Germany, England, and Aragon. The dignities in the gift of the Order were at the same time attached in proper proportion to these new divisions; the leading posts, owing to the preponderance of French influence, being given to their three languages. The name of Sir John

Builbrulx appears at this convocation as the turcopolier, a dignity then appropriated permanently to the English language. In addition to this grand cross, three others were at the same time appropriated to England: namely, the bailiwick of the Eagle (an honorary distinction formerly belonging to the Templars), and the grand priories of England and Ireland.

Many needful reforms were at this conclave introduced into the regulations, most imperatively called for owing to the extreme laxity of the discipline which, during the later years of Villaret's rule, had been prevalent amongst the fraternity. The number of those who preferred an easy and luxurious residence in a European commandery to the secluded life and constant warfare demanded of them at Rhodes, was very great, and the difficulty of compelling the absentees to make their appearance at the convent had increased so rapidly, that this subject was the first brought under consideration at the meeting of the council. It was ultimately decreed that a certain term of actual residence in Rhodes, and the performance of a definite number of caravans (as the voyages on board their galleys were called), should be an absolute requirement to qualify a Knight for holding any official post or dignity whatsoever. Several other stringent reforms were at the same time proposed and agreed to, though not without considerable discussion and many loud marks of dissatisfaction, in fact it soon became apparent that, owing to the council having been held in France, where the European dignitaries of the Order preponderated, they appeared more interested in the preservation of their local interests, than in strengthening the hands of the Grand-Master and the power of the central government.



Despite the warning which they had received in the savage persecution of their brothers of the Temple, there were not wanting members sufficiently daring to raise their voices at the council board, and urge the complete abandonment of Rhodes, and the retirement of the Order within their European commanderies. To the struggle for the acquisition of Rhodes, and the necessary outlay for its subsequent fortification and maintenance, they attributed all the financial difficulties of their treasury: difficulties which, in spite of their recent acquisition of Templar revenues, were in some countries threatening to overwhelm them with insolvency.\* They urged, also, that the new system of naval warfare, in which they were engaging, was at variance with the leading principles of the institution, and unbefitting their knightly character; that since the abandonment of the Holy Land, they could render little or no service to the cause of Christianity by the maintenance of a predatory and desultory warfare amidst the piratical islets of the Levant. As a radical cure for these evils, they proposed the abandonment of their new stronghold; a remedy which, whilst doubtless it would have been most agreeable to themselves, would inevitably, if carried

\* This was especially the case in England, where, in the early part of the fourteenth century, the revenues of the Hospital had fallen into such an encumbered and embarrassed condition, under the superintendence of Thomas Larcher, the Grand-Prior of England, that a general insolvency was feared. Fortunately, however, for their interests, the unthrifty Thomas Larcher either resigned or was deposed, and Leonard de Tybertis, the prior of Venice, nominated his successor. This Knight, by his skill in finance, succeeded in restoring the credit of his priory; and we find it, under the governance of his successor, Philip de Thame, in 1338, returning a comparatively satisfactory revenue to the public treasury.

into effect, have speedily caused the complete destruction of the Order. Fortunately for their general interests, the views of these laggard Knights did not find favour with the majority of the council; and instead of the abandonment of Rhodes, measures for its more ample protection received the sanction of the assembly.

This council was held in 1331, and in the following year Villanova, after a delay of thirteen years from the date of his election, landed at Rhodes. Here he found that, under the governance of Gerard de Pins, the fortifications of the town had been considerably augmented and improved, and a spirit of discipline introduced into the convent to which for many years it had been a stranger.

Whilst thus strengthening his position at home, Gerard de Pins had also been called upon to resist the aggressions of a foreign foe. Orcan, the son and successor of Othman, deeming that the opportunity was favourable which the dissensions caused by the deposition of Villaret had afforded, determined upon renewing the attempt upon the island in which his father had so miserably failed. He assembled a large fleet upon the shores of the province of Caria, and being joined by considerable numbers of the former inhabitants of Rhodes who had been expelled by Villaret, he set sail for that island. Gerard, who had received timely notice of the contemplated descent, determined not to await the shock of their assault behind the walls of his fortress, but to attack them boldly on that element on which he himself had been already so often victorious. Manning, therefore, such of his galleys as were then lying in the harbour, and being joined by six Genoese vessels which had rendez-

voused there, he put to sea and encountered the enemy near the little island of Episcopia.

1332  
↕  
The Infidel fleet was vastly superior in point of numbers; but they laboured under the disadvantage of being inconveniently crowded with the troops destined for the attack of Rhodes. The seamanship of the Hospitallers and the skill with which they took advantage of their greater powers of manœuvring more than counterbalanced their disadvantages in point of number, and the day ended in the complete destruction of the Infidel fleet; many of which were sunk and others captured, so that but few escaped from the scene of strife. This disaster was such a check to the Infidel power that Gerard, during the remainder of his government, was left unmolested to pursue the reforms he had instituted, and on the landing of Elyon de Villanova, he resigned the reins of office with the proud satisfaction of knowing that his rule had reflected glory upon himself and had been most beneficial to the interests of his fraternity.

It was during the earlier years of Villanova's residence at the convent, that the legend is recorded of the encounter of a Hospitaller with the famous dragon of Rhodes. The story is so well known and has been made the subject of so much illustration, that it appears almost needless to repeat it in these pages; still, as it was one of the incidents held in the highest estimation among the Order in subsequent ages, and retains a prominent place with all their historians, it would be wrong to pass it over in silence. The story runs that a large monster had made its appearance in the island, where it committed the most fearful devastation, carrying off numbers of

the inhabitants, especially women and children, and establishing itself as the terror and scourge of the locality. Numerous attempts had been made to accomplish its destruction, but in vain; and many of the bravest Knights had lost their lives in the gallant endeavours which they made to rid the country of this terrible pest. The Grand-Master, dismayed at the losses his Order had sustained in this novel warfare, forbade, under pain of the severest penalties, any further attempts at the destruction of the monster.

One Knight alone had the hardihood to dare a disobedience to his mandate. Deodato de Gozon, a youth whose dauntless courage scorned to quail beneath this strange foe, and whose chivalric heart was touched with the deepest emotion at the wail of grief extorted from the miserable inhabitants by the ever-recurring attacks of the dragon, felt that he could not refrain from one further attempt in behalf of these suffering peasants. Without confiding his design to any one, he retired by permission to France, where, in his paternal castle, he caused a fac-simile of the monster to be constructed in wood, covered with scales, and exhibiting, as nearly as possible, the terrifying aspect of its living counterpart. Having procured two English bull-dogs, whose breed was even then famous throughout Europe, he trained them to the attack of his fictitious monster, teaching them to fix their gripe upon the belly, where the animal was unprotected with scales. Having thoroughly accustomed his four-footed assistants to the aspect of their foe, he returned to Rhodes, where he at once proceeded to carry his project into execution. It is needless to enter into the details of the contest, though these are fondly dwelt on, with the most elaborate

minuteness, by the recorders of the legend. Gozon, by the aid of his canine allies, achieved the destruction of his enemy, though not before he had well-nigh paid with his life the penalty of his temerity, at the first onset of the brute. He was borne back in triumph to Rhodes, where the whole town received their deliverer with the loudest acclamations. This, however, was destined to be but short-lived; the Grand-Master promptly summoned him to appear before the council, to answer for the disobedience of which he had been guilty; and on his appearance, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his friends, he stripped him of his habit, as an unworthy and rebellious member. Having, by this display of severity, duly marked his determination to enforce obedience to his mandates, Villanova relented, and, in consideration of the noble gallantry which Deodato had displayed in the action, he not only restored his habit, but nominated him to one of the richest commanderies in his gift.

How far this legend can be borne out by facts is a very disputed point; some writers throwing discredit over the entire story, whilst others are prepared to admit the probability of its having at all events its foundation in truth. The opponents of the legend argue upon the gross improbability of the existence of any such monster, with the voracious propensities and extraordinary powers attributed to it: they also assert, that in the fourteenth century, there could have been no difficulty in achieving its destruction, without having recourse to the knightly, but somewhat antiquated, expedient of a combat on horseback. The use of Greek fire had long been known, and gunpowder itself was coming gradually into use. With the assistance of

these agents, it would not have been necessary for the attacking party to have run any great danger in securing the extermination of the reptile. On the other hand, it seems strange that the story should have obtained such very general credence, and been so universally upheld by succeeding generations. It is also an indisputable fact, that the tomb of Gozon bore the inscription, "*Ci gît le vainqueur du dragon.*" There appears no way of accounting for this inscription, without attaching a certain amount of belief to some portion of the legend: the probability is, that Gozon did destroy some savage wild beast which had infested the island, after others had failed in their attempts, and had thus gained for himself a reputation that gradually swelled in its dimensions, until it eventually attained the gigantic proportions of the above recorded fable.

Villanova had not long assumed the chief conduct of affairs in Rhodes, before he was called upon by the Pope to join in a league to check the aggressive designs of the Turks. The other members of the alliance were to be the king of Cyprus, the republic of Venice, and the Pope himself. In his letter, demanding their aid, the pontiff prefers his request by bringing the most vehement accusations against the Order, for their luxurious mode of life, general effeminacy, and gross laxity of discipline. That these complaints were not devoid of truth is probable; but the tone of the letter, concluding, as it did, with a proposal, or more properly speaking, a demand, that they should contribute six galleys to the allied fleet, marks the object for which the reproaches were made. The assistance of the Order was most urgently required to forward the political views of his Holiness, and he consequently strove to render a refusal

impossible, by coupling his request with an accusation of a want of zeal in the cause of Christianity. His letter had the desired effect: the Order embraced the opportunity thus afforded of disproving the charges preferred against them, contributed their full quota to the allied armament; and throughout the war which succeeded became the life and soul of the expedition. The only result of any importance achieved by the league, was the capture of a fortress at the entrance of the Gulf of Smyrna, where the horde of infidel pirates who infested the eastern shores of the Mediterranean had been accustomed to find a ready shelter. This isolated and exposed stronghold was retained by the Hospitallers, through numberless difficulties and dangers, until the commencement of the succeeding century, when they were finally expelled by Tamerlane.

The league lasted, with varied success, for several years, until its members having dropped out one by one, the Hospitallers found themselves without assistance to carry out its further prosecution. A war had broken out between the Genoese and the Venetians, which compelled the former republic to withdraw from the alliance. The Pope also soon became eager to retire from a contest which was draining his treasury, without much tangible result. The league consequently died a natural death, and, without any actual treaty of peace having ever been made, active hostilities ceased, and matters gradually resumed their former footing.

During the interval, however, the Order had experienced a change of rulers, for in 1346 Villanova died, and Deodato de Gozon, the hero of the dragon, was elected as his successor. Vertot relates, that on the

occasion of this nomination, Gozon rose in his place at the council-board, and taking his audience completely by surprise, nominated himself as the best qualified person to succeed to the vacant office. This tale is a vile fabrication, for among the documents recently discovered amidst the archives of the Vatican, there has been found a letter, addressed to him from Clement VI., dated in July 1346, in which, after congratulating him on his election to the supreme dignity, the Pope alludes to the fact of his having been prevailed upon with great reluctance to accept the post. This letter, coupled with the circumstance of his having twice afterwards tendered his resignation, most completely exonerates his memory from the stigma of arrogance which this anecdote of Vertot's is calculated to cast upon it.

During his continuance in office, Gozon was much troubled with the difficulty he experienced in obtaining responsions from the more remote commanderies; and a circular is extant, addressed by him to the priors of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, reproaching them with not having remitted any responsions since they had left Acre. The war between the Genoese and Venetians created a new difficulty against which Gozon had to contend. The Order contained within its ranks Knights belonging to both these nations, who naturally sympathised with their countrymen in the struggle they were respectively carrying on, and when residing in their European commanderies were not unfrequently found among the belligerent forces on either side. By the rules of the Institution no Knight was permitted to draw his sword in behalf of any quarrel subsisting between Christian nations; the Pope, therefore, called upon Gozon to put a stop to this infraction of their



statutes; a mandate far easier given than obeyed. Deodato, in reply to his Holiness, affirms that the Order, in its corporate capacity, had never sided with any European power when at war with its neighbour, but that it would be impossible for him to prevent individual Knights from giving such practical proofs of their sympathies. This response appears to have given but little satisfaction at the Papal court; nor was this the only incident which occurred to disturb the quiet of Gozon's rule.

The due control and governance of the principal officers and dignitaries of the Institution residing at a distance from his own immediate supervision became annually a matter of increasing difficulty. Possessed, by their position, of considerable patronage and the control over large sources of wealth, they were enabled to ingratiate themselves with the higher powers in the various countries where they were residing; and finding themselves protected and supported in their disobedience by the monarch, they were enabled to bid defiance to the authority of the Grand-Master. Gozon became so deeply hurt at finding himself contemned, that he twice petitioned the Pope to permit him to resign his office. On the first occasion he was induced by the pontiff, after much persuasion, to retain his dignity; but on the second application his request was granted. He did not, however, live to carry out his purpose, a stroke of apoplexy having brought his career to a termination in the latter part of the year 1353.

At this time there resided at the court of Avignon, as ambassador from Rhodes, a Knight of the name of Heredia, who had found means to ingratiate himself

with the pontiff to such an extent that he became his principal confidant and councillor in all matters of state. By the influence, if not the direct nomination, of the pontiff, he had been elected prior both of Castile and St. Gilles, and castellan of Emposta, dignities which elevated him far above any of his fraternity then resident in Europe. Being, however, a man of a naturally ambitious turn of mind, and fearing, from his general unpopularity in the Order, that he would have no prospect of obtaining the dignity of Grand-Master, the idea suggested itself to his scheming brain that if he could procure the removal of the Grand-Master and the convent from Rhodes, he might himself become nominated by his friend the Pope to the supreme rule in that island, and to the title of bailiff, an authority which, in the hands of so unscrupulous and ambitious a man, would have been exercised with but little reference to the control of his chief. Under his advice, and acting in accordance with the suggestions he had judiciously made, the Pope despatched him, in company with Raymond de Beranger and Peter de Cornillan, a relation and namesake of the new Grand-Master, to Rhodes, to submit his views before a general council of the Order.

In this embassy he was instructed to inform the Grand-Master, on the part of the Pope, that it was his desire that the convent should be at once removed from Rhodes to the neighbouring continent; where, in the immediate contiguity of the Saracen, it might, by the terror of its name and the prowess of its members, check all further aggressions on their part, and form an advanced post of Christianity in the very midst of its foes. It was with feelings of dismay that the Grand-Master listened to the treacherous and cunningly-devised sug-

gestions thus laid before him. On the one hand, he felt that natural reluctance which became a faithful and obedient son of the Church to oppose himself to the desires of its supreme head; whilst, on the other hand, he could not but foresee that the probable result of any such movement would be plunging the Order defenceless, and far from aid, into the midst of its relentless foes, by whom its speedy and utter extermination would most inevitably be effected.

Under these conflicting circumstances he decided upon throwing as many obstacles as possible in the way of the papal project, without attempting any open opposition. With this view he explained to the ambassador that, although he was himself at all times ready to obey whatever mandates he might receive from his Holiness, still that this was a matter upon which he personally had not authority to decide. The proposed change of residence was a matter of so great importance to the future welfare of the fraternity, that it would be necessary to assemble a grand council, wherein the project might be debated and decided on. It by no means accorded with the views of the Pope that this council should be held in Rhodes, as its distance from Avignon was so great as to prevent him from using that influence and that pressure upon its members which would be necessary to secure their acquiescence in his new scheme. A council held in Rhodes would be attended by those whose attachments and interests would all naturally lean towards remaining in the island where they were located; whilst he trusted to find, amidst the dignitaries of the Order resident in France, a sufficient number more desirous of securing his favour than careful for the welfare of their own institution. He therefore sum-

moned the council to assemble at Montpelier; but, before its time for meeting had arrived, he determined to bring it still closer within the sphere of his influence, and changed its venue to Avignon.

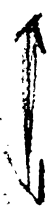
Prior to the meeting of this council, however, the Pope had changed his views as to the locality to which he purposed transferring the convent. Instead of the coast of Asia Minor, he now looked to the Morea, as a more suitable and advantageous point of occupation. To this change Heredia made no opposition. Provided the convent was removed from Rhodes, so that he might assume the government of the island, it mattered little to him whither they were transferred; and he therefore supported this new proposition with the same earnestness as he had done the former one. The title to the Morea was at this time in dispute between James of Savoy and the emperor of Constantinople, but the greater portion of it was in the actual possession of the Turks, who were advancing step by step towards its complete acquisition. Negotiations were entered into with James of Savoy on the part of the council, to treat for the transfer of a place of residence for the Order of St. John. These negotiations were purposely spun out by every possible device; the project of a residence in the Morea being as little to the taste of the fraternity as that in Asia; and the death of James of Savoy, which took place before anything definite was decided upon, caused the design to drop to the ground and become virtually abandoned.

Whilst this weighty matter was in abeyance, Peter de Cornillan, or Corniellan, a Knight of Provence, and formerly grand-prior of St. Gilles, had guided the fortunes of the Order; he having succeeded Deodato de Gozon as Grand-Master in 1353. He did not, however, live to

witness the assembly of the council, having died in 1355, when he was succeeded by Roger de Pins, also a Knight of Provence, whose rule lasted during a period of five years. The only event of importance which occurred to mark this interval was an attempt made on the part of the Order to impeach Heredia before a grand council for having detained and mal-appropriated its revenues : they soon, however, found that he had established himself too firmly in the good graces of the pontiff to enable them to effect his overthrow ; the result of the council being to confirm him in all his dignities, without affording any redress for the spoliations which he had effected. At the same council it was decreed that in future no serving brother should be raised into the class of Knights of justice ; and also to prevent any further mal-appropriation of their revenues, such as that of which Heredia had been guilty, general receivers were nominated, to whom all responsions should be paid and by whom they should be remitted directly to Rhodes.

At the death of Roger de Pins, Raymond Beranger, also a Knight of Provence, was elected to the vacant dignity, and inaugurated his accession by an expedition, which he undertook in concert with the king of Cyprus, against the Infidel. The port of Alexandria had of late years become the principal rendezvous of the Turkish corsairs who infested the Levant ; and Beranger, in conjunction with his ally, determined on making a sudden and bold attempt against this powerful fortress. The armament assembled in Cyprus, and consisted of a fleet, numbering nearly one hundred vessels of various sizes, carrying a large body of troops, who were mostly mercenaries, serving under the banner of St. John. The sudden appearance of this expedition within the port of

Alexandria, took its garrison completely by surprise; and Beranger, hoping to profit by their confusion, ordered an immediate assault. The number of the defenders was, however, too strong to enable him to succeed in his attempt at a coup de main. The parapets were speedily lined on every side, and wherever the Christians attempted to penetrate, they met with a most determined and obstinate resistance.



This was the first occasion upon which the Order had, within the lifetime of any of its then existing members, unfurled its banners and raised its war cry in a regular expedition against the Infidel; they were, therefore, nerved and excited by feelings of emulation to vie with the prowess of their predecessors. In vain the defenders poured the most murderous missiles upon their opponents. In spite of the showers of arrows which darkened the air in every direction; heedless of the boiling oil and the Greek fire, which was streamed upon those who attempted to mount the ladders; or of the huge rocks, beneath whose weight they were crushed to the earth, they still persisted in the assault. Encouraged by the presence and example of their chief, after each successive repulse they returned with redoubled ardour to the attempt, until at length, overcoming every obstacle, they forced their way into the town, and drove the Infidels for shelter into their citadel. This desperate struggle cost the fraternity no less than one hundred Knights, but its results were of sufficient importance to warrant the sacrifice. The booty found in the town was enormous, and the shipping in its harbour so extensive, that its destruction was a serious blow to the power of the Turk.

This capture took place on the 10th of October 1365;

and Raymond immediately prepared to attack the citadel, which was still occupied by the enemy. Before, however, he could achieve its capture, he learnt that the sultan was advancing to its relief with an army so powerful that it would be in vain for him to attempt a contest; he therefore burnt the town, together with all the shipping in the harbour, and whatever else could not be transported; and re-embarking his forces, returned in triumph to Rhodes.

Raymond died in the early part of the year 1374, and was followed in his dignity by Robert Julliac, Grand-Prior of France, who at the time of his election was resident in his priory. His first act, on receiving his nomination, was to proceed to Avignon to pay his homage to the Pope; whilst there, he received instructions from his Holiness, that his Order should in future take under their entire control the responsibility and direction of the defence of Smyrna; a post which, whilst most valuable to the interests of Christianity, was one of extreme danger and costliness to its immediate holders. Situated as it was, at a considerable distance from Rhodes, its garrison was completely isolated; and upon any energetic attempt on the part of the enemy by whom it was surrounded, its destruction would easily be accomplished, before reinforcements could possibly arrive. The cost also of the maintenance of such a garrison as the place imperatively demanded, was a terrible drain upon the already crippled resources of the treasury at Rhodes. As a partial alleviation of this burden, the Pope assigned to the Order, for the special support of the Smyrna garrison, the sum of one thousand livres annually, payable out of the tithes of the kingdom of Cyprus.

Smyrna 1374

Charged with these unwelcome instructions, Julliac proceeded to Rhodes, and there, before a general council, he announced the mandate of the pontiff to its members. Their dismay on receiving this intelligence was universal; it was felt that the post was one of almost certain destruction, and that whoever should be nominated to form one of its garrison would be proceeding to inevitable death. At the same time it would be very difficult for them to oppose themselves to the wishes of the pontiff without incurring the imputation of cowardice, a charge from which every member of the fraternity shrank with a chivalric horror worthy of their high reputation. It was, therefore, decided to accept the trust, and all difficulty regarding the nomination of its garrison was brought to a close by the voluntary offers of service made by several of the Knights, who were forthwith despatched to occupy their new acquisition.

The rule of Julliac was very brief; for, in the middle of the year 1377, we find Heredia, the castellan of Emposta, elected to the post vacant by his death. The career of this man was so extraordinary and his influence over the fortunes of the Order both for evil and good so powerful, that he has with justice been looked upon as one of the most conspicuous characters who have figured in its annals. Descended from a noble family in Aragon, he was the younger brother of the Grand-Justiciary of that kingdom; a post of honour and importance second only to that of the crown. His brother, who had been for some years married without issue, felt desirous to see his family perpetuated through his brother Juan; he therefore caused him to marry at



a very early age. The fruits of this marriage were only two girls, at the birth of the second of whom Juan was left a widower. His brother, still eager upon the same subject, lost no time in providing him with a second spouse, selecting upon this occasion the niece of his own wife. From this union sprang a son, who was regarded by both his father and uncle as the future inheritor of all the vast wealth and high dignities of the family; Juan himself being by the action of the law of primogeniture totally destitute of fortune and entirely dependent upon his brother. His second wife died after giving birth to a daughter; and shortly afterwards, to his utter dismay and the complete overthrow of all his expectations, his brother's wife, who had for so many years been childless, gave birth to a son, whose advent was speedily followed by that of another. This disastrous incident left Juan high in spirit and haughty in temperament, but beggared in fortunes. Unable to rest calmly in his new position, and to remain through life an abject pensioner upon his brother, he secretly took his departure for Rhodes, leaving his children under the protection of their uncle. There he was received with every demonstration of welcome by the Grand-Master, Elyon de Villanova. After his profession he soon ingratiated himself with the dignitaries of his newly adopted Order, and his advancement became as rapid as his merits and his high birth warranted, until at length he was appointed castellan of Emposta, the most important post next to that of Grand-Master which the Order possessed.

The grand priory of Catalonia having become vacant, the nomination of a successor to the dignity gave rise

to a dispute between the Pope and the Grand-Master. The former had nominated a protégé of his own in defiance of the wishes of the council, and in utter disregard to the claims of seniority. In such a delicate matter the Grand-Master felt desirous that the dispute should, if possible, be decided amicably. He determined, therefore, upon sending an ambassador to the court of Avignon, with plenary powers to treat with his Holiness upon the disputed question. This was an office of much delicacy, and would require a person of extreme tact, and one in whose judgment and good faith the council could place implicit reliance. Heredia was unanimously selected for the office, and, after having received the most detailed instructions as to the line of conduct he should pursue towards the Pope, he set sail for Avignon.

The first interview which took place between the Pope and himself after his arrival, proved to him very clearly that it would be impossible to induce Clement to revoke the nomination which he had made to the vacant dignity. He therefore directed his energies towards bringing about an amicable compromise, by which the dignity of neither party might be offended. After much negotiation with the rival claimants, in the course of which he displayed in an eminent degree that diplomatic address which was destined to become the means of securing his own advancement, Heredia obtained their joint consent to an arrangement by which the revenues of the priory were to be equally divided between them. To this decision the Pope willingly gave his sanction, overjoyed to find the dispute brought to a close without the necessity of any retraction on his part. Had the matter ended here the

embassy of Heredia would have caused the most beneficial results to his Order ; but, unfortunately his overweening ambition, ever on the alert for opportunities of advancement, prompted him to discover that he would be enabled to secure his own personal advantage far better by ingratiating himself at the papal court than by a weary residence in Rhodes. Instead, therefore, of taking his departure after his embassy had been brought to this satisfactory conclusion, he lingered at Avignon until he had succeeded in obtaining from the pontiff the appointment of supervisor to the disputed priory ; neither of its joint holders being competent, from their advanced age, to undertake its management themselves. Their death, which occurred shortly afterwards, left the office of prior open, and Heredia had by this time established himself so far in favour at Avignon, that he obtained without difficulty his own appointment to the vacant dignity.

The dismay of the council at Rhodes may be conceived when they discovered that the ambassador, from whose diplomatic address they had expected such great results, had himself taken advantage of those abuses which they had commissioned him to oppose, to obtain a nomination, to which by the rights of seniority he did not possess the shadow of a claim. Heredia felt that after having taken this step a return to Rhodes was impossible. He therefore exerted himself to the utmost to secure his position at the court of Avignon, and to ingratiate himself with his new patron. In this he was so successful, that ere long he became the favoured minister and principal adviser at the papal court.

About this time, hostilities having broken out between

the kings of France and England, and an immediate collision being anticipated, Clement, who was earnestly desirous of avoiding such a consummation, despatched Heredia, in the capacity of a mediator, to the hostile camps, trusting that his diplomatic skill might suffice to bring about a reconciliation. Heredia, who entertained but slender hopes of such a result, secured the pontiff's permission to attach himself to whichever side was willing to accept his mediation, should the opposing party decline to avail themselves of it. In the course of his negotiations, he discovered that the king of France, who was desirous of ridding himself upon any terms of the English invaders, was most anxious to accept his good offices ; but when he visited the British camp he found Edward in a very different mood. His offers of mediation were peremptorily refused, and himself treated with the coolest disdain. Irritated at this behaviour on the part of the English monarch, he announced to him that, in pursuance of the permission he had obtained, he should join the ranks of the French king in the struggle which he perceived to be impending. Within a few days afterwards, the celebrated battle of Crecy was fought ; and Heredia, under the French banner, displayed the most conspicuous gallantry, and towards the close of the engagement was the means of saving the king's life. He was, however, himself desperately wounded in the affray, and for a considerable time his life was despaired of. Whilst still lying in a very dangerous condition from the effects of his wounds, it came to his ears that some of the chivalry of England, in the hostile camp, had expressed themselves in no measured terms upon the impropriety of an ambassador having taken an active part in the battle.

Heedless of his still precarious condition, Heredia at once despatched a herald to Edward, offering the gage of battle to any one who considered his conduct unbecoming the character of his office. This gage would undoubtedly have been accepted, had not Edward at once honourably acquitted Heredia of all impropriety, and published the declaration which he had made to him before the battle commenced. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered from his wounds, he once more resumed his office of negotiator, and it is to his good services upon that occasion that the truce which was shortly afterwards concluded between the two monarchs has been generally attributed.

During the Pontificate of Innocent II., the successor of Clement, the fortunes of Heredia reached their zenith. He had been the most intimate friend of the new pontiff prior to his elevation, and he now became his sole confidant and adviser. He was nominated governor of Avignon, and the affairs of the Papacy were entirely committed into his hands. Whilst occupying this exalted position, Heredia was courted on all sides ; and the princes of Europe, with their ministers, sought by the most lavish gifts to ingratiate themselves with a man in whom so much power was vested. He consequently amassed a vast amount of treasure, which he bestowed upon his children, who now, no longer dependent on their uncle's family, found themselves raised to a position suited to the claims of their birth, and surrounded by all the pomp and luxuries which wealth could bestow. Heredia was a man of no ordinary mind ; and there was a magnificence in his ideas more suited to one born to the disposal of a princely revenue, than, like himself, the cadet of a family however noble. Thus we find

him, in gratitude to his patron, surrounding Avignon with a fortified enceinte at his own cost, a work which must have entailed the expenditure of a vast sum. The Pope, equally prodigal in his gifts, though more crafty in the source from whence he drew them, bestowed upon him in return the two grand priories of Castile and St. Gilles; a gift the cost of which fell exclusively upon the unfortunate Order of St. John, whose council beheld with indignation all the principal dignities in their gift heaped upon a man who had proved himself a traitor to their interests.

After the death of Innocent, and during the sway of his successor, Urban V., Heredia perceived that his influence at the Papal court was sensibly declining; and after the election of Gregory XI. it became still further curtailed; he therefore bethought him that it would be wise to provide himself an honourable retirement in his old age, away from the scene of political turmoil, in the midst of which he had for so many years been plunged, and he cast his eyes upon the Grand-Mastership of Rhodes as precisely suited to his purpose. The death of Julliac presented him with an appropriate opportunity for carrying his designs into execution. Availing himself of the vast interest which his position had secured for him amongst the cardinals and others, whose voices were likely to influence the Knights in their selection, he caused himself to be put in nomination. The council had so often felt the weight of his influence when exerted prejudicially to themselves, that they were not slow in perceiving the policy of disarming his potent antagonism, by linking his interests indissolubly with their own. That he was the most able man by far for the dignity then within the ranks of the fraternity was

universally admitted; and so, after much bitter and acrimonious discussion, he eventually beheld himself duly elected to the post he coveted, and to which it had hitherto appeared so improbable that he should ever attain.

It was at this time that Gregory carried into execution the project he had long entertained of restoring the seat of the Papacy to Rome. A period of seventy years had now elapsed since Clement V. had removed it to Avignon; and he began to perceive, that unless some such measure were adopted, the allegiance of the City of the Seven Hills would in all probability be lost to him for ever. The Pope was escorted in his voyage from Marseilles to Italy by the new Grand-Master, who had assembled a fleet of eight galleys to accompany him on his return to Rhodes. It is recorded that Heredia himself, venerable from age, steered the galley in which his Holiness was embarked; and, having encountered a severe tempest in the Gulf of Lyons, that he displayed the most excellent seamanship in extricating his vessel from its perilous position. Having seen the Pope securely established in his new home, Heredia took his leave, and proceeded on his way to the East.

Whilst off the coast of the Morea, he encountered a Venetian fleet, then on their way to Patras, a city famous for its commerce in silk, which had belonged to the Venetian republic, but which had been recently captured by the Turks. The object of this expedition was the recapture of the place, and the Venetian general, overjoyed at his encounter with the Grand-Master's fleet, implored him to assist him in the undertaking. Although Heredia felt that his presence was earnestly required at Rhodes, and though, from his age, he might well have

been excused from forming any such alliance, the fire of his chivalry burnt as brightly as in the days of his youth, and casting aside all ideas of prudence, he entered willingly into the views of the Venetians. The allied fleets having reached their new destination, disembarked their forces, who marched directly upon Patras, which was situated about a mile from the sea-shore. The town fell at the first assault; but the castle, which was fortified with extreme strength, defied all attempts at an escalade. Nothing short of a regular siege would suffice for its capture. This was therefore commenced in regular form, and, through the vigour of Heredia, pushed on with extreme rapidity. A breach was no sooner established in a practicable part of the walls, than, weary with the delay which had taken place, and irritated at the losses his force had sustained, he at once directed an assault to be made. Impetuous in his valour, in spite of his years, he was the first to plant a ladder on the point of attack, and, by its means, mounting on the breach, forced his way into the city, before he could be followed by any of his knights. The first person he encountered, upon entering the rampart, was the Turkish commandant, and between these two chiefs a desperate struggle ensued, which ended fatally for the Turk, Heredia cutting off his head, and bearing it away in triumph. The loss of their leader having disheartened the Turks, a very slender resistance was made, and the completion of the capture of Patras was with facility accomplished.

Unfortunately, however, for Heredia, he was induced by the Venetians to extend his conquests still further in the Morea, and the city of Corinth was selected as the next point of attack. Whilst making a reconnais-



sance before this place, with a very slender escort, Heredia was surprised by an ambuscade of the enemy, and, after a most energetic resistance, he was captured and carried into the city. The Christian chiefs were so dismayed at this event, that they offered the restoration of Patras as his ransom. This, however, the Turks refused, asserting that they should speedily recapture the town for themselves; upon which the Christians, in addition to their former offer, proposed to pay a large sum of money, and to leave the three Grand-Priors of England, St. Gilles, and Rome, who were then with the army, as hostages for its payment. These terms would have been accepted by the Turks, had not Heredia peremptorily forbidden it, stating, that it was better that an old man like himself should perish in slavery, than that three more youthful and valuable members should be lost to the Order. He also declined the payment of any ransom out of the public treasury, asserting that he had sufficiently enriched his own family, to enable them to come to his assistance at this hour of his need. No entreaties could change the indomitable resolution of the gallant old man, and his companions were reluctantly compelled to leave him in the hands of the enemy, where he remained for a period of three years, until, in 1381, he was ransomed by his family, and thus enabled to return to Rhodes.\*

During his captivity, a schism had sprung up in the Church, which was destined to have a most pernicious

\* Bosio asserts that Heredia was eventually induced to permit of his ransom being effected by the Order, pending the arrival of the necessary funds from his family in Spain; and that the three Grand-Priors were left as hostages, until the payment was duly completed. — *Bosio*, par. ii. lib. iii. anno 1378.

effect upon the Order of St. John. At the death of Gregory, the populace of Rome, fearful lest the cardinals then assembled for the election of his successor should select a pontiff who would re-transfer the seat of government to Avignon, compelled them, by the most open and glaring intimidation, to nominate an Italian prelate, the Neapolitan Archbishop of Bara. This priest ascended the Papal throne under the title of Urban VI; and, in spite of the protests which were made against the validity of his election, commenced the exercise of his office. The cardinals had no sooner escaped from their thralldom in Rome than they at once re-assembled in a secure spot, and, invalidating their former appointment upon the score of intimidation, proceeded to elect Robert, brother of the Count of Geneva, whom they at once crowned under the title of Clement VII. The rival pontiffs fulminated their ecclesiastical thunders, each at the adherents of his opponent, with the most edifying vigour, and the schism rapidly spread through the whole of Europe. Heredia, upon his release from captivity, declared at once in favour of Clement, in which he was joined by the convent at Rhodes and the French and Spanish languages. The Italians, Germans, and English, on the other hand, joined the party of Urban, and thus the dispute found its way into the heart of the Order. As a still further complication of affairs, Pope Urban, in revenge for Heredia's declaration in favour of his rival, formally deposed him, and, of his own authority, nominated Richard Carracciolo, prior of Capua, as his successor. It has been a disputed point, how far Carracciolo can be considered a legitimate Grand-Master, some writers having recognised his claim to the dignity, whilst others ignore him altogether. As, however, the

deposition of Heredia, and the election of Carracciolo, never emanated from the council of the Order, but were the arbitrary acts of a pontiff whose title was not recognised by the majority of the fraternity, there can be little doubt that his nomination was invalid, and that Heredia still remained the legitimate Grand-Master. This view of the case is materially strengthened by the fact, that after the death of Carracciolo, which took place prior to that of Heredia, Boniface IX., who had succeeded Urban, refrained from nominating a new chief, contenting himself by making his near relation, Boniface of Caramandra, lieutenant of the Order. He also annulled the appointments conferred by Carracciolo in order to remove, as far as practicable, all further cause for schism.

During these disputes and disorders, Heredia found that it was impossible to enforce due obedience to his authority from the European commanders. Availing themselves of the doubtful nature of his position, they neglected to pay their responsions; and, rejecting all submission to the decrees of the council, assumed an independence most fatal to the interests of the fraternity. Under these circumstances, Heredia was requested to return to Avignon, to seek at the hands of Pope Clement the means of reducing the refractory commanders to submission. Mindful of the bad use which he had once previously, on a similar occasion, made of his authority, the council, prior to his departure, extracted from him a pledge that he would faithfully remit to the public treasury all the responsions which he might collect; and that he might hasten his return to Rhodes, they decreed that, during his absence, he should not have the power to nominate to any of the vacant dignities of the

Order. They carried their precautions still further, by selecting four Knights to accompany him, ostensibly as an escort, but in reality as a check upon his movements. Their suspicions were, however, groundless. Heredia, as Grand-Master, was very different from the young and ambitious Knight, who had still his fortune to make, and his way to push in the world. At his request, the Pope summoned several general councils at Avignon, at all of which he presided, and where many beneficial regulations were enacted. By his precept and example, he succeeded in recalling a great majority of the recusants to their duty, and obtained for the treasury the payment of many arrears in the responsions.

As, at this time, both Smyrna and Rhodes were threatened by an invasion from the Turks, he despatched to both places, at his own cost, vessels laden with provisions and munitions of war; and he also made several foundations in favour of his Order in the kingdom of Aragon. At length, in the year 1396, Heredia, bowed with years and the anxieties of his office, sank into the grave universally regretted and beloved by all his fraternity. The virtues and good deeds of his old age had so far obliterated the reminiscence of what he had been during the earlier portion of his career, that men forbore to think on all the wrongs which he had wrought upon them in former times, whilst contemplating the advantages and the prosperity which, during his sway of twenty years, he had been the means of promoting.

He was, in truth, a strange compound of good and evil; greedy of wealth, he was yet no miser, scattering with a lavish hand, and with the most magnificent profusion, those treasures which he had toiled so in-

cessantly to amass. Ambitious in the highest degree, he scrupled not as to the means he employed in attaining power; yet, having gained the highest dignity which the Order could bestow, he used that power only for the public weal and the most benevolent purposes. Indeed, both his ambition and his rapacity were stimulated more for the benefit of his children than for himself, since, their position in life once fairly established, much of the eagerness with which he had followed the pursuit of both wealth and power seems to have subsided, and to have left him, in his old age, leisure to earn for himself the high position which he undoubtedly occupies as one of the greatest and wisest of those who had as yet swayed the fortunes of the Order of St. John.

## CHAP. IX.

THE THREE DIVISIONS OF THE ORDER AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT SUBDIVISIONS. — THE PROOFS FOR ADMISSION INTO THE FIRST CLASS. — AUTHORITY OF THE GRAND-MASTER. — COURTS OF ÉGARD. — BAILIFFS AND THEIR LIEUTENANTS. — FACILITIES OF THE ORDER IN ADAPTING ITSELF TO LOCALITIES. — REPORT OF PHILIP DE THAME. — INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF A COMMANDERY. MANSION. GARDEN. COLUMBARIUM. ARABLE, MEADOW, AND PASTURE LANDS. MESSUAGES AND MILLS. — PROFITS OF STOCK. — IMPROPRIATE CHURCHES. — VILLAINAGE. — REDDITUS ASSISUS. — CONFRARIA. — OUTLAY FOR HOSPITALITY AND MAINTENANCE. — WAGES. — CLOTHING. — CORRODY. — LAW CHARGES. — REVENUE OF ENGLISH PROPERTY.

DURING the three centuries which had elapsed between the first establishment of the Order of St. John and the period at which we have now arrived, many important changes had gradually crept into its organization.

It has already been stated that at its first institution three great divisions of the fraternity were decreed, by which they were ranked under the heads of Knights, Chaplains, and Serving Brothers. Of these, the second class, namely, the chaplains, gradually became subdivided into two ranks, of which one included what were termed the conventual chaplains, and the other priests of obedience. The former were especially attached to the convent itself, and performed all the ecclesiastical duties required at the head-quarters of the

Order, whilst the latter carried on such parochial duties as were incident to their profession in their numerous European commanderies. The serving brothers, also, soon became subdivided into two classes, distinguishing those who entered the Order in this rank, with the hope of winning their spurs under the White Cross banner, and thus obtaining admission into the first class, from those who, owing to a want of the advantages of birth, were unable to enter in any other capacity.\* At a general chapter, held in 1357, under the Grand-Mastership of Roger de Pins, the former of these two subdivisions was abolished, it being then decreed that no member of the class of serving brothers should be eligible for promotion into the Knighthood of the Order.

As time wore on, and the advantages of birth became more and more considered, the regulations for admission into the first class became gradually increased in stringency. The insignia of the belted Knight were no longer deemed a sufficient guarantee

\* *Fratrum nostrorum triplex est differentia. Alii enim sunt milites, alii sacerdotes, alii servientes. Sacerdotum autem et servientium status rursus in duo dividitur: Sacerdotum, in sacerdotes conventuales, et sacerdotes obedientia. Servientium, in servientes armorum, videlicet in conventio receptos, — et servientes officii vel stagii. Qui vero sub gradu militiæ ad hoc idoneus et aptus, pro formâ statutorum et consuetudinum, ad professionem nostri ordinis admitti postulabit, priusquam habitum suscipiat, et professionem faciat, cingulo militiæ decoretur necesse est. Si autem ab aliquo principe Catholice, aut altero, facultatem militiam præstandi habente, militiæ insignia non fuerit adeptus, a fratre milite ordinis nostri suam professionem recipiente, aut altero fratre milite militiæ hujusmodi insignia, secundum consuetudinem militiam præstandi recipiat: et demum ordine præfato ineat professionem. — Consuetudo Ord. Sac. Mil. Sanct. Johan. Geros.*

for the introduction of the wearer; it was necessary that he should adduce proofs of the nobility of his descent before he could claim admission as a Knight of justice in the Order of St. John. These proofs were of four kinds, viz., testimonial, literal, local, and secret. The testimonial proof was so called from its being the testimony of four witnesses, themselves gentlemen by birth, who guaranteed the nobility of the candidate; the literal proof was gained from title deeds, or other legal documents; the local proof was obtained by commissioners appointed by the Order, whose duty it was to inform themselves, in the country where the candidate was born, as to his descent; and the secret proof consisted of an inquiry, made by the same commissioners, without his knowledge. In the various languages these proofs of nobility differed materially: four quarters only being requisite in the English, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese languages; eight quarters in the French; and in the German, no less than sixteen. The stringency of these regulations was never afterwards materially relaxed, though in some cases an exception was made for wealthy candidates, whose parentage was not sufficiently exalted to bear the requisite test. This innovation, however, only crept in after the establishment of the princely mercantile families who formed the main stay of the Venetian and Genoese republics.

In addition to this grand division of the Order, we have seen that, during the Grand-Mastership of Elyon de Villanova in 1331, the fraternity were separated into seven languages, and before the expiration of many years, an eighth was added to the number, viz., that of Castile and Portugal, which were combined to form a single language. The only alteration which took



place in this classification, occurred at a later period than that of which we have yet treated, when the Reformation in England having annihilated the status of that language, it was, towards the close of the eighteenth century joined to Bavaria, and received thenceforth the title of Anglo-Bavarian.

The supreme head of this institution, comprising amidst its members the natives of almost every country in Europe, was the Grand-Master. The position of this dignitary in the scale of potentates varied greatly, according to the fluctuations in the fortunes of his Order. During their residence in Palestine, he was possessed of a very powerful voice in the councils of that kingdom, sharing with the Grand-Masters of the other two Orders almost the entire direction of affairs. His influence, however, in Europe was, during this time, but slight. It is true that he possessed landed property to a considerable extent in every country, which property naturally gave him a certain amount of influence in its vicinity; still, residing as he did at a point so far remote from the centre of European politics, that influence could rarely be exercised in any great degree. When the expulsion of the Latins from Syria compelled the fraternity to seek a new home, and led to the establishment of the Order in the sovereignty of the island of Rhodes, their influence in the East gradually diminished as the prospects of the re-establishment of a Latin kingdom grew more and more hopeless: on the other hand, the barrier thus set up to the encroachments of the Infidel on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, led to the admission of the Knights of Rhodes as by no means an unimportant member of the body politic of Europe, and the Grand-Master, as their head, found the con-

sideration with which he was treated rapidly increased. The subsequent transfer of their government from the island of Rhodes to that of Malta, led to a still further augmentation of this influence, and we shall eventually find him not only arrogating to himself the rank and privileges of a sovereign prince, but actually in correspondence, upon terms nearly of equality, with the various potentates of Europe.

It is curious to mark how, during these successive ages, the authority which the Pope exercised over the actions of the Order became gradually reduced in extent. Constituted originally as a religious establishment, they owed their earliest organisation wholly to the fiat of his will, and, during the first two centuries of their existence, appear never to have disputed his authority on any matter in which he may have been pleased to exercise it. Indeed, it was to the fostering approval of so many successive pontiffs that the Order was indebted for the first germs of that power into which they subsequently expanded themselves; and as by the expression of that approval the successor of St. Peter had been enabled to obtain for his protégés a support which carried them triumphantly through all the difficulties of their position, so there is but little doubt that the exercise of the same power, on his part, in an antagonistic direction, would have been equally successful in crushing them to the earth. Time, however, brought great changes in their relative position; many rude shocks diminished the extent of his authority, whilst each successive generation augmented the influence of the military friars. Step by step they gradually shook off the dictatorial yoke of Papal domination, until eventually his sovereign authority became little more than nominal,

and the Grand-Master ruled over the island in which his fraternity were located with the absolute power of a despot.

The rules of the institution, however, do not appear to have contemplated any autocratic sway on the part of their chief over the members of his own Order, they being framed so as to mark the extreme jealousy with which they were intended to limit his authority. Even after the possession of the island of Malta had established him in the rank of a sovereign prince, and enabled him to maintain an ambassador in all the principal courts of Europe, his powers over the members of his own fraternity were so limited as to render his position often extremely difficult to support. The doctrine laid down in these regulations appears to have been that the sovereignty was vested in the Order generally, and not in the Grand-Master personally: in fact, he was only esteemed as the first among his equals, or, to quote the language laid down in the statutes, "*primus inter pares*." The principle of the Habeas Corpus, so justly prized by Englishmen as the sheet-anchor of their liberties, was carried out to its fullest extent in these statutes; it being illegal for the Grand-Master to detain a Knight in custody for more than twenty-four hours without bringing him to trial. Nor did the vow of obedience taken by a candidate at his profession, give his superior that power over his actions which might have been expected, since he was permitted, in case he disapproved of any order which he received, to appeal to the Court of Égard, and to persist in his disobedience until its sentence should have been pronounced.

The Court of Égard was originally established as a tribunal, before which any dispute arising between mem-

bers of the fraternity might be brought to trial or arbitration. It had its origin at a very early date in the annals of the institution, and although, as time wore on and brought changes into the constitution of the Order, certain alterations in the composition of the Égard were also introduced, still it always remained the same in principle, and, until the last years of their existence, this court continued to be the principal, nay, the only court of appeal, before which the Knights sought redress for their grievances.

It was composed of one member selected out of every language, whose appointment rested with the languages themselves, and over whom a president was placed, nominated by the Grand-Master. On the assembling of the Égard, either of the disputants had the right of challenge, the exceptionable person in such a case being changed for another in the same language. The cause having been fully gone into, the depositions of the witnesses, which were always oral, and not allowed to be taken down in writing, were summed up. In this state of the process the parties were ordered to withdraw, and the members of the Égard discussed the merits of the case in closed court, and they then gave in their verdict by ballot. On the parties being recalled into court, and before the issue of the balloting was known, they were asked whether they were willing to abide by the award of the Égard: if they consented, the state of the ballot was examined, and whoever had the majority of votes carried his cause. Should, however, either of the parties have refused to abide by the award, the votes were nevertheless still examined and recorded; and a new court was assembled, which was to act as a tribunal of appeal from the first. This was called the *renfort of the Égard*,

and its constitution was precisely similar to that of the first, with the exception, that the number of members was doubled. From the decision of this court an appeal lay with a third, which was called the *renfort of the renfort*, in which there were three members of each language; the president in all three courts continuing the same. Should either of the parties still continue dissatisfied, a court of ultimate appeal was appointed, whose decision was final. This was called the *bailiffs' Égard* and was composed of the conventual bailiffs, or in the absence of any of their number, of the lieutenants who supplied their places, over whom the Grand-Master nominated a president. He was in no case, however, to be the same who had acted in that capacity in the three preceding Égards. The decision of this court being final, the sentence was carried into execution immediately after the promulgation of the verdict.

It would be difficult to conceive a court of equity more admirably calculated to carry out the purposes for which it was created than this, combining as it did all those principles of jurisprudence which modern civilisation has stamped with the seal of its approval. The doctrine that every man should be tried by his peers was thoroughly recognised in the constitution of the various courts, and the decision not resting with any individual member, but gathered from the votes of the entire court, gave it all the leading features of a trial by jury. The possibility of any prejudice or favouritism, arising from a community of language and consequent national partiality, was obviated by the precautions adopted in the nomination of the members. The right of appeal was also guaranteed in the most complete manner; the constitution of the tribunal assuming in

each case a broader basis, until there remained not the shadow of a possibility of an inequitable conclusion. The proof how admirably these courts performed their functions lies in that surest of all tests, the test of experience. For a period of nearly seven centuries the organisation of the courts of Égard remained unaltered, and, at the time of the expulsion of the Order from the island of Malta by the French, at the close of the eighteenth century, the same principles regulated their formation as those which were promulgated at their original establishment.

Immediately subordinate to the Grand-Master in the governance of the fraternity, were the Bailiffs or Grand-Crosses of the Order. These dignitaries were of three kinds, viz., the Conventual Bailiffs, the Capitular Bailiffs, and the bailiffs "ad honores," or Honorary Bailiffs. The first named of these received the title from the fact of its being their duty to reside continuously at the convent. There was one for each of the languages into which the Order was divided, and of these they were severally regarded as the immediate chiefs and governors. Their election lay not with the Grand-Master, but with the Knights of their own language, and the principle of seniority was generally, though not always, recognised in the selection. The Capitular Bailiffs were not compelled to reside in the convent, where their attendance was only required on the occasion of a general chapter; but, on the contrary, their duties usually led to a constant residence in their European commanderies. The grand-priors, who had been nominated in each language to superintend and control the commanderies placed within their jurisdiction, were all ex-officio Capi-

tular Bailiffs. In the English language there were two of these Grand-Crosses, viz., the Grand-Prior of England and the Grand-Prior of Ireland. The bailiffs "ad honores" were selected indiscriminately, either by a general chapter, or, in its default, by the Grand-Master in council under the sanction of a bull from the Pope. This prerogative was eventually found highly inconvenient, for the princes of Europe were constantly urging the Grand-Master to its exercise in favour of those whose interests they were desirous to advance; and during the later years of the existence of the Order the privilege was abandoned. Upon this the Pope took upon himself to claim the right thus yielded by the Grand-Master, and carried its abuse to such a length that great exception was taken to his nominations, and this gradually led to the almost entire abandonment of the privilege. The bailiwick of the Eagle was an honorary Grand-Cross always reserved for the English language, thus giving to that nation four grand-crosses, viz., the Conventual Bailiff, two Capitular Bailiffs, and one Honorary Bailiff.

The conventual bailiffs each of them held ex-officio an important post in the active government of the fraternity. Thus the Bailiff of Provence was the Grand-Commander: this office involved his being president of the common treasury, comptroller of the accounts, superintendent of stores, governor of the arsenal, and master of the ordnance. The Bailiff of Auvergne occupied the post of Grand-Marshal: he was the military head, or commander-in-chief, as well of the naval forces as of the army; and the grand standard of the Order, that white-cross banner so frequently alluded to in the previous pages, and which had waved over so many

a nobly fought field, was entrusted to his charge. The Bailiff of France was the Grand-Hospitaller, under whose control came, as the name imports, the direction of the hospitals and infirmaries of the Order. The Bailiff of Italy was the Grand-Admiral, who had the general superintendence, not only of the navy, but also of the army, in both cases under the supreme direction of the Grand-Marshal. The Bailiff of Aragon was the Grand-Conservator: the duties of this officer were nearly analogous to those of the commissariat in a modern army. The Bailiff of Germany was Grand-Bailiff of the Order, and his jurisdiction was that of chief engineer. The Bailiff of Castile and Portugal was Grand-Chancellor, the duties of which post were very similar to those of the Lord-Chancellor in modern governments. The Bailiff of England was the Turcopolier, or chief of the light cavalry.

It has been a matter of some dispute as to what was the real signification or derivation of the term Turcopolier, and whom it was intended to designate. The most probable of the numerous explanations given on this head appears to be that of Ducange, who states in his glossary that the word Turcopolier is derived from *πυλός*, the Greek for a child; the term being thus considered to signify the child of a Turkish parent. They were in all probability the children of Christian fathers by Turkish mothers, and having been brought up in the faith of Christ, they were retained in the pay of the military Orders; where, "being lightly armed, clothed in the Arabic style, inured to the climate, well acquainted with the country and with the Mussulman mode of warfare, they were found extremely serviceable as light cavalry and skirmishers, and consequently always at-



tached to the war battalions." \* The earliest record now in existence in which mention is made of an English Turcopolier is dated in 1328, when an English Knight named John of Builbrulx was appointed to the office; and from this date till 1660 the post was invariably filled by an Englishman.

There appears no satisfactory way of accounting for the arbitrary attachment of a peculiar office to each different language, more especially when we consider that many of these posts would seem to have required much technical professional knowledge, and should in common sense have been held by men selected from their fitness for the appointment. It would certainly have appeared more in accordance with the dictates of reason to have selected as chief engineer a man who had made the science of engineering, as then known and practised, his peculiar study, rather than to have given the appointment to the Bailiff of Germany, when that dignitary may perhaps have been ignorant of even the simplest rudiments of the profession. The only solution to this apparent incongruity seems to be that it was intended, by thus apportioning the various dignities in the gift of the Order amongst the languages, to prevent the jealousies and cabals which would inevitably have arisen upon the occasion of every vacancy. Again, as the Grand-Master, although not actually possessing the gift of these offices, from his position, must have been enabled to influence the selection in a great degree; and as that influence would most probably have been exercised in favour of members of his own language, the result would have been completely to overthrow the balance of power be-

\* Addison's History of the Templars.

tween the various nationalities of which the institution was composed. The simplest method to avoid so undesirable a consummation was certainly that which appears to have been adopted; and although it must probably have had the effect of producing an inferior class of officers, it must have been perfectly successful in maintaining the relative influence of the different languages, a matter of the most vital importance to the welfare of the institution. It is also difficult to account for the selection of the various offices thus attached to the several languages. The French element having always had a very preponderating influence in the councils of the Order, it was but natural that the three leading dignities should have been attached to the three languages into which that nation was divided; but as regards the other five nations, no such solution can be given. It may have been that the offices held by the different languages at the time when their separation and apportionment were decreed were from that moment permanently attached to them. This suggestion is somewhat strengthened from the fact that it is known that the office of Turcopolier was given in the year 1328 to an English Knight; and at the general division in 1331 it was permanently appropriated to that language. This may therefore have also been the case with the other nations.

Lieutenants were nominated in each language, in the same manner as the bailiffs, whose duty it was to act for the bailiffs, and to occupy their position during their absence from the convent, or when they were incapacitated by sickness from attending to their duties in person.

As every Knight, upon making his profession, took

the oath of poverty, the reversion of all his worldly possessions, from that moment, merged into the public coffers; the statutes, however, in order to enable him to make some provision for the ties of consanguinity, permitted him to dispose, by will, of one-fifth of his property, the remainder being carried to the credit of the public treasury. This source of revenue, which was very considerable, was termed mortuary; and in the annual balance-sheets of the Order, figured for very extensive sums. In the case of a Knight not possessing a sufficient income for his maintenance in a style becoming his dignity, and not having attained, by his seniority, to the right of a commandery, he was attached to the Inn of his language at the convent, or to one of the commanderies in his native country, where he was clothed, housed, and fed, free of expense to himself. In some cases a pecuniary allowance was also granted to him.

The property held by the Order in the various countries of Europe was, for the convenience of superintendence and government, divided into estates of moderate extent, denominated commanderies. Several members were attached to each of these estates in various capacities, and at its head was placed a brother, in whose hands was vested its supreme control, and who bore the title of Commander. Although a post of great importance and responsibility, and one which was highly lucrative to its holder, it was not necessarily held by a member of the first class; a certain number of the commanderies in every language having been expressly reserved for the two lower grades. The commander was bound to exercise the most rigid superintendence of the estate under his control, and without reference to

its actual revenue at the moment, he was compelled to remit to the public treasury the amount of responsions for which his commandery was held liable. Grand Priors were appointed in each language, under whose surveillance a certain number of commanderies were placed, and who received the revenues as they became due, remitting them to the treasury of the Order, through the medium of receivers, nominated to act in the capacity of bankers, in the various central cities of Europe. The Grand-Prior was bound to make a personal visit, at least once in every five years, to each commandery within his district, and he had full authority to correct all abuses, as also to order such renewals, alterations, and improvements, as appeared to him advisable.

It is an interesting study to observe how the system of this institution adapted itself to the varied circumstances of the localities in which it was situated. In Palestine there were pilgrims to be tended, and sick to be nursed; in addition to which there was a constant and harassing warfare to be waged, without a respite, against the Infidel. We find, therefore, that in this part of the globe, the Hospitaller in his barrack convent was half monk, half soldier; at one time clad in the black mantle of his order, he might be seen seated by the pallet of the humble and lonely wanderer, and breathing into an ear that might perhaps be shortly closed to all earthly sounds, the consolations of that common faith which they both professed, and which had drawn them both to that distant spot, so far from all the ties of home and kindred. At another moment he might be seen mounted on his gallant steed, clad in burnished steel, brandishing his falchion with all the enthusiasm

of chivalric ardour, and hewing a pathway for himself and his brave companions through the opposing barrier of Infidel battalions. The spirit of the times was suited to such transformations; and the institution, in thus adapting itself to that spirit, laid the first foundation of its future grandeur and eminence.

In later years, when the fraternity established themselves first in the island of Rhodes, and subsequently in that of Malta, we find great changes rapidly made in their organisation, habits, and duties of life. The Hospitals were still maintained and tended; but they no longer constituted an important branch of the Knights' duties; there were no harassed and weary pilgrims to sustain and support: the sick had dwindled into the ordinary casualties incident to the population of a small island. The Knight was no more seen in his iron panoply, forming one of the dense array of that squadron who, under the banner of the cross, had so often struck dismay into the ranks of the enemy; but having established himself in his island home he commenced to fortify the stronghold of his power. Battlement after battlement speedily arose; the skill of engineering science was exhausted to produce fresh defences, or to increase those which nature had adapted to his purpose. The fortresses of Rhodes and Malta remain an imperishable record of the energy, the perseverance, and the skill with which he prosecuted these labours; until at length, like the eagle from her eyrie on the inaccessible height, he looked down upon the blue expanse of the Mediterranean and called it all his own. In every corner of that sea the flag of his Order waved, alike the terror of the Infidel and the bulwark of Christianity. On the waters of this his new kingdom,

he trod the deck of his galley, every inch a sailor ; and few who saw him now could recognise in the hardy mariner of the Levant the warrior monk of Palestine, whom indeed he resembled only in the indomitable perseverance of his will.

Whilst these changes were taking place in the external characteristics of the brotherhood, at their convent home, first in Syria and afterwards in the Mediterranean, another sphere was at the same time opened for the display of their peculiar faculties in adapting themselves to the varieties of circumstance and locality. Having been originally formed into a body of which it had been contemplated that one of the leading features should be the poverty of its members, they had ended in acquiring a wealth almost fabulous in its extent. True, the individual still remained bereft of all distinct and separate possessions ; and the acquisitions thus rapidly falling within their eager grasp were the property of the community ; and it was under cover of this vague generalisation that they sheltered themselves from the apparent inconsistency of their vows. Whilst, however, disclaiming all personal participation in the benefits of their wealth, they were never found backward in turning it to the greatest possible advantage to themselves ; and as, in addition to its privileges, that property had likewise its duties, the due performance of which was imperatively demanded of its holders, so we find the Hospitaller, in his European commandery, abandoning the chivalric aspirations of the Syrian Crusader, and the reckless intrepidity of the island seaman, and appearing under a totally different aspect, as a lord of the manor, and a wary steward of the property of his fraternity.

Nor was the duty thus imposed upon him by any means an easy task. The mere existence of these bands of warrior monks, acting under an organisation of their own, and almost entirely freed from all external control, was a source of bitter contention, on the part of the powers that be, in every land where they had gained a footing. Freed by the control of papal bulls from most of the restrictions imposed upon the laity, and yet only half acknowledging the authority of the Church; holding extensive properties in a land to the crown of which they paid no just allegiance, and the revenues of which they forwarded for expenditure in a distant country, and for foreign objects; at the same time refusing to the Church those tithes which she gleaned from all her other votaries; they were equally dreaded by the king, who scarce knew whether they were to be regarded as friend or foe, and hated by the genuine ecclesiastic, who looked upon them as unauthorised encroachers, despoiling the Church of that property which the piety of her sons might otherwise have dedicated to her use. It was indeed a difficult matter for the commander to steer a middle course, and undeterred by dangers or threats from the monarch on the one hand, or the mitred ecclesiastic on the other, to pursue the even tenor of his way, and with calm steadiness and perseverance, to carry on that process of extraction for which he had been appointed to his office.

In different countries this process must of course have varied; still the leading features of the operation were undoubtedly the same; and we are fortunate in being enabled to form a very accurate notion of what this process was, from a report which was drawn up in 1338, by the grand-prior of England, brother Philip de

Thame, to the Grand-Master Elyon de Villanova.\* The picture which this document affords of the stewardship of landed property in England, in the fourteenth century, is most valuable; and a careful study of its contents will give the reader a very accurate representation of the position of agriculture in all its various branches at that period. The document is a record of income and outlay, and under one or other of these two heads is classed all the information which it contains.

In each bailiwick or manor the first item mentioned, under the head of income, is the mansion, with its kitchen-garden and orchard. The house itself was of course a source of no positive revenue; although, in so far as it precluded the necessity of any outlay on the score of rent, it must be considered as valuable: the garden and orchard, however, appear in every instance to have been more or less productive beyond the consumption of the household. The amount varied from a few shillings up to nearly a pound; but rarely reached the latter sum. A considerable source of profit appears to have been the columbarium or dovecote; which in some cases was rated to produce as much as thirty shillings; from five shillings to half a mark (six and eightpence) being, however, the usual average.

Next on the list stands the rent received from arable and meadow land; the former of which varied from two shillings an acre in Lincoln and Kent, down as low as

\* This report, which exists in manuscript in the Record Office at Malta, has been recently printed by the Camden Society, under the title of "The Hospitallers in England." The original manuscript is in perfect preservation; and although somewhat difficult to decipher, from its crabbed and contracted Latinity, still the writing is as distinct and clear as on the day when it was first penned.



three halfpence in the counties of Somerset and Norfolk; whilst the meadow land seldom fell to a lower amount than two shillings the acre, and in the counties of Warwick and Oxford it even reached three shillings. The value of pasture land was calculated not by the acre, but by the head of cattle: the average receipt on this score may be assumed at something like the following scale :—

An ox or a horse	.	.	.	.	12 <i>d.</i>
A cow	.	.	.	.	24 <i>d.</i>
A sheep	.	.	.	.	1 <i>d.</i>
A calf	.	.	.	.	6 <i>d.</i>
A goat	.	.	.	.	$\frac{3}{4}$ <i>d.</i>

Messuages, mills, and fisheries stand next on the list, and do not require any special explanation; their character being plainly indicated by their name. The profit of stock afforded a very considerable source of revenue. This appears to be the return produced by the cattle, bred and fattened on the home farm. In more than one entry we find that, through the devastation of enemies, the damage done by inundations and other causes, the stock has returned no appreciable profit.

A considerable source of income was derived from the churches and chapels appropriated to the Order, whose funds were paid into the public coffers; vicars and chaplains being provided at their expense. A glance at the figures recorded under this head will show that, as is the case with many parishes in modern times, the lay impropiators gleaned the lion's share in the substance originally intended for the support of the church. In the case of sixteen of these churches, the amount paid to the credit of the Order was no less than 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*;

whilst the cost of providing chaplains, as defrayed by them, was only 34*l.* 10*s.* Truly this grievous anomaly, which in the present day finds so many earnest and eloquent opponents, both within and without the walls of parliament, can at least claim the excuse of antiquity, when in the early part of the fourteenth century we already find it existing to so great an extent.

At this period, the system of villainage, or the compulsory service of bond-tenants, was universal throughout Europe; we consequently find it figuring very extensively on the credit side of our balance sheet. These services were generally rendered either by payments in kind, such as poultry, eggs, corn, &c., or by the giving of a certain amount of labour for the benefit of the lord of the manor. As these latter have almost invariably been entered in the accounts as money payments, there can be no doubt that a fixed commutation had been agreed to between landlord and tenant, whereby the former secured for himself a certain and settled revenue, and the latter was protected from the caprice of his lord, who might otherwise have demanded his services at the very time when his own crops required his attention. From an entry which occurs in the manor of Shaldeford, the price at which this labour was commuted may be gathered, it being there fixed at twopence per diem, the gross amount received throughout England on this head being 184*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

We next come to the rent paid by the freeholders; the entry for which comes under the heading of *redditus assisus*, and in only one case is its nature specified, where, in the bailiwick of Godsfeld, in the county of Hampshire, it is distinctly stated to be rent for houses

in the two towns of Portsmouth and Southampton. The profits arising from the fees and perquisites paid to the manor courts have caused an entry in almost every bailiwick, and in some places amounted to considerable sums. An officer, named steward of the manor, was appointed for these dues.

There yet remains one item of income to be explained, which was of a different character to the others, and could only have had an existence under an ecclesiastical régime. This is a voluntary contribution from the neighbourhood, and is entered under the name of *confraria*; the mode of collection is not specified, but it is presumed that, in a similar manner to that practised at the present day by many monastic institutions in Roman Catholic countries, a house to house visitation was annually made, for the purpose of extorting the charity of the pious. The amount thus scraped together by the wealthy mendicants of St. John, from the over-taxed and harassed commons of England, amounts to very close upon 900*l.*; and that this sum was less than that which had frequently been previously obtained, may be gathered from several entries where the smallness of the contributions, under this head, are accounted for by the poverty of the country and the heavy taxes payable to the king for the support of his navy.\*

\* Item ibidem collecta, que semel fit per annum, in diversis ecclesiis, que vocatur confraria, et ad voluntatem hominum si velint aliquid contribuere necne, quia non possunt compelli ad contribuendum, et solebat valere per annum 27 marcas (18*l.*), et aliquando plus et aliquando minus, et nunc in presenti, propter paupertatem communitatis regni et propter diversas oppressiones ut in tallas (sic) contributionibus domino regi pro defensione maris et lanis quas dominus rex capit per totam terram, non possunt levare nunc nisi et vix 10 li. (10*l.*)—Extract from revenue account of Grenham, *Hospitallers in England*, 1338.

Having thus recapitulated the various items which stood on the credit side of the balance sheet, it will be well to enumerate those which constituted the contra side of the ledger. The first and principal expense, chargeable upon the funds of the Order, is that for maintenance of the household. In every bailiwick there was one preceptor, in whose charge rested the entire estate; and attached to him were other brethren who were called *confratres*. These, together with the chaplains, formed the first class in the establishment, and a table was provided for their separate use. In fact, there appear to have been three different tables at which, according to their rank, the members of the establishment had their commons; the first of which was that already mentioned; the second, for the free servants of the Order; and the third, for the hinds or labourers kept in their employ. The principal portion of the provisions consumed at these tables was provided from the stock of the estate, and consequently cost nothing; in addition to this, however, there very generally appears an item, under the head of *coquina*, for the supply of meat and fish, over and above that drawn from the estate. Three different kinds of bread were supplied for the three different tables, namely, white bread, ration bread, and black bread. There were also two classes of beer, the *melior* and the *secunda*. In addition to their keep, the preceptor and his *confratres* had a yearly allowance for their dress; and as this was the same in amount in each preceptory, it may be assumed that it had been fixed by authority. It consists of 1*l.* for a robe, 6*s.* 8*d.* for a mantle, and 8*s.* for other expenses. The members of the household had each a pecuniary stipend, in addition to their keep, which amount not only varied greatly for the different

classes, but also for the same classes in different commanderies. The highest in rank appears to be the armiger, who in some instances received as much as a pound a year; the usual stipend for him, as for several others, such as the claviger, the ballivus, the messor, and the coquus, was a mark. The wages of the lotrix or washerwoman appear to be the smallest, amounting, in most cases, to the sum of one shilling only.

A very heavy charge is of frequent occurrence in these accounts, under the head of *corrody*. This term signifies a claim to commons, or food at the table of the establishment, and was probably originally granted, either in repayment of money lent, or as a return for some favour granted to the Order. The table from which the *corrodary* drew his commons, depended upon his own rank; those who were of gentle blood being accommodated at the preceptor's table, and others according to their position, either with the *liberi servientes*, or with the *garciones*. In some instances, these *corrodaries* were in the receipt of very luxurious rations; as, for instance, in Clerkenwell, William de Langford is entitled to his commons at the preceptor's table, whenever he chooses to dine there, together with commons for one chamberlain, at the second table, and for three inferior servants at the third. But on occasions when he may choose to deprive the brethren of the honour of his company, it is expressly stipulated, that he shall receive, in lieu of his commons, a fixed allowance of four white loaves, two of ration bread, and two of black bread; three flagons of beer of the superior quality, and two of the second; one whole dish from the brothers' table, one from that of the *servientes liberi*, and one from that of the *garciones*; in addition to which, he

is to receive every night, for his bed-chamber, one flagon of best beer ; and, during the winter season, four candles and one faggot of small wood ; also for his stable, half-a-bushel of oats, hay, litter, a shoe, and nails : all this allowance being granted for the term of his natural life, by virtue of a charter given him by Thomas Larcher, who was at that time Grand-Prior of England. This worthy seems to have distributed pensions and corrodies, right and left, with the most reckless profusion ; so much so, that some years previous to that to which this report relates, he was superseded, or resigned his post, to Leonard de Tybertis, prior of Venice, under whose fostering management the English revenues underwent a rapid improvement.

The entries for repairs of buildings were but few, and these only for trifling sums ; from which might be inferred that it had always been the practice to keep the various tenements in systematic good repair, and thus to prevent any heavy annual outlay for their restoration. It must, however, be remembered that the money charges under this heading are over and above the value of the timber which may have been used, and which was of course supplied from the estate.

In addition to the expenses incurred in the maintenance of the household itself, there was a very heavy item under the head of hospitality. The rules of the Order distinctly laid down the obligation, on the part of its members, to exercise this virtue freely ; and it seems very clear, on studying these accounts, that those rules were most liberally and rigidly complied with. In fact, the commanderies must have partaken very much of the character of houses of public entertainment, where both rich and poor might feel certain of a hospitable

reception, and a liberal entertainment for man and beast. Of course there was no charge made for this service, still it is more than probable that the item of confraria, which has been already alluded to, had its proportions considerably swelled by the donations of such among the better class of travellers as had experienced the kindness of the fraternity. How far this claim to reception and maintenance on the part of the wayfarer may have extended, it is difficult to determine; but there must have been a limit somewhere, since, unless the fourteenth century differed widely from the nineteenth, a free and unrestricted system of open-housekeeping would have entailed the maintenance of all the idle vagabonds in the country. The Anglo-Saxon law appears to have limited the claim, in the case of monasteries, to three days, and it is highly probable that the same margin was allowed at the commanderies. It may also be assumed, without much fear of error, that in the case of the humbler members of society, a good day's work on the farm of the establishment was extorted as a return for the day's keep; thus deterring the hardened idler from seeking a shelter, the sweets of which could only be earned by the sweat of his brow.

This wholesale system of hospitality did not owe its adoption entirely to a pious motive; there were many sagacious reasons of policy which materially encouraged the practice. It must be remembered, that in those days newspapers were among the inventions which still lay undiscovered in the womb of futurity. The majority of men travelled but little, and information was slow in spreading from one point to another; it may readily be conceived, therefore, what an engine for the collection

and distribution of important intelligence the table of the preceptor must have become. The Grand-Prior, in his head-quarters at Clerkenwell, might be regarded very much in the light of the editor of a metropolitan journal, receiving constant despatches from his correspondents at their district commanderies containing a digest of all the gossip, both local and general, which may have enlivened the jovial meals of the preceding week. This information could of course be collated and compared with that arriving from other quarters, so that a system of the earliest and most correct intelligence was always at the command of the Prior, which he might, if necessary, turn to the most valuable uses. How often may we not conceive him in a position to afford the most timely notice, even to the king in council, of some projected political movement hatched amidst the solitary fastnesses of the North, or the secluded glens of the West; notice for which it may safely be assumed that a *quid pro quo* was demanded, in the shape either of a direct donation, or an equally valuable exemption from some of the numerous burdens with which the less fortunate laity were oppressed. The Order were well aware of the advantages which their organisation gave them on this head, and were not slow to avail themselves of it. Although the records of their expenditure are most careful in exhibiting, in an ostentatious array of figures, the expenses which they incurred by their open-handed relief of wayfarers, without recording on the other side the innumerable advantages, pecuniary and otherwise, which they were enabled to glean from the practice, still the intelligent reader may with facility perform that calculation for himself; and it is to be feared that on striking a balance of the two sides, a very



trifling amount will remain to be carried over to the credit of charity.

There are, however, sundry entries in these accounts which show that this exercise of hospitality was not without its inconveniences. Although the ruling powers of the fraternity were not likely to grudge a heavy bill incurred in supplying the good things of this life to their numerous provincial guests, provided, on the other hand, that the commander was enabled to forward information, gleaned at his table, of a value commensurate with the outlay; yet cases might and did constantly occur where the expenditure may have been serious, and the results disproportionately small. A few items of local gossip or provincial scandal would be dearly purchased at the expense of many a good quarter of wheat and malting barley; and under such circumstances it was but natural that an exculpatory clause should accompany the obnoxious item, to explain away its unwelcome appearance.

Rank has its duties as well as its privileges; and it was frequently necessary for the Commander, whose position gave him considerable standing in the county where he resided, to receive at his table those of the laity who considered themselves his equals, and who chanced to reside near him; and this has, in more than one case, been quoted as an excuse for the extent of the housekeeping accounts. Thus, for instance, we find at Hampton that the Duke of Cornwall is made to bear the blame of the heavy bread and beer bill which the fraternity had contracted\*: and in the Welsh commanderies the tramps became the scapegoat; who, to

\* Una cum supervenientibus quia dux Cornubiæ juxta moratur.—  
Extract from reprise of Hampton Manor, *Hospitallers in England*.

quote the expressive language of the accountant, "multum confluunt de die in diem ; et sunt magni devastatores, et sunt imponderosi."\* The accounts of Clerkenwell, the head-quarter station of the Order in England, show that its proximity to London rendered it peculiarly liable to this expense. The king had the legal right, not only of dining at the Prior's table whenever he might choose to honour that personage with a visit, but also of sending all such members of his household and court as he might find it inconvenient to provide for elsewhere, to enjoy the hospitality of the brethren. It is not, therefore, surprising that we find among the housekeeping expenses of this establishment, 430 quarters of wheat, at 5s. the quarter, amounting to 107*l.* 10s.; also of barley-malt 413 quarters, which, at 4s. the quarter, amounted to 82*l.* 12s.; also of dragget-malt 60 quarters, which, at 3s. the quarter, amounted to 9*l.*; also of oat-malt 225 quarters, amounting, at 2s. the quarter, to 22*l.* 10s.; the three latter items being all consumed in the manufacture of different qualities of the national beverage: in addition to which, there were 300 quarters of oats, at 1s. 6*d.*, amounting to 22*l.* 10s., for the consumption of the stable establishment, and a lump sum, which may not inaptly be termed the kitchen bill, of no less a figure than 121*l.* 6s. 8*d.*: and all this without including many minor items, for meal porridge, pease, candles, &c. It was indeed a long price which the community had to pay for the presence and countenance of the monarch and his attending satellites; yet doubtless they received an ample consideration for the same, which enabled them

\* Extract from reprise of Slebech, Pembrokeshire, *Hospitallers in England*.

to bear the burden meekly, and not to succumb under its weight.

Of all the entries on the expense side of the ledger, that which reflects the greatest disgrace on our ancestors, and which we can scarcely now peruse without blushing at the scandalous iniquity of their conduct, is the entry for law charges. Many of these are simple and innocent enough; as, for instance, the salaries of their own law officers, and the fees of counsel, which appear to have been usually forty shillings a-year, with robes; but, in addition to these, we find numerous others, which proved the barefaced venality of our courts of justice in those days; almost all the leading judges being in the pay of the Order.

Thus, in the Exchequer, we find the Chief Baron, Sir Robert de Sadyngton, Baron William de Everden, and Robert de Scarburgh, William de Stoneve the engrosser, and the two remembrancers, Gervase de Willesford and William de Broklesby, each in the receipt of two pounds a year, whilst the opponitor, Roger de Gildesburgh, is down for an annual salary of five pounds. In the Court of Common Bench, the Chief Justice, Sir William de Herle, receives ten pounds a year; Judge William de Sharesull, five pounds: Judges Richard de Aldeburgh, and John de Shardelowe, two pounds each. In the King's Bench, the Chief Justice, Geoffrey de Scrope, was in the receipt of two pounds, not to mention a couple of estates at Huntingdon and Penhull, which, it is much to be feared, were gained by him in a most unrighteous manner. His brother Justice, Richard de Willoughby, figures on the list for 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; whilst in the Court of Chancery, four of the clerks seem to have pocketed an annual fee of forty shillings each. All these

entries are expressly stated to be payments made to the legal authorities, for the quiet possession of the lands which had been transferred to the Hospitallers, from the recently defunct Order of the Temple.

Before leaving this valuable document, it may be well to mention that the brothers of the Order at this time residing in England amounted to 119, in addition to the three donats and eighty corrodaries; of these, thirty-four were Knights of justice, fourteen of that number being preceptors; forty-eight were serving brothers, of whom sixteen were preceptors, and thirty-four were chaplains, of whom seven were preceptors. The annexed table shows the number and names of the Commanderies, into which the Order had divided their property in England and Wales, together with the amounts of their gross revenues, their expenditure, and the balance remaining for payment into the treasury:—

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.		Expenditure.		Balance for Treasury.		Remarks.
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
Berkshire . . .	Grenham, including Shaldeford . . .	76	13 6	34	8 8	42	4 10	An error in this balance of 1 mark (13s. 4d.).
Wiltshire . . .	Anesty . . .	93	0 0	39	18 8	53	1 4	
Dorsetshire . . .	Mayne, including Kyngeston and Ways . . .	96	2 10	42	5 4	53	4 2	
Devonshire . . .	Bothemescomb, including Coue . . .	50	11 0	22	3 2	28	7 10	An error of 10 marks (6l. 13s. 4d.).
Cornwall . . .	Trebyghen . . .	75	11 4	20	10 8	55	0 8	
Somerset . . .	Bucklands, including Halse . . .	124	10 4	83	9 8	41	0 8	
Hampshire . . .	Godesfield, including Badeslee and Run-ham . . .	66	13 11	30	3 8	36	10 3	
Sussex . . .	Palyng . . .	78	11 3	34	0 0	44	11 3	
Oxford . . .	Clanefeld . . .	60	13 4	34	9 0	26	4 4	The depredations of the Scotch are alleged as a reason for the smallness of the revenue of this estate.
Gloucestershire . . .	Quenyngton . . .	179	8 4	57	6 9	122	1 7	
Herefordshire . . .	Dynemoor, including Sutton, Rolston and Wormeburges . . .	182	7 3	82	1 4	100	5 11	
Pembrokeshire . . .	Slebech . . .	307	1 10	141	2 7	172	12 7	
North Wales . . .	Halstan, including Dongewal . . .	157	5 10	79	7 0	77	18 10	
Warwickshire . . .	Grafton . . .	78	15 2	29	15 1	49	0 0	The depredations of the Scotch are alleged as a reason for the smallness of the revenue of this estate.
Derbyshire . . .	Yeveley . . .	95	6 0	63	6 0	32	0 0	
Yorkshire . . .	Newland . . .	56	5 4	30	6 0	25	19 4	
Ditto . . .	Mount St. John . . .	58	8 4	24	16 0	33	12 4	
Ditto . . .	Beverley . . .	83	17 6	43	17 6	40	0 0	
Northumberland . . .	Chibourn . . .	23	18 8	17	13 4	6	6 8	

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.		Expenditure.		Balance for Treasury.		Remarks.
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
Nottinghamshire	Oscington	95	0 8	77	7 0	17	13 8	
Lincolnshire	Maltby	116	6 8	50	6 6	66	10 2	An error of 10 shillings.
Ditto	Skirbeck	84	11 8	79	5 0	5	6 8	
Leicestershire	Dalby, including Beaumont	128	15 8	66	8 3	62	7 5	
Northamptonshire.	Dynley	79	4 0	37	0 4	42	3 8	
Buckinghamshire	Hoggeshawe	74	14 10	28	16 4	41	18 6	An error of 6 marks (or 4 <i>l.</i> )
Bedfordshire	Meicheburn	106	2 4	49	17 10	56	4 6	
Ditto	Hardwyck, including Clifton and Pelyng	69	3 5	15	10 0	53	12 5	An error of 1 shilling.
Cambridgeshire	Shenegeye, including Wendeve, Arnyngton, and Cranden	187	12 8	60	18 8	126	14 0	
Ditto	Chippenhams	110	16 9	94	16 6	16	0 3	
Norfolk	Kerbrook	192	2 4	71	12 7	120	9 8	
Suffolk	Batesford, including Codenham and Melles	93	10 8	33	3 10	60	6 10	
Essex	Mapeltrerede	77	16 8	37	16 8	40	0 0	An error of 16 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Ditto	Standon	34	15 4	23	0 0	10	18 8	
Kent	Swenfeld	82	4 4	52	18 4	29	6 0	
Ditto	Sutton-atte-Hone	40	0 0	-	-	40	0 0	This manor appears to have been rented to John of Pulteney for a fixed sum. The expenses of Clerkenwell having exceeded the receipts by 21 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> , the amount is charged against the general treasury.
Middlesex	Clerkenwell	400	0 0	421	12 4	-	-	

In addition to the above commanderies, the Order possessed in England smaller estates, called *camerae*, or chambers. These were not of sufficient importance for the appointment of commanders, and were either administered by bailiffs or were farmed out. Their proceeds went directly to the support of the chief seat of the Order, and did not maintain any of the fraternity within their own limits. Annexed is a table (page 284) showing their names, counties, and revenues.

The property which the Order possessed in Scotland appears to have realised nothing in 1338, owing to the constant wars which were devastating the country.\* They were estimated in former years to realise 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

In addition to the property enumerated above, the fraternity of the Hospital stood possessed of sundry manors, formerly the property of the Templars. They are enumerated at pages 285—287.

The same remark holds good with regard to the Temple lands in Scotland, as was quoted for the Hospital property, no revenue being obtainable therefrom on account of the war.

\* *Terre et tenementa, redditus et servicia, ecclesie appropriate, et omnes possessiones hospitalis in Scocia sunt destructa combusta per fortem guerram ibidem per multos annos continuatam, unde nil hiis diebus potest levare. Solebat, tamen, tempore pacis, reddere per annum CC marcas.*

## CAMERE OF THE HOSPITAL.

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.		Expenditure.		Balance for Treasury.		Remarks.
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
Dorsetshire .	Chiltecomb, including Tolre	24	5 4	4	5 4	20	0 0	Farmed out.
Hampshire .	Wodecot . . . including	13	6 8	nil.		13	6 8	Et vix possunt levare hinc debus.
Leicestershire	Swynford, . . . including	27	2 6	7	2 8	20	0 0	
	Shadewell . . .							
Derbyshire .	Barwe . . .	36	2 0	12	15 4	23	6 8	Farmed out.
Lancashire .	Wolveton . . .	13	6 8	nil.		13	6 8	Farmed out.
Ditto . . .	Le Stede . . .	6	13 4	nil.		6	13 4	Held for life by William de Hotham.
Yorkshire .	Coppegrave . . .	13	6 8	nil.		nil.		Given for his life to Chief Justice Jeffrey
Ditto . . .	Huntynston . . .	6	13 4	nil.		nil.		de Scrope.
Ditto . . .	Steynton . . .	6	7 8	1	13 4	4	13 4	An error of 1 shilling.
Nottinghamshire	Wynkebourne, including	62	8 5	22	8 5	40	0 0	
	Deynithorp . . .							
Lincolnshire .	Horketouwe & Botnesford	41	6 11	nil.		nil.		Given for his life to Sir Robert Silkeston.
Northamptonshire.	Blacolneslee . . .	33	6 8	nil.		33	6 8	Farmed out.
Ditto . . .	Gildisburgh . . .	53	6 8	nil.		53	6 8	Farmed out.
Ditto . . .	Hetherington . . .	53	2 0	13	15 4	39	6 8	
Bedfordshire .	Eton . . .	77	12 4	20	5 8	57	6 8	
Cambridgeshire	Asshelee . . .	23	6 8	4	13 4	18	13 4	Farmed out.
Suffolk . . .	Preston . . .	13	6 8	nil.		13	6 8	Farmed out.
Essex . . .	Saunford . . .	5	0 0	nil.		5	0 0	Farmed out.
Ditto . . .	Silbyng and Chauree . . .	53	6 8	nil.		53	6 8	The 16l. is a pension to Edward St. John,
Ditto . . .	Brokebourn . . .	20	0 0	16	0 0	4	0 0	and the balance is credited in the
								Clerkenwell accounts.
Kent . . .	Stallesford and Ore . . .	26	13 4	nil.		26	13 4	Farmed out.
Middlesex . . .	Herefeld . . .	26	13 4	nil.		nil.		Granted for life to Brother William Brev.
Buckinghamshire	Wyndende . . .	6	13 4	nil.		6	13 4	
Warwick . . .	Ruton on Donnesmor . . .	not stated		nil.		nil.		Granted for life to Henry de la Dale.
Bedfordshire .	Chikewell . . .	13	6 8	nil.		nil.		Granted for life to Walter Launcelyn.
Middlesex . . .	Newynton . . .	10	0 0	nil.		nil.		Granted for life to the Bishop of Lincoln.
Ditto . . .	Hampton . . .	83	13 10	30	7 2	53	6 8	



## PROPERTY TRANSFERRED FROM THE TEMPLARS.

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.		Expenditure.		Balance for Treasury.		Remarks.
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
Northumberland .	Thornton . . . . .	16	5 0	7	5 0	9	0 0	Taken nil in presenti propter guerram Sociæ.
Ditto . . . . .	Penhull . . . . .	Not stated		nil.		nil.		Given for life to Chief-Justice Sir Geoffrey Scrope.
Yorkshire . . . . .	Couton . . . . .	83	6 8	9	1 8	74	5 0	Farmed out.
Ditto . . . . .	Rybstayn and Wederby . . . . .	167	11 8	66	9 10	101	1 10	This property is not farmed out; but neither the expenses or balance are stated.
Ditto . . . . .	Wytheloe . . . . .	13	6 8	nil.		13	6 8	
Ditto . . . . .	Etton . . . . .	13	11 2	Not stated.		Not stated.		
Ditto . . . . .	Ffonkebrigg . . . . .	18	4 0	7	6 8	10	17 4	
Ditto . . . . .	Aluerthorp . . . . .	19	17 8	1	13 4	18	4 4	
Ditto . . . . .	Westerdal . . . . .	37	16 0	6	6 8	31	9 4	
Ditto . . . . .	Coupmanthorp . . . . .	10	0 0	nil.		10	0 0	Farmed out for life to Walter de Fauconberg.
Ditto . . . . .	Kelyngton . . . . .	20	0 0	nil.		nil.		Granted to Sir Robert Silkeston till 1340.
Lincolnshire . . . . .	Willughton, including Ganesburg, Golkesby, Calkewell, Thorp in Waretia, Ingham, Cabourne, Lynberg, Saxebey, Mere, Wadyngton, Estirkele, Claxby, Temby, Walcote Upton . . . . .	284	3 5	82	10 8	201	12 8	
Ditto . . . . .	Keteby and Bellewode . . . . .	not stated.		nil.		nil.		Granted away.
Ditto . . . . .	Hareby . . . . .	16	0 0	nil.		nil.		Granted for the joint lives of John, Earl of Warrenne, and his wife.
Ditto . . . . .	Bruere, including Rouston and North Kirkeby . . . . .	177	7 8	84	0 2	93	7 6	Granted to Sir Robert Silkeston for life.
Ditto . . . . .	Caldecot . . . . .	2	0 0	nil.		nil.		
Ditto . . . . .	Eycle . . . . .	122	11 10	55	18 4	66	13 4	Granted to Robert of Sibshorp for his life.

County.	Commandery.	Gross Income.		Expenditure.		Balance for Treasury.		Remarks.
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
Lincolnshire .	Aslakeby .	40	0 0	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Granted to Henry de la Dale until 1340.
Ditto .	Suth Wyme .	26	13 4	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Granted to Richard de Ty for his life.
Ditto .	Donyngton .	10	0 0	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Granted for life to Randolph de Biry.
Nottinghamshire	Marnham .	20	0 0	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Granted to Sir Robert of Silkeston till 1340.
Ditto .	Ifaufour .	4	13 4	nil.	nil.	4	13 4	Granted to Thomas Sibthorp for his life.
Rutlandshire	Stretton .	8	0 0	nil.	nil.	8	0 0	
Huntingdonshire	Wassinglee .	not stated	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Granted for life to Sir Simon de Drayton.
Buckinghamshire	Radenach .	6	13 4	nil.	nil.	6	13 4	
Cambridgeshire	Wilbergham .	98	1 8	32	17 0	65	4 8	
Ditto .	Dokesworth .	16	11 0	8	8 4	8	2 8	
Norfolk .	Togrynd .	6	16 0	15	11	6	0 1	
Suffolk .	Gyselingham .	5	0	nil.	nil.	5	0	
Cambridgeshire	Wendeye .	16	13 4	nil.	nil.	16	13 4	Granted for life to John Westeslee.
Essex .	Cressing and Wytham	133	12 4	40	5 8	93	6 8	
Ditto .	Sutton .	16	13 4	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Held for life by William de Langeford.
Ditto .	Swonton .	4	4 0	nil.	nil.	4	4 0	Held for life by Simon Croyser.
Ditto .	Sharnebrock .	13	4	nil.	nil.	13	4	Granted for life to Sir John Wolaston and his wife.
Bedfordshire .	Melbrock .	not stated	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Held for life by William de Stanndon.
Ditto .	Stokton .	16	13 4	nil.	nil.	16	13 4	Farmed out.
Ditto .	Langeford .	16	13 4	nil.	nil.	16	13 4	
Hertfordshire	Langenok .	25	6 8	not stated	not stated	19	0 0	
Ditto .	Dyneslee .	18	0 0	nil.	nil.	18	0 0	
Middlesex .	Lylleston .	10	0 0	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	
Kent .	Walham .	2	0 0	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Held for life by William de Clyf.
Ditto .	Ewell .	26	13 4	nil.	nil.	26	13 4	Held for life by Walter Godchepe.
Ditto .	Dertford .	not stated	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Held for life by Hamond Godchepe.
Surrey .	Sutwerk .	16	13 4	nil.	nil.	nil.	nil.	Held for life by Sir Randolph Cobham.
Sussex .	Compton .	2	13 4	nil.	nil.	2	13 4	Held for life by Hauwice de Sevalclive.
Ditto .	Shopelee .	17	17 6	10	16 8	16	16 4	Let for life to Sir Andrew de Medestede.

Leicestershire	Rothlee . . . . .	87	7	0	20	13	8	66	13	4	Earned by Walter Prest. Let for life to William de Whiteby.
Ditto . . . . .	Melton Mowbray . . . . .	6	13	4	nil.			6	13	4	
Ditto . . . . .	Stonnesby . . . . .	6	13	4	nil.			6	13	4	
Warwickshire	Ballessall, including Fle- chamstedde and Chelidcote	127	2	6	74	19	0	52	3	6	
Ditto . . . . .	Warweyck . . . . .	18	3	4	12	6	8	5	17	0	Held for life by Sir Robert de Hungerford.
Pembrokeshire	Templeton . . . . .	6	3	3	nil.			nil.			
Somersetshire	Templecombe, including Wileton, Westcombeland, Lopene, Lode, Bristol, Worle, Hidon, Templeton, and Cleyhangre	106	13	0	66	13	0	40	0	0	
Wiltshire . . . . .	Roucle, including Loke- rugge	20	7	7	7	7	7	13	0	0	
Somersetshire	Chiryton . . . . .	13	15	1	5	0	0	8	15	1	Rented for life by Sir John Stonor. Occupied by Master Pancium. Let for life to Roger de Belu. Let for life to Sir John Hampton. Earned out. Held for life by Sir Roger Hillary. Earned out. An error of $\frac{1}{4}$ mark (6s. 8d.).
Oxfordshire . . . . .	Saunford, with Temple- coulee, Meriton, Sibford, Horspath, Overhorspath, and Littlemor	141	5	4	59	17	7	81	7	9	
Ditto . . . . .	Bradewell . . . . .	15	16	8	nil.			15	16	8	
Ditto . . . . .	Werpesgrave cum Esyndon	18	0	0	nil.			18	0	0	
Gloucestershire	Templegutyng . . . . .	6	13	4	nil.			nil.			
Ditto . . . . .	Broughton . . . . .	5	0	0	nil.			5	0	0	
Worcestershire	Lavern . . . . .	5	0	0	nil.			5	0	0	
Warwickshire	Wolveye . . . . .	5	0	0	nil.			5	0	0	
Ditto . . . . .	Herberbury . . . . .	6	4	0	nil.			nil.			An error of $\frac{1}{4}$ mark (6s. 8d.).
Ditto . . . . .	Stodleye . . . . .	15	0		nil.			15	0		
Herefordshire	Uppelodene . . . . .	44	4	8	15	12	0	28	6	0	
Monmouthshire	Garewy, including Hare- woode, Lamadock, Kei- meys, and Sanctus Wol- stanus	87	0	4	46	17	0	40	3	4	
Shropshire . . . . .	Staunton, with Prene . . . . .	32	7	1	8	9	10	23	17	3	nil.
Staffordshire . . . . .	Keel . . . . .	13	6	8	13	6	8				

It will be seen by the above list that the fraternity were in the enjoyment of a very extensive addition to their income, in England at all events, owing to the destruction of the Templars; and since, besides the revenue actually receivable in 1338, there were a large number of estates, as seen above, held for life by different individuals either rent free or at a very low rate, this property might be considered as decidedly of an improving character. It must not, however, be assumed that the Hospitallers were equally fortunate with their Templar estates in other countries. Nowhere did the Templars hold so much landed estate as in England; nor was the transfer of their property to the Hospitallers by any means so honestly carried out in any other land. Even in England, however, very extensive estates, formerly in the possession of the Templars, fell at their extinction into secular hands; and although the report of Brother Thame was compiled twenty years after that event, he appears to have been still unable to obtain their restoration. They are enumerated at the end of his report in a tone of fond regret, specifying the names of the spoilers who were still standing between the Hospital and her own. They are as follow:—

		Value.			
The manor of Strode	. .	£50	0	0	held by the Countess of Pembroke.
" Deneye	. .	£66	13	4	held by the same lady.
" Hurst and Neusom	£120	0	0	0	held by the same lady.
" Ffaxflete cum Cane	£100	0	0	0	held by Randolph Nevill.
A water-mill at York	. .	£13	6	8	held by the king.
The manor of Carleton	. .	£13	6	8	held by Hugh le Despencer.
" Normanton in the					
" Vale	. .	£10	0	0	held by Lord de Roos.
" Lydleye	. .	£66	13	4	held by the Earl of Arundel.
" Penkerne	. .	£20	0	0	held by the Earl of Gloucester.
" Gutyng and Brade-					
" well	. .	£133	6	8	held by Master Pancium.
" Bristelesham	. .	£66	13	4	held by the Earl of Salisbury.
" Bulstrode	. .	£50	0	0	held by the Abbess of Burnham.
" Saddleacombe	. .	£66	13	4	held by Earl Warrenne.

The total amount credited to the general treasury of England in 1338, after deducting local expenditure, was 3826*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* The expenditure of the general treasury in pensions, bribes, &c., was 1389*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*; leaving a balance for the payment of responsions of 2304*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* The amount for which England was liable to the treasury of Rhodes was 2280*l.*; being the one third part of the gross receipts of the priory, amounting to 6839*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*, and it will be seen that her actual income fell a trifle above that sum; the balance of course came into the hands of the Grand-Prior.

The income of this dignity, as charged in the accounts, is 1*l.* per diem. For a period of 121 days this charge is made in the several commanderies, two or three days in each, under the head of the Grand-Prior's visitation. For the remainder of the year it is debited in a lump sum, as one of the expenses of the general treasury. He also received an allowance of 93*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for robes for himself and household.

Such was the mode of life carried on in the commanderies of the English language during the first half of the fourteenth century; and it will not be too much to assume, that in other countries a very similar system was pursued. Certain differences must of course have been made to suit the habits and character of the people amongst whom they chanced to be located. Although the liberty of the English peasant in those days was hardly worthy of bearing the name, when compared with that which he enjoys at the present time, still it placed him in a position far superior to that of his continental brother; and doubtless the commander in a French or Spanish manor, ruled over the population which fell within the limits of his sway, with an auto-

cratic despotism which was denied to him in England. We may also assume that in those two languages the accounts would not have exhibited so large an expenditure in the item of beer, nor did they probably return so large a revenue as the superior wealth of England enabled the Hospitallers to extract from its shores. Still, allowing for these and other differences, it cannot be denied that this report from brother Philip de Thame affords a very excellent clue to the general mode of governance adopted by the Hospital in the management of its foreign property.

## CHAP. X.

ELECTION OF PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC.—BATTLE OF NICOPOLIS.—  
 PURCHASE OF THE MOREA.—ITS SUBSEQUENT RESTORATION.—  
 TIMOUR THE TARTAR.—HIS OVERTHROW OF BAJAZET.—LOSS OF  
 SMYRNA.—ERECTION OF THE FORTRESS OF ST. PETER'S.—TREATY  
 WITH THE SULTAN OF EGYPT.—CONCLUSION OF THE PAPAL  
 SCHISM AND REUNION OF THE ORDER.—DEATH OF NAILLAC AND  
 SUCCESSION OF FLUVIAN.—INVASION OF CYPRUS.—DEATH OF  
 FLUVIAN.—ELECTION OF LASTIC.—DESCENT ON RHODES IN 1444.—  
 REFORMS IN THE ORDER.—FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.—ELECTION  
 OF JAMES DE MILLY.—DISPUTES AMIDST THE FRATERNITY.—SUC-  
 CESSION OF RAYMOND ZACOSTA.—ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EIGHTH  
 LANGUAGE.—ERECTION OF FORT NICHOLAS.—DEPARTURE OF  
 ZACOSTA FOR ROME.—HIS DEATH THERE.—SUCCEEDED BY ORSINI.  
 —FALL OF NEGROPONT.—PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE AT RHODES.  
 —DEATH OF ORSINI AND NOMINATION OF PETER OF AUBUSSON.

THE vacancy caused by the death of Heredia occurred at a time when not only was the Order distracted by the schism still raging in Europe, but at the same time threatened by a new and redoubtable foe in the East. Under these circumstances it was necessary they should be extremely cautious in their selection of a successor. Philibert of Naillac, Grand-Prior of Aquitaine, was the Knight who enlisted in his favour the majority of suffrages; and subsequent events fully bore out the wisdom of the choice. He had no sooner assumed the duties of government than he was called upon to join in a general European Crusade against the foe already alluded to.

Bajazet,\* one of the descendants and successors of Othman, having overcome in succession most of the petty sovereigns by whom he was surrounded, and his ambition increasing in proportion to his success, was threatening an irruption into Hungary, from whence he openly boasted that he would push his way into Italy, where, after having planted his standard on the capitol of Rome, he would convert the altar of St. Peter into a manger for his horse. The Pope, terrified at these menaces, which the power of Bajazet's army and the feebleness of the eastern portion of Europe rendered by no means impossible of execution, invoked the aid of Europe to crush the proud dream of the aspiring chieftain. In obedience to his call a league was formed; comprising Charles VI., king of France; Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy; the republic of Venice; the Greek emperor; the Knights of Rhodes, and the chiefs of sundry other petty principalities in the East.

This expedition, of which the principal bulk was French, marched through Germany, Bavaria, and Austria, into Hungary; where they were joined by Naillac and a large body of his Knights. The Count of Nevers, eldest son of the duke of Burgundy, commanded the French contingent; whilst Sigismond, king of Hungary, placed himself at the head of the Hospitallers, with whose worth he was well acquainted. The succour which had arrived was so extensive that throughout the Christian army an overweening confidence and fatal sense of security

\* The extended empire which Bajazet established over the West of Asia, had had its foundation laid by his father, Mourad I., who, throughout his reign continued to increase the limits of his sway,—a policy which was pursued after his death by Bajazet with unremitting vigour.



prevailed. It was deemed impossible that Bajazet, with his wild hordes of Infidels, could for one moment attempt to withstand the proud array of chivalry advancing to overwhelm him; and the march of the army more resembled a triumphal progress, than a movement in the face of a bold and wary foe.

During this time Bajazet had been engaged in the blockade of Constantinople, a city which he was earnestly desirous to bring under his domination, but which he did not feel himself at that moment in a position to attack. He remained quietly with his army, without attempting to oppose any check to the advance of the Christians; contenting himself by watching the general course of events, and studiously concealing all knowledge of his whereabouts. The allies, having passed the Danube, entered Bulgaria 100,000 strong, of whom fully one half were cavalry.

Their first operation was to undertake the siege of Nicopolis, a powerful fortress, strongly garrisoned, and commanded by one of Bajazet's most experienced leaders. The defence was conducted with the utmost skill and bravery, every inch of ground being warmly contested, and the Christians obtaining but very slender advantage in return for the expenditure of a vast amount of blood. Their camp was at this time the scene of the most reckless debauchery: the officers passing their days in the arms of the courtesans who accompanied the army in vast multitudes; and the soldiers revelling in intoxication to the utter subversion of all military discipline. Meanwhile Bajazet, having collected his forces, advanced with the utmost rapidity and the most profound secrecy, to the relief of his beleaguered fortress. So admirably arranged was this manœuvre, that it was not until his:

army actually defiled in their presence, that the negligent and incautious besiegers had the slightest idea of his proximity. What ensued was a precise counterpart of those scenes so often enacted upon the soil of Palestine; where the impetuous valour and headstrong obstinacy of the crusading squadrons had so often led to their overwhelming and humiliating defeat at the hands of the wary Infidel.

The king of Hungary was well aware of the practice then prevalent amongst eastern chieftains, of placing in the van of their armies the most worthless of their troops, destined to bear the brunt of the first onset of the foe, reserving their better forces for subsequent action, as soon as the vigour of the attack had exhausted itself. He therefore proposed that a similar measure should be adopted in their own army; and suggested that his own inexperienced militia would be the most suitable opponents to these undisciplined hordes of the enemy. The Count de Nevers, however, with that blind obstinacy by which the bravest men so often mar their fortunes, would listen to no such proposition. He argued that the van of the army was the post of honour, and as such belonged of right to the chivalry of France; that the attempt of Sigismond to substitute his undisciplined Hungarians arose from a desire on his part to secure for his own nation the chief glory of the day. Supported as he was by subordinates as hot-headed and arrogant as himself, all remonstrances were unavailing, and the king was reluctantly compelled to witness the flower of his army wasting their energies and exhausting their powers against the worthless hordes who preceded the main body of the Infidel army.

Eagerly placing himself at the head of his gallant array, Nevers, with an impetuosity which might have carried with it the seeds of success, had it been tempered with the smallest amount of prudence, dashed furiously at the advancing foe. As might have been expected, the swarms opposed to him were scattered like chaff before the wind ; and without presenting any resistance worthy of the name, either suffered themselves to be helplessly slaughtered, or endeavoured to purchase safety in a tumultuous and disorderly flight. The dispersion of this advanced body, however, disclosed to Nevers' view a spectacle which would have dismayed any but the strongest nerve. In serried and dense masses were drawn up, directly in his front, a huge column of janissaries, then justly considered the flower of the Turkish infantry. Their vast and massive battalions presented a firm and impassable barrier to his further progress. Without a moment's pause, however, the impetuous French dashed at their new assailants, and for a considerable time a desperate combat ensued. The onset of the Christians proved eventually irresistible ; and these janissaries, whose renown and general career of success had led them to consider themselves invincible, quailed beneath the vigour of the attack ; and, after a vain attempt to maintain their ground, at length gave way and fled for shelter.

Bajazet, however, had as yet brought into action but a portion of his forces. On perceiving the disaster which had befallen the janissaries, he advanced for their support a large body of cavalry, in whose rear the flying infantry were enabled to find protection from the fierce pursuit of the foe. The ardour of the French appeared to rise with each successive obstacle : heedless

of the vastly superior numbers opposed to them, and without waiting for support from the remainder of the Christian army, they dashed at their new antagonists with so vigorous a charge, that they carried all before them, and swept away this second barrier with the same facility as the former one. Up to this point all had gone well, the body of the army had apparently only to remain quiet spectators, whilst the chivalry of France were overcoming and dispersing in helpless confusion ten times their number of the choicest forces under the banner of the Infidel. Had Nevers paused here, and rallying his scattered Knights, permitted the rest of the army to advance and follow up the victory he had so gloriously gained, that day must have witnessed the complete overthrow of Bajazet's army. Fate, however, had decreed it otherwise; although the hour of Bajazet's overthrow was close at hand, it was not by Christian might that his destruction was to be accomplished; and he was permitted to enjoy yet one other brief hour of triumph ere his own day of retribution came upon him.

Hurried away by the ardour of pursuit, Nevers did not for one moment stop to consider the exhausted state to which his own troops had been reduced by their previous efforts; breaking their ranks, as they considered the day finally gained, they urged their jaded steeds after the flying foe in every direction. It was whilst in this disordered condition that they were surprised, in crowning the brow of a hill, to perceive upon its other side a dense forest of spears, which had hitherto been concealed from their view. This was Bajazet's grand corps of reserve, with which he still trusted to redeem the fortunes of the day. Having placed himself at their head, he prepared once more to renew the combat

against the antagonists who had thrice overcome all that had been opposed to them. These very victories, however, had only the more certainly ensured their present defeat. Both men and horses were exhausted with fatigue, their ranks broken, and all organisation lost in their late disorderly pursuit; what wonder then that this fresh array of troops, Bajazet's own body guard, led by that redoubtable chieftain himself in person, should gain an easy victory? Combat there was little or none, and but a very slender remnant of that gallant band succeeded in extricating themselves from the fatal plain.

The scale of victory had now turned; the Hungarians, witnessing the complete destruction of their French allies, in whom they had placed their chief reliance, and being themselves principally raw undisciplined levies of militia, without waiting to encounter the shock of Bajazet's advance, gave way at once, and fled ignominiously from the field. The Bavarians, however, under Gara, the elector Palatine; and the Styrians, under Herman de Cilly, stood firm, and supported by the Knights of Rhodes, sustained with a resolute front the shock of the foe. Being reinforced by such of the French cavalry as had escaped the previous *mêlée*, they once more resumed the offensive; and to the number of about 12,000 hurled themselves anew upon the Turk. At this moment it seemed as though the fate of the day might still have been restored. The impetuous charge of those gallant spirits carried them through the dense ranks of the janissaries, who were totally unable to withstand their power, whilst the sipahis, who advanced to their support, were thrown into the utmost disorder, and appeared as though they were once more about to quail before the chivalry of Europe.

At this critical moment, the Kral of Servia, a faithful ally of Bajazet, rushed to the rescue, with a fresh body of five thousand men. This reinforcement decided the victory in favour of the Turks; the heroic division, which had struggled so long and so nobly to restore the fortunes of the day, were crushed beneath the new foe now brought against them, and the greater number perished gloriously around their banners. A few faithful Knights, amongst whom was Philibert de Naillac, clustered round the king, and with the greatest difficulty extricated him from the scene of strife. Having gained the banks of the Danube, they placed Sigismond and the Archbishop de Grand in a little boat, which was lying beneath the shelter of the bank; they themselves remaining on the shore to secure a safe retreat to the monarch. As soon as they had assured themselves that the stream had carried the frail bark beyond the reach of the missiles directed against it by the foe, Naillac, accompanied by Gara and Cilly, took possession of another boat, and made good their own escape in a similar manner. Most fortunately it was not long before they encountered the combined fleet of the Hospitallers and the Venetians, by whom they were speedily conveyed to Rhodes, whence, after a detention of a few days, during which Naillac entertained his royal guest with magnificent splendour, Sigismond passed on into Dalmatia.

The results of this action were most disastrous to the Christians; the whole of the enormous body of prisoners who fell into the hands of Bajazet were by him murdered in cold blood on the succeeding day, to the number of upwards of ten thousand. The carnage lasted from day-break until four o'clock in the afternoon. Only the

Count of Nevers, and twenty-four other Knights, from whom he expected a large ransom, were rescued from the general slaughter. If, as has been recorded by all the contemporary historians, the French, prior to going into action, had massacred such Turkish prisoners as were then in their hands, this butchery may be looked upon in the light of a reprisal, and its diabolical atrocity somewhat mitigated.

The overthrow of the allied army having left Bajazet at complete liberty, he once more pursued his cherished schemes of conquest. The siege of Constantinople, which had hitherto assumed the form simply of a blockade, was converted into an active operation, and pushed forward with extreme vigour. At the same time, he overran the whole of the Morea; and extended his advantages to so great a length that the despot of that country, one of the Porphyrogeniti, Theodore Paleologus, fled from his dominions, and took refuge at Rhodes; and, whilst there, offered to sell his rights over the district to the Knights of St. John. This proposal having been accepted, and the price agreed on, paid partly in money and partly in jewels, the Order sent commissioners into the Morea to take formal possession of their new acquisition. The inhabitants of Corinth welcomed them with joy, feeling that they would be far more secure under the white cross banner than under the enfeebled sway of the Paleologi. Bajazet had, however, in this interval been compelled to withdraw his forces from their ravaging expeditions, and to concentrate them for the purpose of opposing a new foe who had appeared in his rear. The city of Sparta, taking advantage of the temporary freedom gained by the absence of their dreaded enemy, refused to admit the com-

missioners within their walls, or to confirm in any way the transfer which had taken place. Paleologus hearing of this opposition, and already regretting the sale which he had effected of his dignities, took advantage of the incident to annul the contract, and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and after the lapse of several years, that Naillac succeeded in rescuing from his grasp the jewels and other treasure which he had received from the Order.

Up to this time the career of the ambitious Bajazet had been unchecked by any reverse. One by one he had overcome the petty sovereigns by whom he was surrounded, and, establishing himself upon the conquered territory, he had created a powerful and ever increasing kingdom. His recent success at the battle of Nicopolis seemed to open the way for further acquisitions, and to smooth for him the path of ambition which he had determined to tread. The capture of Constantinople, and of such feeble remnants of the Byzantine empire as were still retained by the Paleologi, had long been a day dream with him, and the moment appeared to have now arrived when that project might be carried into execution. All hope of further assistance from Europe against the aggressions of the Turk were at an end. The wail of lamentation that had arisen throughout France at the announcement of the fearful slaughter which had occurred during the battle of Nicopolis and the inhuman butcheries which had marked its close, had been too heart-rending and universal to admit of the slightest prospect that further aid could be drawn from thence. The Byzantine emperor thus deprived of all succour from the West, in the critical position in which he found himself placed,



was at length driven to seek the aid of one whose interposition was likely to prove quite as fatal as that of Bajazet.

In an evil hour for Christianity, he applied for the assistance of Timour, or Tamerlane, the redoubted Tartar chief, the fame of whose exploits was even then ringing throughout the Eastern world. Of the origin of Timour numerous different versions have been recorded by historians; some have asserted that he was of very mean parentage, his father having been a simple shepherd, and he himself having been engaged during his early youth in superintending the pasturage of his flocks. Others again pretend to trace his descent from the great Djenghis Khan. Whichever may be the correct version, there can be no doubt that he established his power entirely by the strength of his own right hand; and that from the most slender beginnings he had raised himself to a domination over the countries of the East so extensive as to have excited within his breast the hope of one day aspiring to universal empire. The character of Timour was one which marked him as a being destined to play no ordinary part on the stage of life. With all the qualities requisite in a great commander, he was at the same time endued with the keenest political sagacity—a gift which enabled him to consolidate his conquests so as to render their retention a matter of no difficulty. Naturally ferocious and bloodthirsty, he aimed at a rule of terror, which he conceived to be the surest protection of a sovereign; indeed the saying is attributed to him that the throne of a monarch could never be safe unless its base was floating in blood. The ambitious tenor of his mind may be well gathered from another of his favourite

sayings, that, as there was but one God in heaven so there should only be one monarch upon earth. Indomitable in will he never formed a resolution without persisting in its execution in spite of every difficulty. Opposition appeared only to increase his determination, and he thus often succeeded in over-riding obstacles before which a less dauntless mind might have been cowed. His person was as singular and conspicuous as his character. He was lame from an injury he had received, the result of a fall from the rampart of a fortress which he was assaulting. Notwithstanding this infirmity, he had an upright gait and a proud commanding air. His head was large, his brow expansive, and his hair, which was snowy white, combined with the ruddiness of his complexion, gave him a most remarkable appearance. The game of chess was a passion with him, and he had but few rivals in the art. Deeply imbued with superstition, he held the priesthood in great reverence, although his own religion has been much disputed, and appears to have been made to suit his policy rather than his faith. As the great majority of his subjects were Mahometans he adopted their tenets, but seems never to have practised them very rigidly nor to have hesitated in any breach of their laws which might advance his temporal prosperity.

Such was the ally whose aid the Greek emperor had invoked, thus bringing upon the East of Europe that scourge who had hitherto contented himself with sweeping the vast plains of Asia. Tamerlane, who was not overpleased at the prospect of so powerful a neighbour as Bajazet, entered willingly into the views of the Greeks, and at once sent an embassy to the Ottoman

prince, requiring him to desist from the further prosecution of his designs against Constantinople, and to restore to the neighbouring princes, many of whom had taken refuge at his own court, those territories that he had torn from their sway. To this demand Bajazet returned a peremptory refusal, accompanying his reply with the most insulting and offensive threats against his Tartar rival. The fiery nature of Timour was instantly evoked by the terms of Bajazet's message, and he determined to wreak a bitter vengeance upon the prince who had dared thus to oppose his views and beard his wrath. A call to arms throughout his vast dominions was speedily obeyed on all sides, and a vast force, composed of the various nations who had acknowledged his sway, was speedily collected beneath his banners.

The first active operation of the war which then commenced was the siege of Sebasta, a powerful fortress in Cappadocia, the defence of which was conducted by Ortogul, a favourite son of Bajazet. The extreme strength of the place and the powerful garrison to whose care its defence had been entrusted, made Ortogul deem it an easy matter to detain the Tartar foe before its walls until his father should be enabled to advance to his support. Little however had he calculated the audacity and overpowering daring of his opponent. Timour, neglecting all the ordinary routine of a siege, hurled his wild hordes in endless succession against the opposing ramparts, and by the sheer force of numbers succeeded, after the most incredible slaughter, in forcing his way into the town. The whole garrison was instantly massacred in the

fury of the moment, and Ortogul himself, in accordance with the savage dictates of Timour's nature, fell a victim to the sword of the executioner.

The news of this the first reverse which had fallen upon his arms, accompanied as it was by the murder of his favourite son, caused the most poignant grief and the most lively anxiety to Bajazet. Hastily assembling his forces, he pushed rapidly forward to meet the enemy who had dealt him so cruel a blow, and the hostile forces encountered each other near the town of Ancona. The result of the desperate encounter which ensued was completely fatal to Bajazet: his army was cut to pieces and utterly annihilated, whilst he himself remained a prisoner in the hands of his foe—a fate from which he only escaped a few months later by the death brought on from the keenness of his disappointment at the utter overthrow of all his projects.

The Knights of Rhodes had now cause to lament the precipitancy with which the Greek emperor had invoked the aid of so dangerous an ally. After having, by the most rapid advances, and with the able assistance of his lieutenants, succeeded in securing to himself the full results of the advantages he had gained, Timour turned his eyes in the direction of those European conquests which had so often excited the ambition of Bajazet. His keen glance instantly perceived that the strongest bulwark of Christianity opposed to him was that island fortress, the heights of which, in every direction, were bristling with cannon, and were defended by the redoubtable warriors of the cross, the fame of whose deeds had penetrated even to the remotest fastnesses of Asia. Before, however, he could attempt to crush the

parent establishment, he perceived that it would be necessary to deal with its offshoot at Smyrna, and he speedily led his forces in that direction.

It is stated that his first demand merely required the form of planting his standard upon the citadel; but William de Mine, the Knight to whom the Grand-Master had confided the defence of Smyrna, rejected the proposed compromise with scorn. De Naillac, having foreseen that, whatever might be the issue of the struggle between Bajazet and Tamerlane, the victor would be sure to turn his arms in the direction of Smyrna, had taken every precaution for its defence. In addition to the appointment of the grand-hospitaller, William de Mine, as its governor, a Knight in whose dauntless courage and intelligent zeal he felt he could confide, he had thrown such reinforcements into the place as had rendered it as secure as the exposed nature of the town would admit of.

Timour, finding his proposals rejected, gave instructions for the siege to be instantly commenced by his generals; but, under their command, little or no progress was made towards its capture. At length, he himself arrived before the place, on the 1st December 1402. His first act was to summon the garrison to a prompt surrender; his next to direct the most energetic measures for its assault. In order to secure the prompt submission of such fortresses as he besieged, Timour had adopted a system, from which he never deviated, of hoisting over his pavilion, on the first day, a white flag, by which he signified, that if the town surrendered on that day, the lives of its garrison would be spared, and itself preserved from pillage. On the second day a red flag was substituted, signifying the death of the governor and the

leading inhabitants, but still promising security to the mass ; but should this day also pass without submission, on the third morning a black flag was seen floating in the place of the former ones, and from that moment the only hope of the garrison rested in a successful defence, for the capture of the town was inevitably followed by the universal massacre of the inhabitants, and its own utter destruction.

This stage having been reached, the garrison of Smyrna knew their fate, and prepared to resist it manfully. Timour's first attempt at an assault was frustrated by the Knights with great slaughter. Pouring upon the assailants every species of missile which the art of war had in those days adopted, including the far-famed Grecian fire, boiling oil, seething pitch, together with sundry other aids to defence, such as were usually adopted, they succeeded in driving the Tartars back in confusion to their camp. The bitter experience of this failure taught Timour that he was now in the presence of men, against whom the dashing and off-hand measures he had so often successfully adopted would be unavailing. Bold and determined as might be the onset, he was met by a foe, who could die, but never yield ; and against that living rampart of Christian warriors it was in vain that he hurled the choicest battalions in his vast army. Taught by this experience, his fertile genius soon devised a means for meeting his opponents upon a different footing.

He caused numerous circular gigantic wooden towers to be constructed, moveable upon rollers, of such large dimensions as to contain two hundred men within each ; and so lofty, that, when divided into three compartments, the centre one should be on a level with the

ramparts of the town. The top floor was destined to be crowded with archers, who, from its height, would be enabled to overlook the defenders of the ramparts, and could pour a destructive fire upon them at the critical moment of the assault. To the centre floor a moveable bridge was attached, enabling the assaulting party to cross on to the rampart without difficulty, whilst the lower compartment was filled with miners, who were enabled to penetrate beneath the walls of the town, in perfect security from any opposition on the part of the defenders. He at the same time closed the entrance of the port with enormous blocks of stone, thus completely cutting off the possibility of any reinforcement reaching the fortress by means of the sea. The number of workmen employed upon this operation was so great, that the whole work was completed in one day, and from that hour the garrison felt that their doom was sealed.

All his preparations having thus been made, Timour gave the signal for the assault, and the ponderous towers moved slowly towards the ramparts. Although a deluge of rain poured in incessant torrents throughout the day, neither attack nor defence was for one moment checked: the heroic Knights struggling with the courage of despair, at each new danger redoubled their efforts, pouring from their ramparts a constant stream of Greek fire, naphtha, and flaming arrows, upon the advancing foe. Timour's precautions, however, had been too well taken to admit of the possibility of failure: whilst the defenders were gallantly struggling to resist the assaulting parties hurled against them from the centre compartments of Timour's machines, those beneath were enabled to prosecute their labours unrestrained; and

ere long large gaps appeared in the masonry of the ramparts, supported only by wooden props, which the besiegers had inserted for that purpose. These timbers, after having been well coated with naphtha, were, upon a given signal, ignited, and as the rising flames encircled them in a fiery embrace, the support gave way, and a large mass of the treacherous rampart fell to the earth with a deafening crash. With shouts of exultation the assailants poured through the breach, and overcoming by their numbers every obstacle which the defenders were enabled to throw in their way, succeeded in planting the banner of Islam upon the conquered citadel.

Timour did not, upon this occasion, depart from the practice which he invariably pursued after the display of his black banner, and the universal destruction of town, garrison, and inhabitants, speedily followed the successful termination of the conflict. A few of the latter succeeded in forcing their way to the shore, whence by swimming they reached a barque then standing in the offing; but, with this exception, all else fell beneath the edge of the sword. The Order of St. John had on that day to mourn the loss of every one of those brave sons into whose hands she had committed the defence of Smyrna. It had been Timour's custom, after a universal massacre of this description, to raise a pyramid with the heads of his enemies, but the numbers who fell upon the present occasion not being sufficient to carry out the design with the magnitude he contemplated, he directed, that in raising the structure, as an economy of the human material, only one head should be used between two stones. On the day succeeding that in which this sad calamity befel the Order, their fleet appeared in sight, bearing reinforcements for the garrison from

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Rhodes, but the Tartar caused his artillerists to hurl with their machines some of the aforesaid heads at the advancing foe, who by this means perceived that they had arrived too late to succour their unfortunate brethren, and consequently returned once more to Rhodes, to bear the melancholy intelligence of the loss of Smyrna.

Timour prepared to follow up his advantages by an attack upon Rhodes, but he was totally unprovided with the fleet necessary for the operation, and whilst he was striving to supply the deficiency, news reached him of an invasion of the eastern provinces of his dominions by the king of India, and he was compelled to retire in haste from the scene of his recent successes, to grapple with his new enemy, and fortunately for the peace of Christendom, and more especially the Order at Rhodes, he did not live to return to Europe, but died about two years after, from the effects of the constant debauchery in which he had revelled. Naillac seized the earliest opportunity which this suspension of hostilities gave him, to restore, as far as possible, the loss sustained by the capture of Smyrna. With this view, he made himself master of a Turkish fortress on the main land, at about twelve miles from the island of Lango, built upon the ruins of Halicarnassus, celebrated as the site of the tomb of King Mausoleus, and as the birthplace of Herodotus. Not deeming this fortress sufficiently secure for his purpose, he caused another to be constructed, at the end of a peninsula which jutted out into the sea. All of which the art of fortification at that time was capable was lavished with unsparing hand on this new work, no less than seven enceintes covering it from attack. On the inner retrenchment was placed the line of the Psalmist,

"Unless the Lord hath built the city the watchman watches but in vain ;" whilst the fortress itself received the name of St. Peter Liberated. This new outpost of the Order was garrisoned with a strong body of Knights, and every precaution taken to ensure its security from the hostile neighbours by whom it was surrounded. It ere long became a point of refuge for all who sought to escape from the iron yoke of Mussulman tyranny, and the unfortunate Christian, flying from slavery, found ever within its hospitable walls a ready welcome and sure protection. As aids in the defence, a race of dogs was kept within the fortress, whose keen instincts led them to perform, with the utmost tact and sagacity, the part of sentinels, and, by their assistance, the guard were ever sure of receiving early intimation of the approach of the enemy.\*

\* The extent to which this sagacity on the part of these canine allies of the Knights was carried, led to numerous legends in their honour, for the veracity of which the ancient historians were ever ready to vouch. They assert that their sense of smell was so keen, that they could invariably detect a Moslem from a Christian ; allowing the latter to approach unquestioned, whilst the presence of the former was certain to elicit a prompt alarm on their part. Bosio records a still stranger instance. He recounts that upon one occasion a Christian captive, who was escaping from his thralldom, was so hotly pursued by the Turks that he was unable to gain the friendly shelter of the fortress. As the only means of attaining a temporary refuge, he threw himself into a dry well, where, owing to the vigilance of his foes, he was compelled to lie concealed several days. In this predicament he must have been starved to death, had not one of these celebrated mastiffs discovered his retreat, and brought him daily a portion of his own food. The keeper of the dogs, perceiving that he was losing his condition, watched him, to ascertain the cause, and was thus led to discover the fugitive, who was rescued and brought into the castle. — *Bosio*, vol. ii. lib. iv.

In the year 1403, Naillac was enabled to render good service in a mediatorial capacity between the king of Cyprus and the Genoese; a dissension having arisen, which, if not quelled, would have had the most calamitous results for Christianity in the Levant. The Genoese republic had succeeded in obtaining possession of the town of Famagosta, in Cyprus, and it was held by a garrison in their name, to the great dissatisfaction of the king, James de Lusignan, and the rest of the inhabitants. An attempt was consequently made by him to expel the intruders, and a regular siege was laid to the town. When the news of this act of hostility reached Genoa, which was then under the protection of France, an expedition was at once despatched, led by the Marshal de Bourcicault, for the purpose of checking his designs. This fleet put into the harbour of Rhodes, where they were received with every mark of hospitality; but Naillac, who was keenly alive to the danger of the quarrel, implored Bourcicault, before he proceeded to extremities, to allow him to attempt a mediation between them. This was readily granted, and the efforts of the Grand-Master were so successful, that the siege of Famagosta was raised, and the expeditionary force under Bourcicault rendered no longer necessary.

Under these circumstances, the French commander, unwilling to return without having struck a blow, joined with De Naillac in a predatory excursion against the principal Saracenic seaports of Asia Minor. In this undertaking, nothing of any importance was effected, owing to the vastly superior forces which met them on every side, but they realised a booty sufficiently considerable to repay them for their exertions. On their return to Rhodes, they were surprised to find a proposal

from the sultan of Egypt, whose territories they had just been ravaging, to enter into an alliance with them. The fears which he entertained of the aggressive policy of his neighbours, the Ottoman Turks, led him to take this step; and Naillac was sufficiently far-sighted to make the most of his opportunities. The treaty which he concluded with the sultan gave the Christians permission to enclose the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem with a wall; to maintain six Knights of the Order of St. John within the city, free from all tribute, who should be permitted to carry on the hospitable duties of their profession in favour of all pilgrims led thither by devotion; that Christian slaves might be redeemed, either by purchase, or by exchange with a Saracen; and that consuls might be maintained in Jerusalem, and in the other principal cities of the Holy Land. For the benefits of this treaty, so advantageous to Christianity, the world was indebted entirely to the diplomatic ability of the Grand-Master at Rhodes.

Unfortunately, at this time there was but too great a need for the exercise of this talent on his part. The schism which had for so many years torn the bosom of the Church, and introduced the spirit of dissension within his own Order, was still raging furiously; and Naillac, finding matters comparatively tranquil in the East, proceeded to Europe, to endeavour by his presence to reclaim the recusant languages to their duty. The two famous councils which were held for the purpose of healing this schism were both confided to the protection of Naillac and the fraternity; and when the latter concluded, by appointing Martin V. to the papal chair, and dethroning all his rivals, the Grand-Master had the lively satisfaction of witnessing the close

of that dispute which had been so pernicious to the interests of his Order. The contumacious languages all promptly gave in their adherence to the new régime; and, supported by the authority of Martin, Naillac was at once recognised as their Grand-Master. After having held an assembly at Avignon, and another at Ancona, De Naillac returned to Rhodes in the year 1420, where his appearance, after the lapse of eleven years, was greeted with the most unbounded enthusiasm.

The last act of his long and useful life was presiding at a general council, which he convoked to meet at Rhodes shortly after his arrival. In this council all the acts which led to the reunion of the Order were ratified, and a feeling of joy pervaded the assembly at the prospect of their being once more reunited under a common head. To Naillac this last scene was one of intense gratification, and served to shed a halo on his latter moments, which were fast approaching; for in the following year he breathed his last, comforted with the feeling that he left the fraternity, at whose head he had been for so many years placed, at union with itself, at peace with its neighbours, and in a most flourishing state of prosperity. The satisfactory condition in which De Naillac left his government must be attributed far more to his diplomatic and political abilities, than to the success of his arms; indeed, the martial exploits of the fraternity during his rule were never productive of much beneficial result, and in some cases, such as the battle of Nicopolis, and the defence of Smyrna, were disastrous in the last degree; but, however strongly the fortune of war might have declared against him, he was invariably enabled, by his political sagacity, to restore the equilibrium, and to maintain his Order in that

proud position which they had so long held in the eyes of Europe.

The rule of his successor, Antoine Fluvian\*, although extended over a period of sixteen years, was marked but by few events of political importance; the only foreign incident, worthy of record, being the invasion of Cyprus by Alnazar Aldaher, the Mamelouk sultan of Egypt, in the year 1423. The Order of St. John rendered every assistance of which they were capable to James de Lusignan, the Cypriote monarch, on this occasion, but their efforts were unsuccessful; and the combined forces of Rhodes and Cyprus were defeated in a decisive action by the Egyptian sultan, and the king himself taken prisoner. In spite of this defeat, the Knights continued to maintain the struggle on behalf of the unfortunate inhabitants, nor did they cease their efforts until peace was declared with the Egyptians, the captive king paying a ransom of 30,000 gold florins, the greater portion of which was advanced by the treasury of Rhodes.

Two general chapters were held at the convent in the years 1428 and 1432, in which numerous regulations for the well-being of the Order were established; the most important among them was the appointment of all novices who should enter the Order to some commandery within their language, where they should be not only maintained, but also trained to those knightly and religious duties incident in their new profession. Hitherto, much scandal had been brought upon the Order by the wandering life led by many of the youthful novices, who, looking upon the badge of their profession merely

\* He was also sometimes called *La Rivière*.

as a distinction flattering to their vanity, appeared totally to neglect the duties inculcated by their vows. To check this demoralising irregularity, the council wisely determined to place their young aspirants under the care of those commanders who, from their age and position, would be best enabled to undertake their governance. Knights were also forbidden to establish themselves at the court of Rome; the pernicious example of Heredia having been subsequently so frequently followed, as to render a restriction of this nature highly necessary. The last act of Fluvian's life was to rebuild the great hospital of the island, and to endow it from his own funds; and in the month of October 1437 he died, leaving by his will the sum of 200,000 ducats as a gift to the public treasury.

John de Lastic, Grand-Prior of Auvergne, was raised to the magisterial seat in succession to Fluvian; and the high reputation which he bore, both as a commander and a politician, was brought to the test shortly after his succession. The sultan of Egypt, Abou Said Jacmac, had commenced preparations for a descent upon Rhodes, and unfortunately the Ottoman sultan, who had hitherto always acted as a check upon the Egyptians, had determined upon this occasion, if not to support them, at all events to offer no opposition to their enterprise. After vain attempts at negotiation with both the sultans, de Lastic, who perceived that the issue must be decided by arms, strengthened his position by every possible means, and quietly awaited the attack of his foe. At length, in the month of September 1440, the Egyptian fleet, to the number of eighteen galleys, accompanied by numerous smaller craft, appeared before Rhodes. The intrepid conduct of the

inhabitants prevented the Moslems from attempting an immediate disembarkation, and before they had decided on their line of conduct, the fleet of the Order, led by their Grand-Marshal, left the security of their harbour, and advanced to meet the enemy. The imposing front thus presented, terrified the Egyptians, who, declining the action, took advantage of the darkness of night to beat a retreat. The Marshal, however, divining their intent, pushed rapidly after them, and so completely outsailed them, that when they appeared before the castle of Lango, they found him already there awaiting them. Finding their manœuvre thus rendered useless, the Egyptians once more hauled off, and took shelter beneath the batteries of a Turkish fort, where they considered themselves in security from any attempt on the part of the Hospitallers. The Marshal, however, whose chivalric spirit spurned the thought of returning to Rhodes without having made any attempt upon his enemy, dashed at their fleet as it lay at anchor, and a sanguinary engagement ensued; which, without any decisive result on either side, ended by the retreat of the Egyptians to their own land, and the return of the Hospitallers to Rhodes.

The sultan, indignant at the failure of this expedition, commenced active preparations for another on a larger and more formidable scale. The Rhodians were, on their side, by no means idle, and when, in the month of August 1444, the invading army landed on the island of Rhodes, the white cross banner was floating in proud defiance on its walls, and every heart within their circuit beat with a proud consciousness that they were fully prepared to drive back the intruders with ignominy into the sea. For forty days the siege was



prosecuted with the greatest energy; but the Moslem could make no impression on those well-manned ramparts, and after leaving the flower of his army to repose beneath that soil, where, instead of a triumph, they had found a grave, the Saracens returned discomfited to Cairo. This second failure induced the sultan to sue for peace, and in the year 1446, this war, which had threatened destruction to the Order, but which, through their gallantry and prudence, had brought complete discomfiture upon their opponents, was terminated by an amicable treaty.

The efforts which had been made to resist the aggression of the Infidels, had caused a large but very necessary expenditure; whereby not only the treasury at Rhodes, but also the credit of the Order, had been strained to the utmost. To meet this difficulty, the amount of responsions payable by each commandery was, by the order of a general chapter, increased for a limited period, in order that funds might be provided to pay off the liabilities which had been incurred. Several of the commanders who, living in indolence and luxury in Europe, appeared unwilling to contribute, even by their purses, to the maintenance of their Order at Rhodes, appealed to the Pope against this decree. Nicholas V., who was then on the chair of St. Peter, being instructed on only one side of the question, wrote a strong letter of remonstrance to the Grand-Master. To this missive Lastic forwarded a reply, signed by the whole of his council, in which, though most respectful and temperate in its language, he maintained his point with much dignity. The Pontiff appears to have been perfectly satisfied with the response, and to have withdrawn all opposition to the measure; but the

commanders notwithstanding continued obstinate, and peremptorily refused payment. Considering the state of peril in which they were placed, and the absolute necessity that existed for perfect union and mutual support amongst themselves, the council, in this dilemma, decided upon a measure which had no precedent in the annals of the institution, and which nothing but the necessity of the times would have warranted. They vested in the hands of the Grand-Master powers completely dictatorial, and resigned in his favour that authority which they themselves had lately exercised. Thus armed, Lastic made but short work with the recusants. Pursuing with the utmost vigour those who persisted in disobedience, and taking measures even to strip them of their robe, and expel them from the Order, he rapidly reduced the most refractory to submission; and at the expiration of three years, he once more resigned his extraordinary powers, after having restored perfect unanimity and obedience throughout the fraternity. Well was it for the Knights of St. John that at this crisis they were governed by one in whom they could venture to vest the irresponsible powers of an autocrat, and who knew so well how to wield that authority to their advantage.

On the edge of the political horizon were fast gathering the clouds of that storm which was, ere long, to burst with such fury on their devoted island; and which would call for the most unanimous energy and devoted zeal on their part. Upon the death of Timour, the four sons of Bajazet took advantage of the interregnum caused by the disputed succession among his children, to wrest from the hands of the Tartars the various portions of their father's empire. The three

elder, after short and disturbed reigns, gradually fell in fraternal combats, and upon the death of Moussa, whom he himself murdered, Mahomet I., the youngest of Bajazet's sons, found himself in undisputed possession of his father's territories. After a reign of eight years, he was succeeded by his son, Mourad II., under whose sway the Ottoman power was extended even beyond what it had attained in the days of Bajazet. Had it not been for the patriotism and gallantry of Hunyad and Scanderbeg, who, from their mountain fastnesses, maintained an incessant and often successful warfare against his aggressions, he would undoubtedly have effected the capture of Constantinople, and thus have accomplished the utter overthrow of the shattered relics of that once proud and powerful Byzantine empire. This dream of his life he was not, however, fated to accomplish, but the first act of his successor, Mahomet II., was to achieve that in which his father had failed.

The scenes which were enacted upon this occasion, when the last of the Paleologi fell beneath the conquering scimitar of the Ottoman, form a dark page in Eastern history; and the speech of Mahomet, "Constantinople first, and then Rhodes," warned the Knights, if such a caution were necessary, that it behoved them to set their house in order, for that, ere long, they would see the lion at their gates. We therefore find Lastic, in 1453, writing a circular to every European commandery, summoning his Knights to hasten instantly to the defence of Rhodes. In this letter he states: "After weeping over the miserable downfall of the illustrious Constantinople, as we have recorded in preceding letters, this is to command you to come hither instantly, where the want of your

assistance is most urgent, for not a day elapses without our hearing of some new slaughter of Christians by the Grand Turk, and of his inhuman cruelties, not from idle rumour, but from our own confidential emissaries, who record only what they have seen with their own eyes; so that it is a certain fact that the most fearful horrors have been already perpetrated. Wait for no further letters, or exhortations, or commands from us, but the instant you receive these lines, set out at once for Rhodes."

The fall of Constantinople had been no sooner accomplished, than Mahomet sent a herald to Rhodes to demand the payment of tribute from the Order, and the acknowledgment of his supremacy over their domains. To this demand Lastic returned a noble and determined refusal, and at once prepared to meet the consequences which he was well aware that refusal must evoke. He despatched the commander D'Aubusson to the various courts of Europe, to endeavour to procure such aid, either in men or money, as the exhausted enthusiasm of the monarchs of Christendom might still induce them to contribute for the defence of their advanced post in the Levant. It was in this embassy that D'Aubusson, whose name was destined eventually to shed such lustre over his Order, displayed the first symptoms of that ability by which he was afterwards so distinguished. Although he was everywhere met by the most repelling lukewarmness and chilling neglect, by dint of energy and perseverance he succeeded in extorting from both Charles VII. of France, and Duke Philip of Burgundy, considerable sums of money; part of which he expended in the purchase of arms and military stores, and the

remainder he forwarded to Rhodes, to be laid out in such manner as the Grand-Master might deem expedient.

Meanwhile, the most energetic measures were being taken to increase the strength of the fortifications. Ditches were deepened and widened, ramparts were heightened and strengthened, and no point omitted, which, in the opinion of the engineers of the day, could tend to insure the security of the place. Whilst in the midst of this occupation, De Lastic fell sick, and, after a short illness, died on the 19th of May 1454. Although, as has already been recorded, the title of Grand-Master was first awarded to Hugh de Revel, and was afterwards continued to most of his successors, still Bosio and Sebastian Paoli both assert that De Lastic was the first head of the Order of St. John who definitively and officially was recognised as bearing a claim to that title.

James de Milly, Grand-Prior of Auvergne, was nominated the thirty-fifth Grand-Master, upon the death of Lastic. The danger of an invasion from the Ottoman emperor being imminent, Milly, who was at the time of his election resident in his priory, lost no time in reaching Rhodes, where the presence of the supreme head was felt to be indispensable. The storm which had been so long gathering was, however, not yet ready to burst. A powerful coalition of the principal Christian nations interested in the politics of the East, had induced Mahomet to postpone for a while his hostile intentions towards Rhodes; and, most fortunately for the Knights, the Hungarian campaign of 1456 ended in a disastrous and bloody defeat, which Hunyad succeeded in inflicting upon the Turks. Milly followed up this check to the Ottoman arms by ravaging their coasts.

with his galleys, and utterly ruining the commerce of the Infidel. Mahomet, despite the check which he had received in Hungary, was not the monarch to submit tamely to such aggressions on the part of those whose destruction he had already vowed; and, breathing out vengeance against their audacity, he rapidly equipped a fleet, with which he proposed to carry the war into the enemy's country. The first point of attack of this expedition, which numbered a force of 18,000 men, in addition to the fleet, was the fortress of Lango, one of the outposts of Rhodes; but the Knights who held this castle succeeded in repelling the attack, and driving the invaders back to their ships. A similar attempt upon the island of Simia had no better success; and although at Rhodes they succeeded in effecting a disembarkation, and in ravaging some of the defenceless villages, they did not venture to make any attempt upon the fortress itself; but returned home, bearing with them very slender fruits for the costly armament which had been prepared.

It had been a leading principle in the diplomacy of the fraternity to endeavour, as far as practicable, to maintain a peace with one of their Eastern neighbours, whilst they prosecuted a war with the other; it was, therefore, with the utmost dismay that now, when a desperate struggle might at any moment be looked for with Mahomet and his Ottoman forces, a cause of quarrel should spring up with the sultan of Egypt, with whom they were at this time most anxious to maintain peace. The dissension arose from a disputed succession to the crown of Cyprus. John III. had, at his death, left the crown to his daughter Charlotte, widow of John of Portugal, and afterwards married to Louis of Savoy. He had also left a bastard son, named James, whose am-

litious spirit led him to endeavour to wrest the power from his sister Charlotte. Louis of Savoy, however, who, in virtue of his wife, maintained the sway of the kingdom, drove the pretender from the island, who took refuge with the sultan of Egypt. The crown of Cyprus had of late years always paid an annual tribute to this potentate, and James sought to enlist the interests of the sultan on his side, by promising to double the tribute if he would maintain his cause, and place him on his sister's throne. Charlotte, on the other hand, threw herself on the protection of the Knights of St. John, where the justice of her cause, and, as some say, the beauty of her person, raised her many warm partisans. An embassy was at once despatched to the sultan of Egypt, and he, who was at that time loth to quarrel with his redoubtable neighbours, would in all probability have thrown over his own *protégé*, had he not received a message from the Ottoman emperor, promising to support him in maintaining the cause of the bastard against the Knights of Rhodes. A descent was consequently made upon the unfortunate island of Cyprus, and in spite of the utmost efforts of the Hospitallers, the Egyptians overran the whole island. It was in the midst of this war that the galleys of the Order captured from out of some Venetian vessels a quantity of Infidel merchandise, which, together with its owners, they carried off in triumph to Rhodes. The haughty queen of the Adriatic was so incensed at this act, that a fleet was at once equipped and despatched to that island, demanding instant restitution of the captured property; threatening, in case of refusal, the most severe reprisals. The more youthful among the Knights were for daring the Venetians to do their worst; but Milly,



who felt that he had already more enemies to contend against than he was able to meet, checked the rash suggestion, and, by a prompt restitution of the disputed prize, mollified the incensed republic, and had the gratification of witnessing their fleets depart peaceably from his shores. The struggle ended in the establishment of the bastard as king of Cyprus, and the abandonment of her claims on the part of Charlotte.

At this most inauspicious moment, a dispute broke out in the midst of the fraternity, which at one time threatened to aid materially the enemies who were compassing its overthrow from without. From the time of its first formation, the French element had much preponderated in the ranks of the Order, and of the seven languages into which it was divided, three belonged to that nation: the consequence was, that most of the leading dignities were invariably bestowed upon French Knights, and the languages of Spain, Italy, England, and Germany complained bitterly of this preference. They asserted that, in a body composed indifferently of the nobility of all Europe, the highest posts should be given, irrespective of nation, to the senior Knights; on the other hand, the French argued that as the Order was originally established by them, and the other nations only admitted by adoption, they were fairly entitled to maintain within their own languages the chief offices of state, and that as one of the leading dignities was attached to each language, there was no just ground for complaint in the matter. The principal subject of dissatisfaction centred itself in the post of Grand-Marshal, an office which had always been attached to the language of Auvergne, and which, carrying with it as it did the powers of Captain-General over the island of



Rhodes, and a direct control over all the other offices of state, invested its holder with powers inferior only to those of the Grand-Master.

It was while these disputes were at their height, that James de Milly died of an attack of gout, in the year 1461, and Raymond Zacosta, castellan of Emposta, found himself elected to the vacant government. The nomination of a Spanish Knight to the supreme dignity, after the successive rule of so many Frenchmen, at a time when the disputes between the nations ran so high, tells that the majority were opposed to the pretensions of the three languages of France. The first act decreed by the council under their new chief also marks the same result, and clearly demonstrates the influence of a Grand-Master in its decisions. This was the division of the language of Aragon, removing from it the kingdom of Portugal, together with the provinces of Castile and Leon, which were erected into an eighth language, to which the dignity of Grand-Chancellor was thenceforth attached. This compromise appears to have quelled the feud, and the Knights, no longer at discord with themselves, commenced once again to prepare for the attack which was still threatening them.

Raymond availed himself of their restored unanimity, to commence the erection of a fort upon a rock which jutted out into the sea at the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes. The importance of this spot had long been recognised, but hitherto the want of means, and the pressing demands of other parts of the fortress, had prevented steps from being taken for its occupation. Now, however, Duke Philip of Burgundy having forwarded a considerable remittance for the strengthening of the fortifications, the Grand-Master determined upon losing

no further time in securing this salient post. It received the name of Fort Nicholas, from the fact of a small chapel, dedicated to that saint, which was encircled by its enceinte; and in the eventful siege to which the course of events will shortly bring the history of the Order, this new stronghold became the centre of those desperate struggles of which their island was so soon to be the theatre. The arms of the prince to whom they were indebted for the funds by which they were enabled to commence its erection, were placed in gratitude upon its walls, although the amount received from him fell far short of that required for its completion. Zacosta, who felt how important it was that the work should be promptly completed, took a step for that purpose which the exigencies of the case certainly warranted, but which became the cause of much dissatisfaction. It has been already stated, that at the time he was elected to the Grand-Mastership, Raymond was holding the post of castellan of Emposta; under ordinary circumstances, he should, upon attaining the higher dignity, have resigned the latter. This, however, he resolved not to do, but, still retaining the castellany in his own hands, he devoted its revenues entirely to the completion of the new fort. He also divided the whole line of defences around the city in such a manner, that a specific portion should be appropriated to each language, to be maintained and defended by them, and to receive their name. It is worthy of record, that in the keen competition and emulation which such an arrangement naturally elicited, the portion appropriated to the English language became celebrated over all the others for the perfect order in which it was maintained, and the decorations with which it was embellished.

The siege and capture of Lesbos, which took place in 1465, and in the defence of which a body of Hospitallers had taken part and lost their lives, became a new warning to the fraternity to maintain their vigilance against their relentless and ever-advancing foe. Zacosta, who was determined not only to do his own duty, but also to compel those over whom he had been called to rule, to be equally ready in the discharge of their obligations, sent a special citation to the various receivers of the Order, to press forward the payment of all such responsions as were due. These latter, however, becoming wearied of the constant demands made upon them for preparations against an attack which seemed always impending, but which never took place, appealed to the court of Rome against the requisitions of their chief. Pope Paul II., upon the receipt of this complaint, directed that the general chapter which had been summoned to meet at Rhodes, should assemble at Rome, and that the Grand-Master should appear there in person. Although Zacosta might, had he so desired, have pleaded the necessity of his continuous residence at the convent, he nevertheless at once prepared to obey the mandate, and anxious to confront his enemies and calumniators, proceeded to the seat of papal authority. There his success was so complete, and the explanations which he gave to the Pontiff so satisfactory, that his enemies were clothed with shame, and the Pope hastened to make an earnest, though tardy, reparation for the wrongs which his suspicions had done him. He was overwhelmed with honours and distinctions, and the favour he enjoyed enabled him to compel the refractory commanders, now no longer supported by superior authority, to pay their just tribute into the treasury.

This dispute having ended in a manner far more favourable to Zacosta than at one time appeared probable, he prepared for his return to Rhodes. Unfortunately, however, his design was crossed by a violent illness, which, assuming the form of pleurisy, rapidly brought his existence to a termination, in the early part of the year 1467. The Pope, with whom he was at the time in high favour, decreed that his remains should be awarded the honour of a grave in the cathedral of St. Peter, where his funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence. His tomb lay on the left side of the chapel of St. Gregory, beneath a marble slab, on which was engraved the effigy of the defunct chief, and a Latin inscription asserting his titles, age, &c.\*

The opportunity thus offered to the Pontiff, by the demise of a Grand-Master within the limits of his own immediate jurisdiction, and the consequent necessity for a prompt re-election, was not thrown away by Paul. He at once convoked the required assembly, from amongst such members of the general chapter as were still in Rome; and there, under his own dictation, the prior of Rome, John Orsini, was raised to the vacant dignity. In spite, however, of the papal influence, exerted though it was with the utmost vigour, the election was keenly

\* Upon the occasion of a repair to the chapel of St. Gregory, the tomb was transferred to the foot of the confessional of St. Peter, and the slab to the crypt of the church, where it still exists. Its inscription ran thus:—

PETRO RAIMUNDO ZACOSTÆ DE HISPANIA CITERIORI;  
 SAC. DOM. HOSP. S. IO. HIEROSOLYMITANI M. MAGISTRO.  
 QUI GENERALI CAPITULO SUI ORDINIS ROMÆ CELEBRATO, LXIII.  
 ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNO, VITA FUNCTUS EST.  
 CONSILIO, PIETATE, CHARITATE INCLITO.  
 HOC MONUMENTUM, RELIGIONIS DECRETO, PATRI, B. M. POSITUM.

contested ; and the prior of St. Gilles, Raymond Ricard, was defeated only by a single vote, having obtained eight to the nine which were recorded in favour of Orsini. Had the election been held anywhere but at Rome, there is but little doubt that Ricard would have been the new Grand-Master.

The general summons to Rhodes which inaugurated the elevation of Orsini, was responded to with enthusiasm ; and a great multitude of Knights, and others interested in the welfare of the Order, flocked thither to greet their new chief, and to assist him in his projects of defence. Most important amongst these new acquisitions, stood Peter d' Aubusson, whose name has been already mentioned, and who was destined to fill a very important page in the annals of the Order. Eminently talented as an engineer, and well read in all the most modern and improved systems of fortification, he was felt to be the man to whom, in the present crisis, all should look for advice and assistance. He was named Captain-General and inspector of the island, and under his direction the ditches were enlarged wherever he perceived that they would add to the security of the place, and a wall was raised on the sea-side of the town, of nearly four hundred feet in length and twenty feet in height : the cost of which work was defrayed from the private purse of the Grand-Master.

Although, at this time, no actual war had been declared between Mahomet and the Order, but on the contrary, more than one treacherous and ill-regarded truce had been concluded ; still constant skirmishes were for ever taking place between the rival powers. In the year 1470, however, the spies who were maintained by the Hospitallers at the court of their Eastern foe, and, if report speaks

truly, even within the very walls of his harem, gave timely notice that a gigantic armament was being prepared, the ultimate destination of which was as yet a secret within the bosom of the sultan. Whilst it remained uncertain whether Rhodes or the Venetian island of Negropont was to be the point of attack, an attempt was made by the republic of the Adriatic to enter into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Hospitallers. Had this offer been made in good faith, it would, under the peculiar circumstances of the situation, have been highly advantageous to both parties ; but when its terms came to be discussed, it was soon perceived that the Venetians designed, under cover of an alliance, to render the Order entirely tributary and subservient to themselves. Their offers were, therefore, peremptorily declined; but nevertheless, when the storm actually burst upon the shores of Negropont, the Rhodians hastened to despatch to their assistance a squadron, under the command of D' Aubusson and Cardonne. Any benefit which might have accrued to the beleaguered island from the aid thus proffered, was rendered futile through the craven cowardice of Canalis, the Venetian admiral; who, at a critical moment, when the combined squadron of which he was the commander might have rendered the most important assistance to the besieged, abandoned them to their fate without a struggle, and left the island in the hands of Mahomet.

The fall of Negropont would indubitably have been followed without delay by the siege of Rhodes, but, providentially, the Knights were permitted a little longer respite, owing to a war having broken out between the Ottoman sultan and the shah of Persia. The latter potentate had entered into a league with the Christian

powers most interested in the preservation of the independence of the Levant, to check the aggressions of Mahomet, which were equally dreaded on his Asiatic, as on his European, frontier. In order to place his army on an equality with that of his enemy, the shah, who was very deficient in artillery, had obtained from Europe the assistance of a large body of gunners and cannon founders, by whom that branch of his army was materially strengthened; so that he was enabled to ere long assume an attitude of opposition against his formidable neighbour.

During the lull caused by the appearance of this new ally, John Orsini died, in the year 1476, at so great an age, that during his later years, his rule over the Order had been little more than nominal; the commander, D'Aubusson, who had latterly been raised to the rank of Grand-Prior of Auvergne, having been in reality the supreme director of the government. It is a curious incident, in reference to the last hours of Orsini, that a few months prior to his decease, he was taken with a syncope, during which his attendants, imagining that he was dead, made every preparation for his funeral obsequies, and he would most undoubtedly have been buried alive, had he not fortunately shaken off the attack prior to the solemnisation of the funeral rites. His resuscitation was, however, but of short duration; an attack of dropsy carrying him off two months later.

During these years of his lieutenancy, D'Aubusson had not been idle in adding to the defences of the city of Rhodes. Three new towers were constructed in the enceinte, and a huge chain was placed at the entrance of the harbour, by which its ingress might be blocked at will. To provide for the large expenditure entailed

by these works, the treasury of Rhodes was driven to have recourse to every possible shift. Amongst other measures taken for this purpose, the council appropriated in their present emergency a quantity of old plate, which was lodged in the sacristy of the cathedral of St. John, and which bore the arms of Elyon de Villanova, by whom it had been presented to the church. It was promised that, on the arrival of less troublous times, this gift should be restored, and that, in the meanwhile, it should be considered as a loan, rendered justifiable by the urgency of the case.

The election of a successor to Orsini was little more than a matter of form. This was not a time when either petty jealousies or local interests could be permitted to interfere in the nomination of a chief, under whose guidance it was generally felt that the fortunes of the Order would be called upon to withstand the powerful attack which had been so long preparing against it, and on whose judgment it mainly depended whether they should ride out the withering tempest unscathed, or be for ever overwhelmed in its furious onset. There was one name upon every tongue, and it was that of a man who had already shown himself well worthy of the confidence so universally placed in his powers, so that when the council announced to the expectant fraternity the name of Peter d'Aubusson as their new chief, the decision was greeted with shouts of acclamation, which testified how fully that selection had met with public approval.



## CHAP. XI.

THE FAMILY OF D'AUBUSSON. — DESCRIPTION OF THE  
 THREE RENEGADES. — ARRIVAL OF THE  
 — FIRST ATTACK ON THE TOWER OF THE  
 OPENED IN THE JEWS' QUARTER. —  
 OF THE GRAND-MASTER. — SECOND ATTACK  
 ST. NICHOLAS. — SECOND ADVANCE AGAINST  
 — EXECUTION OF MASTER GEORGE. —  
 TURKS, AND ITS REPULSE BY THE  
 SIEGE, AND EMBARKATION OF THE OTTOMANS.

THE family of Peter d'Aubusson was ancient in the province of Auvergne, and was ennobled during the ninth century. It had given forth many offshoots, and many of them had been recorded in contemporary histories. The actions of this family have included a connection both with the dukes of Burgundy and with the Saxon kings of England. Peter d'Aubusson, a Frenchman by birth and education, was distinguished by the existence of a sympathy for his high name, and his merits on this side of the channel. His name had become elevated to the supreme rank, and he held, D'Aubusson had rendered his name illustrious in his Order, and the public confidence in him was raised to such a pitch, that his followers were ready to yield him the blindest obedience.

The city of Rhodes, at this time, was in a place from what it had been when first

of the Turk, in the commencement of the fourteenth century. Since that period, the Knights of St. John had lavished all those treasures with which their Order had been endowed, partly in the construction of works of defence, as perfect as the engineering science of those days could devise, and partly in the decoration of their town, replete as it was in natural beauties, with those magnificent buildings, the ruins of which yet remain to attest its grandeur. Conspicuous among these were the Grand-Master's palace, in itself a citadel, and the church of St. John, whose mouldering relics are still the admiration of all true lovers of architecture.\* The situation of the town was on the sea-shore, embracing within its circuit the two harbours known as the outer and the inner port. The outer port was formed by a long strip of land running in a north-easterly direction, and jutting out into the sea, so as to enclose between it and the shore-line a very sheltered and commodious anchorage from all but northerly winds. On the rock at the extremity of this neck of land stood the tower of St. Nicholas, whose erection by Zacosta has been already mentioned. This tower, the first object which greeted the pilot on nearing the shores of Rhodes, was justly considered the most important point for the defence of the town. Its position, surrounded as it was almost entirely by sea, rendered it difficult of attack at all times; and from sudden surprise, or a coup de main, it might be considered perfectly secure. The inner port was enclosed

\* Unfortunately, the severe earthquake which visited the island of Rhodes in October 1856, destroyed a vast number of the ruins which, till that period, were standing in a good state of preservation, and swept away nearly the last relics of that fraternity whose deeds have rendered the locality famous.

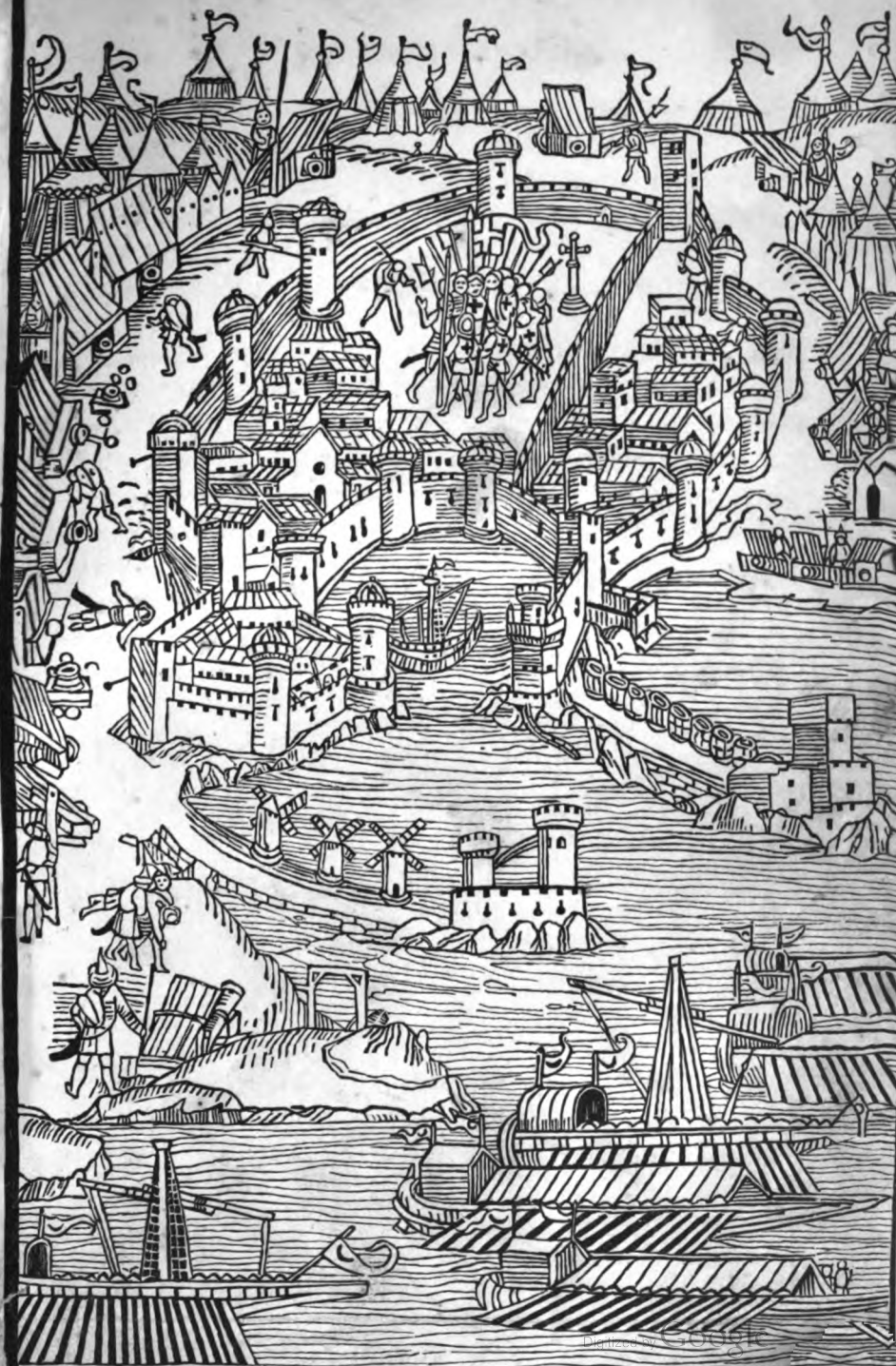
by two moles, running respectively in a northerly and easterly direction, so as to enclose within their shelter an expanse of water nearly circular. At the extremities of these moles had been reared two other towers, named St. Michael and St. John, which, together with the tower of St. Nicholas, may be said to have constituted the principal strength of the place on its sea-face.

It has been a matter of much mystery, and, consequently, of considerable dispute, upon which of these three points the far-famed Colossus of Rhodes, one of the most extraordinary of the seven wonders of the world, actually stood. Tradition has generally pointed to the two rocks of St. Michael and St. John, affirming that the statue was reared with one foot upon each of these points, and that vessels entering the harbour were enabled to pass in full sail between its legs. Without wishing in any way to throw a slur upon the colossal proportions of this miracle of ancient art, and with all due deference to the grandeur of conception evinced by its originator, the probabilities of this site are not great. If, as was most likely, the statue had been erected as a mark of guidance to vessels approaching the harbour, the rock of St. Nicholas would have been a much more natural and suitable site, and the dimensions of the figure might well have raised it to the dignity of a wonder of the world, without claiming for it a stride of fifty fathoms.

The land defences of the city consisted of a double rampart, subdivided by thirteen towers, and five bastions; the protection of which was allotted to the different languages in the following order: commencing at the north, on the spot where the pro-

montory of St. Nicholas joined the main land, came the language of Germany; and then in succession those of Auvergne, England, Aragon, Provence, and Italy. The sea-face, constituting the inner line of the harbour, and which was also protected by a strong rampart, was confided, one-half to the language of France, and the other to that of Castile and Portugal. The form of the town, when thus encircled by its ramparts, partook very much of that of a crescent, in the upper horn of which dwelt the aristocracy of Rhodes. Here were the various inns of the languages; huge piles of buildings, having in their appearance much that was palatial, and which, in conjunction with the churches, and dwellings of the aristocracy, gave to that portion of the town a very imposing air. The lower town was much more thickly peopled, and its buildings were of a vastly inferior description: still it was regular and well built, and presented that thriving and bustling appearance which invariably denotes a commercial town at the acme of its prosperity. As is the case in all Eastern cities, the Jews dwelt in a quarter set apart for themselves, in the south-eastern corner of the town, where they were covered by the ramparts of the language of Italy.

The amazing fertility and luxuriant vegetation of the island had converted the country, outside the walls, into one vast garden. Far as the eye could reach, there appeared on every side fields, groves, and orchards, clothed in all the brilliancy of summer verdure; whilst from the summit of St. Stephen's hill, an eminence which overlooked the town from a short distance on the western side, the ground stretched away in a gradual descent towards the foot of the ramparts, broken, how-





ever by hillocks and undulations, which, in their pleasing variety, gave life and animation to the landscape. Here and there on every side the ground was dotted with chapels, summer-houses, and other rustic buildings, to the great enhancement of the picturesque of the scenery; but, unfortunately, highly detrimental to the defence of the town. D'Aubusson had, it is true, exerted his power with no sparing hand to sweep away the most obnoxious of these buildings, and nothing short of a stern sense of the urgency of the case, and a blind confidence in his unerring judgment, would have enabled him to enforce his orders. Still, however, much remained to afford cover to an advancing foe, so that, to quote the quaint language of Mary Dupuis, himself a member of the Order, who, although not actually present at the siege, arrived there almost immediately afterwards, and wrote its history from the facts which he gleaned from the actors in it, "around the city of Rhodes lay the most admirable country in the world for carrying on a siege, for all around the said town there were numerous gardens, filled with little churches and Greek chapels, with old walls, and stones, and rocks, behind which cover could always be found against the garrison, to such an extent, that if all the artillery in the world had been inside the town, it could do no harm to those that were without, provided they did not approach too close."

The use of artillery had been too recent an introduction, and was as yet in far too crude a state for the disadvantages of the dominant hill of St. Stephen to have become properly appreciated by the defenders of Rhodes. Had it been otherwise, we may rest assured that to the keen eye and the commanding genius of

D'Aubusson such a weak point would have become at once apparent, and its retention by the garrison assured, by the construction of a powerful detached fort. In the present day, and with the present power of artillery, the occupation by a besieger of an eminence so situated, would necessarily in a few days have involved the reduction of the place; but in those times it was very different, and from the fact that not only the siege was unsuccessful, but also that the hill of St. Stephen was never used by the Turks for battering purposes, we may gather that the Grand-Master was guilty of no omission of engineering prudence, in neglecting to occupy the post on behalf of his garrison.

Such was the town and such the general aspect of the island, which, after having been kept for a space of nearly forty years in a state of perturbation and alarm, was destined almost immediately to witness that storm of Infidel invasion burst over its head, which had been so long impending. Once again did D'Aubusson pen a circular to his grand-priors, urging upon them the immediate transmission of reinforcements and supplies. A copy of this document is still in existence amongst the papal archives, and there is something very thrilling and exciting in the plain manly language in which his demand is couched. Without straining after effect, or the slightest display of oratorical power, he appeals with such earnest and manly simplicity to the chivalry still existing in every knightly bosom, that no wonder was it his call was responded to by enthusiastic crowds from every priory in Europe. Not only members of the Order, but noble knights and valorous soldiers, who trusted to win renown in the struggle that was impending, although they were serving beneath a banner to



which they owed no peculiar obligations, crowded to the scene of anticipated strife, and gladdened the gallant heart of D'Aubusson by the constant acquisition of some of the noblest warriors in Europe, to swell the ranks of his dauntless garrison. Foremost amongst these was his own elder brother, the Viscount de Monteuil, who at the head of a considerable body of retainers, volunteered his services at this crisis; and was, by the unanimous voice of the council, elected to the post of captain-general, which he promptly accepted, and in which he did knightly service, under the supreme direction of his younger brother.

Whilst, however, the Knights were thus preparing themselves at all points to meet their foe, Mahomet, on the other hand, disappointed at perceiving that his designs had been fathomed, determined if possible to blind the fraternity as to the imminence of their danger, and with that view directed his son, Prince Zizim, for his pride prevented him from appearing himself in the negotiation, to submit proposals for a peace to the Grand-Master. In this project Mahomet had two objects in view: on the one hand, he hoped to lure the fraternity into a false sense of security; and on the other, he trusted, by the selection of a fitting agent, to combine the services of a spy with those of an ambassador. Under his directions, the prince selected as his envoy a renegade Greek, who on the capture of his native island of Eubea by the Turks, had embraced Islamism, in the hope of bettering his fortunes. This man, whose name was Demetrius Sophiano, possessed all the cunning and aptitude for intrigue which have ever been the predominant characteristics of his race, and proved himself a most valuable tool in the hands of his new em-

ployer. In matters of diplomacy, however, Mahomet had in D'Aubusson to deal with a man who was fully his equal, and whose extensive system of espial had rendered him fully acquainted with the real motives by which the Ottoman sultan was actuated. Perceiving that a short truce would give time for such reinforcements to arrive as were still lingering on the way, he yielded a ready assent to the propositions of Demetrius, merely taking objection to the question of tribute, in which he averred he was not authorised to treat without special reference to the Pope. Whilst, therefore, this reference was being made, he proposed that a temporary truce should be concluded, during which the commerce of both nations should be freed from aggression. This proposal was at once accepted by Mahomet, who imagined that he had succeeded in throwing the enemy off their guard; and was only undeceived when he discovered that D'Aubusson was taking advantage of this temporary lull to render yet more complete his preparations for defence.

Demetrius was by no means the only tool that Mahomet found ready to his hand at this crisis. In fact, a man who like the Ottoman sultan was destined to sway an empire to which constant accessions were being made, through the lust of conquest, must have found frequent necessity for the services of traitors; and as ample remuneration and rapid advancement were sure to await the successful informer, there were never wanting about his court men who had that to sell which it was his interest to buy. His intention of attacking the island of Rhodes upon the first favourable opportunity had become so generally known, that accurate information as to the fortifications and general locality of the town was con-

sidered a highly marketable commodity, and all persons who were in possession of it hurried to Constantinople, in the hopes of realising a high price for the article. Demetrius had, during his visits to Rhodes, made himself as well acquainted with the general outline of the works as his position admitted, and doubtless received ample compensation for his vigilance; but there were two other men who at this time came forward to contest with him the palm of rascality, and to share its disgraceful fruits. One of these was Antonio Meligala, a Rhodian, who having expended his patrimony in debauchery, sought to restore his ruined fortunes by abandoning Christianity and taking service with the Turk. Some writers assert that he was a Knight of St. John, and had been stripped of his habit, owing to the shameful recklessness of his life. However this may be, it is very clear not only that he resided in Rhodes, but also that he carried away with him a very accurate plan of the place. Whether he received any reward for this act of treachery has not been recorded in history, but it matters little, for he never enjoyed the results, having died of a loathsome disease during the transit of the besieging force to their point of attack.

Another and far more gifted traitor presented himself in the person of George Frapant, commonly called Master George. This man, who was by birth a German, had been trained as an engineer, in which science he attained a marvellous perfection, and has been described by enemies, as well as friends, as a man of surprising genius and admirable skill. In fact, the historians of the Order, even whilst heaping the most grandiloquent abuse upon the unfortunate head of poor Master George for his rascally treason towards themselves, cannot

refrain from drawing attention to the brilliancy of his talent. Caoursin calls him a man of the most subtle ingenuity, whilst the honest soldier, Mary Dupuis, after recording of him that he was an excellent director of artillery, proceeds to dilate on his personal advantages as "a fine fellow, well formed in all his limbs, and of a lofty stature, with great gifts of language, being both willing and entertaining." These opinions are re-echoed and endorsed by Bosio, Naberat, and Vertot; subsequent historians, whose opinions were probably formed from the author's already quoted, and therefore not of equal value; still, however, enough has been said to prove that Master George was no ordinary man, and the admirer of talent and genius must ever regard with regret the misapplied powers and perverted energies of this gifted renegade.

The plans and designs which this trio of traitors submitted to Mahomet were accompanied with such tempting descriptions of the unprepared state of the island, the decay of the fortifications, which they averred were old and crumbling, and the paucity of its garrison, that he at once decided to carry out his long-cherished project. The chief command of the forces destined for the operation, was entrusted to a fourth renegade, a Greek of the Imperial house of Paleologus, who at the capture of Constantinople had forsworn his religion, and taken service under Mahomet. With his new master he rapidly gained honour and advancement from the zeal with which he was ever ready to persecute his former faith, and as the Knights of Rhodes had in particular been distinguished by his bitterest animosity, the sultan deemed that he would be the fittest agent to achieve their destruction. This nomi-

nation was by no means distasteful to Paleologus Pasha, (for such was the dignity to which he had attained in the Turkish service), as owing to the seductive and flowing accounts which the renegades had given of the facilities of the enterprisc, he was most anxious to secure the opportunity, which success would afford him, of raising himself yet higher in his new profession.

Whilst preparations were thus commencing on the Ottoman side, the Knights were on their part taking the last measures which they conceived necessary for ensuring their security. At this critical juncture they were gladdened by a proposal from the sultan of Egypt to enter into an alliance with them. This prince beheld with a jealous eye the impending attack of his powerful Eastern neighbour on the island of Rhodes; nor did it suit his policy that that island should fall into the hands of one already too mighty for his safety. An alliance was speedily concluded whereby the Knights were secured from any aggression on the side of Egypt during their struggle with the Turks, and were also enabled to draw large supplies of provisions from their new friends. One measure was still considered necessary to render their security more complete, and this was temporarily to remove from the powers of D'Aubusson those checks and restrictions with which the jealousies of preceding ages had always fettered the Grand-Mastership. Now that they were led by one in whom they had such unbounded confidence, and when the times required that he should act with a promptitude and an energy unattainable under such a régime, they unanimously agreed to free him from its yoke, and to grant him the unlimited authority of a dictator, until the troublous hour was past. Once before, it will be

*D'Aubusson*  
remembered, had the same step been taken, and then with the happiest results; it was, therefore, with the more readiness that they again resorted to the measure, having already experienced its successful operation. D'Aubusson at first appeared unwilling to accept the undivided responsibility thus imposed upon him, but his reluctance, whether real or feigned, was speedily overcome, and when the council broke up, it was announced to the citizens that from that moment he was their sole and indisputable chief. Never was authority vested in hands more capable of exercising it, and the same confidence which D'Aubusson felt in himself he was at that critical moment able to impart to his friends.

The plans by which Mahomet proposed to carry out his invasion were these: as a preliminary step, a fleet was to be equipped under the command of Paleologus Pasha, which was to make a descent upon the island, commit such ravages as should harass and terrify the inhabitants, and in some degree exhaust the strength of the garrison before the main struggle commenced. Early in the ensuing spring the bulk of the army were to march across Asia Minor, to the port of Physco, a commodious harbour distant only eighteen miles from the island of Rhodes; whilst the artillery and other stores were to proceed to the same spot from Constantinople by sea. The pasha, after having harried the Christians to the best of his ability, was directed to be at the place of rendezvous at the appointed time, and joining his fleet to the combined force there assembled, was to make his grand descent upon the point of attack.

In accordance with these instructions, Paleologus sailed with a considerable squadron in the winter of

1479; and at once made a bold dash at the island of Rhodes itself. Such precautions had, however, been taken by D'Aubusson to prevent the disastrous effects of descents such as these, by the construction of fortified posts in various convenient localities, behind which the inhabitants of the open country might in cases of alarm find shelter, that the pasha gained but little by his move. His troops effected their landing unopposed, but found the country deserted, and the inhabitants, whom he would willingly have carried away into slavery, secure from his grasp. Whilst his troops were scattered in disorganised bands, engaged in the vain search for plunder, a sudden descent was made upon them by a body of Hospitallers; who, taking them by surprise and at an advantage, slew a considerable number, and drove the remainder without difficulty back to their ships.

The pasha, disgusted at this humiliating repulse, sheered off from Rhodes, and bent his steps towards the island of Telos, where stood a fort garrisoned by the Order. This he attempted, after a few days' battering, to take by storm, but was once again doomed to meet with a bloody repulse. The fort was evidently not to be captured by a coup de main, and Paleologus, crest-fallen and humiliated, was fain to retire at once to Physco, there to await the arrival of his army. A bad commencement this to so great an enterprise, and an ill omen for its ultimate success.

One morning towards the latter end of April, in the year 1480, the sentinel stationed on the top of St. Stephen's hill descried the hostile fleet passing within sight of the island. The alarm was at once given, and the Grand-Master with his principal officers assembled on the spot, to watch its onward progress. The critical

hour was, however, not yet come, and the fleet, which was bearing the artillery and other stores from Constantinople, made for Physco, their pre-arranged port of rendezvous. Having there been joined by the remainder of their force, the army was embarked ; and the expedition, which numbered 70,000 men, and 160 vessels, exclusive of small craft, arrived within sight of Rhodes on the 23rd of May 1480. The warnings which had so frequently been given on previous occasions had enabled the Knights to make every preparation for this critical moment. The inhabitants had all taken refuge within the town, whither their property had likewise been conveyed. Nothing that was capable of removal was left to become the spoil of the invaders: even the unripe corn having been reaped and borne away. An attempt was made to prevent the landing, which was, however, futile: the magnitude of his force and the vast number of his ships enabling the pasha to effect a disembarkation on several points at once.

His forces were encamped at the foot of St. Stephen's hill, where he himself pitched his tent ; and, on the following day, he despatched a herald to summon the town to surrender. He was well aware that this demand would be rejected with disdain by the Knights, but he had worded his message craftily with the view of seducing to his side the Greek inhabitants of the place, to whom he promised a general amnesty and an increase of privileges under the Turkish sway. His designs, however, were frustrated by the staunch courage of the Rhodians, who preferred staking their all with the fortunes of the Hospital, to the tempting but dangerous offers of Paleologus. When we consider that the population of Rhodes all professed the Greek



faith, it is a matter of wonder that they should have remained loyal under the sway of an Order so eminently Roman Catholic as that of the Hospital. Either the differences and jealousies between the rival creeds must in those days have been far less embittered than in later years, or the Order must have learnt a lesson in religious toleration such as the professors of their faith have never been celebrated for practising, and which in those times could have found an existence in no other part of the world. There are facts which show that both of these causes must have operated to produce such laudable results. As a proof that the differences between the two religions were then by no means so marked as at present, may be mentioned the fact that a miraculous image of the Virgin, which was held in the highest esteem by the Knights, was, during the siege, lodged in a Greek chapel, where it received the promiscuous devotion of both sects. This image had been brought by the Knights from Acre on their expulsion from that city, and, after their arrival in Rhodes, had been deposited in a chapel built for the purpose on an eminence about a mile to the north of the town. This hill was called Mount Philerme, and the image bore the name of our Lady of Philerme. When the approach of the Turks rendered this chapel no longer a place of security, the image was brought within the defences; nor was any objection made to its deposition within a Greek chapel by the members of either faith. No surer token than this could be given of the much greater unanimity and good fellowship which must have then existed between the rival creeds than can be at present found.

The Turks had no sooner established themselves in

their camp than they commenced to make reconnaissances in front of the walls. It suited neither the policy of D'Aubusson nor the temper of his garrison to permit these approaches to be continued unchecked. A sortie was consequently made by a chosen body of cavalry, led by the Viscount de Monteuil in person, in which, after a slight combat—little more indeed than a skirmish—the Turks were driven back to their encampment. In this affair Antonio Meligala, the second of the three traitors who had hoped to reap such golden fruit from the results of their villany, met his death; his horse having been killed, and he, encumbered with all his armour being unable to disengage himself, the advancing squadrons of the garrison charged over his prostrate body and trampled him to death in the mêlée. The Knights in this struggle lost one of their number, a member of the language of Auvergne, named Murat, who, having advanced too far in the ardour of the moment, was surrounded by spahis, from whom he received his death wound, and by whom his head was borne away in triumph on the point of a spear.

Meanwhile the pasha had been in close consultation with Master George as to the point of attack upon which he should decide. That worthy, whose keen eye instantly comprehended the importance of the post of St. Nicholas, suggested that the whole weight of the besiegers' force should be thrown upon that point. To this the pasha, who had every confidence in the opinions of the German, promptly assented, and a battery was at once commenced within the gardens of the church of St. Anthony: a convenient spot whence the powerful battering train which had been brought with the army might vomit its ponderous missiles against

the frowning rampart of St. Nicholas. The Knights, on their side, anxious to impede the construction of so obnoxious a work, opened fire upon the embryo battery with some guns which they placed in the gardens of the post of Auvergne, from which spot they were enabled to enfilade the offending structure. Spite of all obstructions the work continued to rise,—gabions, timber, and other appliances being brought to bear to hasten its completion; and at length, all being prepared for their reception, three of the pasha's great basilisks were seen to peep portentously through the embrasures. These basilisks, of which sixteen had accompanied the army to Rhodes, had been cast under the directions of that most useful of men, Master George, and were of such stupendous dimensions that their very appearance might well spread dismay amongst the ranks of the garrison. They were eighteen feet in length, and were designed to cast balls of from eight to nine palms in magnitude. It is not probable that in those early times these enormous guns were fired with a large charge of powder, or that they ranged for any considerable distance. It appears likely that they trusted more to the weight of the missile, than to the impetus with which it was projected, for the desired effect to be caused; still it could have been by no means a reassuring incident to the defenders of St. Nicholas Fort to be battered incessantly with such gigantic artillery. The result speedily manifested itself; although the walls of the fort had been constructed with extreme solidity, they were not capable of withstanding the weight of metal which Master George had caused to be hurled against them, and ere long a gaping breach on the landward side marked the successful practice of the cannoneers.

Whilst this operation was being conducted, another incident had taken place which materially affected the fortunes of the wily German. In pursuance of a plan laid down between himself and Paleologus, the dauntless scoundrel—for with all his crimes it is impossible to deny him the virtue of the most daring courage—presented himself before the walls early one morning, and besought admission into the town as a deserter from the Turkish camp. Taken before D'Aubusson, Master George was by no means lacking a plausible tale to account for his appearance. Entirely sinking for the moment the awkward fact of his apostasy from the Christian religion, he averred, with the most captivating ingenuousness, that although he had been many years in the service of Mahomet, his conscience would not permit him to assist in carrying out the designs of that monarch against the fraternity of Rhodes, and that finding himself unable in any other manner to escape the obnoxious service, he had determined upon the hazardous step of deserting into the fortress. D'Aubusson had had too many dealings with men as wily and as plausible as Master George to give a ready credence to this tale of Christian remorse. He knew too well that the day was past when men made such sacrifices for their faith, and he also knew what a fearful risk Master George would, if really a deserter, be running in the event of the capture of the place and of his falling once more into the hands of his former employers, a risk which he little thought Master George's newly awakened zeal for the Christian religion would prompt him to run; whilst, on the other hand, it appeared to him far more probable that the cunning deserter was in collusion with the foe without. Treachery, however, if treachery there were, was, under the circumstances, best encountered by dissimulation; and the

Grand-Master determined to glean what information he could from the German's undoubted genius for war, without trusting him with one iota that could in any way be made available by the pasha. Master George was welcomed as cordially as though no suspicions had been aroused, but he soon discovered that there were those in his train whose sole duty appeared to be to watch his every motion, and to mark his every word. One or two abortive efforts to search out the feeblest points in the defences soon taught him that any further attempts in that direction would inevitably bring a speedy destruction upon his head ; and so, if he did not prove of much value to the defenders, they at all events completely neutralised all co-operation with the besiegers. On cross-examination as to the force under the pasha, he dilated with the most terrifying uncton on its magnitude and complete preparation. Their artillery, he said, was of such gigantic calibre as had never before been brought into the field, and on this point he certainly spoke with some authority, having founded the cannon himself. The army was numerous, well disciplined, and amply supplied with stores and provisions of every kind, and was moreover animated with the most fanatical zeal to achieve the destruction of this bulwark of Christianity. Cheering intelligence this, to be brought by a deserter into a besieged town ; and the question naturally arose, how came so long-headed a man voluntarily to place himself in a position of such imminent danger ; whereupon Master George, mutely laying his hand upon his breast, would plead the pangs of an awakened conscience with such earnest and apparent truth that many were led to believe him sincere.

Meanwhile, the battery in St. Anthony's garden had been doing its duty, and the confused mass of rubbish

daily increasing at the foot of St. Nicholas' tower, as well as the gaping breach in its walls rapidly enlarging in dimensions, showed to D'Aubusson that further efforts must be made, or the post would speedily be lost. Hurrying to the spot as large a reinforcement as could be contained within the enceinte of the work, he at the same time prepared every obstacle his ingenuity could devise to impede the successful operation of an assault. Taking advantage of the ruined mass of masonry which had been dislodged by the pasha's cannon, he with it cast up a new defence across the mole. Small batteries were made wherever they could flank the approaches to the breach, and in the lesser harbour on the west of the tower, where the water was very shallow, he sunk planks of timber filled with large nails to impede the enemy from wading across to the assault. Having thus done all which his foresight could suggest to meet the impending blow, he calmly awaited the shock of the onset.

On the morning of the 9th June the alarm was given, and a large squadron of the enemies' fleet was seen bearing down from the northward upon the devoted tower. Arrived within a sufficient proximity to their destination, the Infidels jumped overboard, and with loud shouts of valour swarmed up the mole on every side, and made a dash at the breach. Proudly conspicuous upon its summit stood Peter d'Aubusson, arrayed in all the panoply of his Order, whilst around him were the flower of that chivalry from which the Turk had so often recoiled in terror. Anxiously was the struggle gazed at by both friend and foe upon the mainland. The battlements overlooking the harbour were crowded with citizens, eager to watch the progress of the fray; whilst on the brow of St. Stephen's hill stood Paleologus

himself, in all the keen and intense excitement natural to one with whom success would be everything, and failure perdition. Amidst the smoke and dust, however, little was to be seen, though ever and anon, as a passing gust of wind would raise for a moment the dark veil which over-canopied the scene of contest, might be distinguished that same band, somewhat thinned perhaps in numbers, and worn with toil, yet still standing in proud defiance on their shattered wall, whilst at its base were strewed the gory corpses of those who had fallen beneath their invincible falchions. The same glimpse, however, would show the Infidel, undaunted at the opposition thus offered to his attack, still swarming up the blood-stained pathway, and striving to surmount that obstacle which had proved fatal to so many of his brethren.

Throughout this eventful day, D'Aubusson retained his post with the defenders of the castle ; utterly regardless of his own life, he was to be found wherever the fray was thickest, or support most needed ; and his exposure of his own life on this occasion was so reckless, as to call forth the earnest remonstrance of his friends. Having been struck on the head by a huge fragment of stone, which destroyed his helmet, he coolly selected another from the head of the soldier who was nearest to him, and when remonstrated with by the commander Carette, who urged upon him the value of his life at that critical moment to the welfare of the Order, he replied with a smile, " If I am killed, there will be more cause of hope for you, than of fear for me ;" implying thereby his opinion of that Knight's fitness to become his successor. At this point, whilst the fate of the day seemed still to hang in the balance, the Knights brought some

fire-ships, which they had previously prepared, to bear upon the galleys of the enemy ; the attempt was completely successful ; several caught fire, and the remainder, eager to escape from so imminent a danger, drew off from the attack. At the same moment, the garrison of St. Nicholas made a vigorous and united dash at the breach ; the ladders were overturned, and such of the foe as had gained a footing on the summit were once more hurled headlong to its foot. The flanking batteries, which had been constructed to bear upon this point, poured a destructive fire upon the confused and disordered mass which stood huddled at its base. Many of their leaders had fallen, their fleet had abandoned them, and they themselves were being mowed down by a deadly fire from the ramparts. Can it be wondered at, that under such an accumulation of obstacles, the determination of the assailants should at length give way ? The mangled corpses with which the moat and breach were covered, bore ample testimony to the determination with which the attack had been persisted in ; but the might of the Christian had proved too great for them, and so at last, in a direful state of confusion, they sought by a speedy flight to obtain shelter from the pitiless storm of missiles which were being hailed down upon their shattered battalions. The terror caused by the fire-ships had been so great, that few of the fleet which had borne them to the scene of action were now remaining to carry off the discomfited survivors. Many, therefore, were drowned in the vain attempt to cross over to the mainland, and the remainder were borne in shame and dismay from the scene of action.

The feelings of the pasha, as from the summit of St. Stephen's hill he witnessed the untoward conclusion of



the fray, were far from enviable. His troops had hitherto been taught to consider themselves invincible, and the foe had not been found who could withstand the shock of their determined onset. They had trusted that as it had been with the turbaned warrior of the East, so it would also prove with the mailed soldier of the cross; and they had now learnt their mistake at a grievous cost. That breach, which, had it been guarded by a Moslem garrison, would scarce have dared to offer the slightest resistance, had, when crowned by these heroes of the Hospital, rendered futile their boldest efforts, and hurled them back discomfited to their camp.

The pasha, however, was not a man to despond at the first failure; and he was speedily devising a new attack, under more favourable auspices. Conceiving that the Knights were probably exhausting their utmost resources in the protection of this point, he determined to break ground in a new direction, where he might meet with a less obstinate resistance. For this purpose, whilst D'Aubusson was forming a triumphant procession to return thanks to the miraculous image of Mount Philerme, for the glorious success of the preceding day, the pasha was moving his heavy battering train to the southern side of the city. The Jews' quarter was selected as the new point of attack; and ere long the thunder of artillery, and the shock of the projectiles hurled against its massy battlements, marked the intention of the besieger. The ramparts, at this point, were of extreme thickness, but at the same time of great age, and therefore ill suited to resist the fearful battering to which they were now exposed.

The pasha was not content to confine his efforts to a

single point, but at the same time harassed the garrison by a general bombardment on all sides. From the huge mortars, which formed a part of his siege train, he hurled into the city gigantic fragments of rock, and other ponderous projectiles, trusting thereby so to annoy the inhabitants that they should be unable to protract the defence with energy. He also poured a vast quantity of light balls and other combustible ingredients into the town, purposing therewith to set it on fire; but against all these dangers D'Aubusson's ready genius was enabled to provide a remedy. He created a temporary shelter for such of the inhabitants as were not required in the defence, by the erection of large sheds built close under the walls, in such sites as would be as far as possible out of range. Others took refuge within the vaults of the churches, and similar places of security, so that Paleologus Pasha appeared to gain little by his move, beyond the expenditure of a vast quantity of ammunition. True it is as Mary Dupuis records, that one shot struck the vaulted roof of the refectory in the Grand-Master's palace, and that after descending through the stone floor into the cellar, it there destroyed a hog's-head of that generous fluid wherewith D'Aubusson was wont upon festive occasions to regale his friends. The loss of the liquor appears to have made more impression upon the mind of the annalist than the damage done to the building, but if the casualties were confined to such losses as these, the pasha would have done better to have economised his powder. The danger of fire was averted by an organised band, whose sole duty it was to watch the flaming projectiles in their descent, and quench them promptly. This duty was rendered all the easier from the incombustible nature of the town, which was com-

posed almost entirely of stone. The roar of this bombardment was so great, that it was heard from the island of Lango, a hundred miles westward of Rhodes, to that of Chateau Roux, the same distance eastward.

The state of the rampart in front of the Jews' quarter soon became such as to render prompt measures necessary for the safety of that point. D'Aubusson, therefore, at once commenced the construction of a retrenchment which should cover the exposed point. For this purpose he levelled the houses in rear of the breach, sank a deep ditch in a semicircular form, and behind this new obstacle raised a brick wall, supported by a terrepleine, and of sufficient thickness and solidity to resist the battering engines of the foe. This work, which was of considerable extent, was pushed forward with incredible rapidity. The Grand-Master himself set the example, not only by giving general directions on the spot, but by taking his own turn at the manual labour which was necessary, handling the pick and shovel with that vigour which he imparted to every duty in which he engaged. The effect of this good example soon made itself apparent in the increased zeal with which the wall was pushed forward; not only did the Knights and upper classes amongst the Rhodians join vigorously in the work, but also women and children, nay, even the secluded inmates of the religious houses themselves casting off, at this perilous crisis, the ordinary restrictions imposed upon them by their profession, joined in the universal enthusiasm, and performed the tasks of ordinary workmen. The result of such unparalleled efforts speedily manifested itself in the rapid elevation of a new barrier, which the pasha, after having completed the demolition of the

Jews' rampart, found extended in its rear, rendering futile all the efforts he had made, and the vast quantities of ammunition he had expended.

Up to this point Paleologus had made his advances towards the capture of the place in an open and legitimate manner : now, however, finding himself foiled by the determined bravery of the garrison, whose resistance he justly considered as materially strengthened by the personal energy and dauntless skill of their chief, he bethought him of continuing the contest in a more subtle and treacherous manner, using for his purpose weapons common enough in the warfare of the East, but repugnant to every feeling of true chivalry. By the assassination of D'Aubusson, he trusted to remove the principal obstacle to his success, and to carry out this sinister object, he employed two deserters, the one a Dalmatian and the other an Albanian, who had joined his army at the commencement of the siege.

Whilst he was preparing his infamous scheme with these wretches, a despatch arrived from Constantinople, brought by Ali Pasha, in which he was informed that Mahomet was himself approaching with a reinforcement of 100,000 men, and a large park of artillery. It is more than probable that this intelligence was completely false ; still it obtained its object in raising the enthusiasm of the besiegers to the highest point. The two deserters, in furtherance of their project, presented themselves at one of the gates of the city, with a plausible tale of having been captured during one of the sorties, and of having just succeeded in making their escape. This story met with ready credence, and they were welcomed into the town with the warmest congratulations. Their first step was to spread the intelligence of Mahomet's

approaching arrival with overwhelming reinforcements ; a piece of news which, as they intended, created the utmost dismay throughout the garrison.

Certain Knights of the Italian and Spanish languages carried their terror so far, as to form a cabal for the purpose of inducing the Grand-Master to yield the town before the arrival of their dreaded antagonist. For this purpose they secured the co-operation of one of his secretaries, an Italian, named Filelfo, who undertook to be their mouthpiece. D'Aubusson, upon hearing from his secretary what was passing, summoned the malcontents into his presence, and with cutting sarcasm informed them, that since they were in such terror of Mahomet, they had his permission to leave the island, and that he would himself protect their retreat ; " but," added he, with a stern glance, " if you remain with us, speak no more of surrender, and rest assured that if you continue your cabals, you shall meet with that fate which you so justly merit." This combination of railery and sternness had the desired effect ; the recusants threw themselves at his feet, and implored him to give them an early opportunity of effacing the memory of their cowardice in the blood of the Infidel. Filelfo soon discovered that his master's confidence had been withdrawn from him, owing to his participation in this unfortunate affair, and was much distressed in consequence. The Albanian deserter, who had an acquaintance with him, deemed that he was probably now in a mood when he might easily be rendered subservient to their plot. Gradually and cautiously he endeavoured to excite and stimulate his resentment at the neglect he was suffering, and finding, as he imagined, that he was succeeding in his object, he eventually unfolded the

entire plot, making the most brilliant offers to Filelfo, in guarantee of which he showed him letters from the pasha. The Italian, who was warmly attached to D'Aubusson, and who felt that his present disgrace was only a just punishment for his indiscretion, feigned to fall into the views of the deserters, merely with the intention of discovering their treachery, having done which, he at once revealed the entire conspiracy to his master. The immediate arrest of the would-be assassin followed this disclosure, and his confession having compromised his comrade, the latter was also seized, and the guilty pair were both sentenced to instant execution. The excitement of the garrison, upon learning the treachery that had been designed against their beloved chief was such, that they rushed upon the criminals, and forestalling the just sentence of the law, tore them in pieces in the fury of the moment.

Foiled in his attempt at a cold-blooded assassination, Paleologus had once more recourse to open warfare, and, disheartened at the ill success of his efforts against the Jews' quarter, returned again to his first point of attack, the tower of St. Nicholas. To facilitate the approach of his assaulting columns, he constructed a large floating bridge, which was to stretch from the Church of St. Anthony to the rocks at the foot of the tower, and sufficiently wide to admit of six men passing abreast.

Under cover of the darkness, a Turk succeeded in fixing, at the extremity of the mole, a large anchor beneath the surface of the water, through the ring of which he pushed a rope, intending by its means to warp the bridge across the inlet to its destination. This operation, however, was not performed with that secrecy

and success which the wary Turk imagined had been attained. An English sailor, by name Roger Gervase (for history has recorded the appellation of this naval hero who, even in those days, was found to maintain the reputation of the British tar for gallantry and hardihood) espied the proceeding, and quietly awaiting the departure of the Turk, as soon as the coast was clear, detached the rope from the anchor, and leaving the former loose in the water, carried the latter in triumph to the Grand-Master. D'Aubusson was so gratified with the promptitude and decision of the gallant tar, as he stood radiant and dripping before him with his ponderous trophy still in his grasp, that he rewarded him with a present of two hundred golden crowns, wherewith it is to be hoped the heart of Roger Gervase was duly gladdened.

The Turks, having completed the construction of the bridge, made their arrangements for an immediate assault. The former attack, the failure of which was still rankling in their bosoms, had been undertaken in broad daylight; they determined, therefore, upon this occasion to try the effect of a night surprise. The 19th of June was selected for the important attempt, and about midnight their various detachments were set in motion. It had been arranged that, whilst the bridge was being hauled into its position, a large body of troops, shipped for the purpose on board some of their smaller craft, should approach the mole, and make a sudden dash at the shattered tower, in the hope that perchance, through the darkness of the night, they might take the garrison unawares. The incident of the anchor had, however, forewarned D'Aubusson that the moment of assault was close at hand; every step that prudence could suggest,

or the engineering skill of the Grand-Master could devise, had been taken to meet the impending shock ; and through the darkness of that night there were keen eyes peering in silent watchfulness on the crest of the breach, whose vigilance it was vain for the Turk to attempt evading. The first strain upon the rope, wherewith the pasha had hoped to warp his bridge across the creek, showed that his device had been discovered, and the besiegers were consequently brought to a stand-still at their very earliest step. Unwilling to forego the advantages of his extensive preparations, Paleologus decided upon proceeding with his attack, notwithstanding the failure in this branch of the attempt. He caused the bridge to be towed to its destination by a number of boats, and while this operation was being conducted with laborious slowness, he gave the signal for the advance of the troops embarked. They had no sooner approached within sight of the mole, than they were discovered by the garrison, and the alarm being promptly given, a desperate fire was opened upon them from all sides. Secrecy being no longer attainable, the Turks hurried from their boats, and dashed at the breach, shouting the war-cry of their nation. The same immovable phalanx which had before withstood them with such success upon a previous occasion, was now once again drawn up prepared for their reception.

The struggle was carried on by both parties with equal obstinacy and determination, but in the darkness of the night little could be distinguished of the desperate combat which was raging around the walls of the town. The scene was ever and anon lit up by the flashes of artillery, which poured its destructive fire upon the crowded



masses of the besiegers' battalions; whilst the lurid glare spread around by the Greek fire, plentifully showered upon the assailants, added yet another terror to the picture. Amidst the roar of the guns, the clashing of arms, the shouts of the combatants, and the groans of the wounded, the strife continued with unabated violence, presenting a spectacle to those who watched its progress, at once awful in its grandeur, and terrible in its excitement. As though to add to the general horrors of the moment, the fire-ships of the garrison were once again let loose upon the enemy's fleet, towards which they drifted in a column of flame, bearing panic and confusion in their course. The early light of a summer's dawn broke upon this scene of savage strife, whilst success had as yet refrained from declaring itself on either side. Guided, however, by the momentarily increasing light, the artillerists of the garrison were enabled to direct their fire with greater accuracy, and speedily accomplished the destruction of the bridge, which up to this point had been most useful to the Turks for bringing up their supports. They also succeeded in sinking four of the galleys, which, in spite of the fire-ships, continued to hover round the point of assault, whilst others bore testimony in themselves to their unwilling contact with their flaming antagonists, by the sheets of fire in which they were enveloped. Throughout the assault the principal leader of the Turkish forces had been a young prince named Ibrahim, closely related to Mahomet, with whom he was a great favourite. The daring and hardihood exhibited by this youthful warrior had gone far towards maintaining the vigour of the assailants, and although he had received several wounds during the night, he had still maintained

his post among the combatants. At this critical juncture, when his followers were commencing to quail beneath the deadly fire poured upon them, he was struck to the earth by a blow which deprived him of life, and the Infidels of their leader. This loss decided the fortune of the day; the breach was abandoned, the sea was once again covered with drowning men, and the routed relics of the pasha's force found a watery grave their only alternative from the avenging sword of the Christians.

The loss of the Turks upon this occasion was between two and three thousand, amongst whom were to be numbered some of the best officers in their army, and the impression made upon the survivors by this second failure was so great as to render the pasha's hopes of ultimate success highly problematical. He himself was so dismayed and terror-stricken by the untoward events of the night, that he confined himself to his tent for three days, refusing either to see or be seen by the captains of his host. D'Aubusson availed himself of the respite thus obtained, to clear the mole of the mass of corpses with which it was encumbered. Rare pillage was there for his troops amidst the heaps of Infidels who had on this spot met their end, and the costly apparel, and jewels of gold and silver, snatched from the lifeless corpses by whom they were no longer needed, were a meet recompense to the hardy warriors who had held their ground so well. Whilst an ocean grave was considered a sufficient burial for the Turk, D'Aubusson was careful to inter with every honour such of his own force as had fallen in the fray, and by the time the pasha had recovered from his despondency, all traces of the struggle had disappeared.

After three days' seclusion, Paleologus became himself again, and roused to a pitch of fury at the losses his army had sustained, decided upon a more vigorous prosecution of the siege, with a view to avenge his defeats, and restore his character in the eyes of his master. Returning once more to the northern side of the city, after having in disgust abandoned all further attempts upon St. Nicholas, he commenced the construction of a battery on the edge of the ditch, opposite the retrenchment in the Jews' quarter. Here was an opportunity for the disgraced Knights of Italy to recover their fair fame in the eyes of their chief. By means of a secret communication, they descended in the dead of the night, to the number of fifty, into the bottom of the ditch, and thence by means of ladders, silently ascended the counterscarp, and rushed impetuously into the progressing battery. The Turks, taken by surprise, offered but little resistance, the struggle, which was rather a massacre than a fight, lasted but a few minutes, and the victorious Italians remained masters of the battery. The uncompleted work was rapidly destroyed, the gabions and other woodwork set on fire, and the gallant little band, having utterly destroyed the lodgement of the besiegers, returned triumphantly into the town, bearing upon the points of their lances the heads of such antagonists as had fallen in the fray. This brilliant achievement deservedly restored the actors in it to the good graces of D'Aubusson, who felt, that from men capable of such deeds he had nothing further to fear on the score of pusillanimity.

The pasha was likewise taught by this incident, that in conducting an attack against such vigorous and experienced foes as the defenders of Rhodes, he could not with

impunity neglect any of the orthodox measures of advance, tedious though they were, by which greater security was to be attained. Opening his approaches in a more methodical and scientific order, and driving galleries under ground to the edge of the ditch, he gradually regained that point in comparative security from whence he had been so rudely ejected. From these galleries he caused to be poured into the ditch so vast an accumulation of rubbish, that it gradually became filled to an extent, that rendered it no longer an obstacle to his attack.

The energies of D'Aubusson were taxed to the uttermost to resist this new and most threatening approach. In the dilemma he bethought him of Master George, whose proceedings during this eventful siege had been so closely watched, that he had become, if useless as a friend, at least innocuous as a traitor. Mysterious arrows had more than once been shot into the town, bearing on them billets, warning the garrison to beware of Master George. Opinions were divided as to the object of these missives; some regarding them as the emanations of a foe who, irritated at the deserter's abandonment of their cause, was anxious to achieve his destruction at the hands of his new friends; others again, amongst whom was the Grand-Master, considered the caution a deep-laid piece of cunning on the part of the pasha, in order that by evincing this apparent animosity against the German, the garrison might be more ready to look on him with favour.

Whatever might be his private opinion regarding Master George, D'Aubusson was determined on the present occasion to avail himself, as far as practicable, of his scientific attainments and engineering skill. From the German, however, he could glean but little, his words

were desponding, and his recommendations few and useless. One battery, indeed, of which he had strongly recommended the construction, proved an egregious failure; thereby much irritating the minds of the garrison against him. His hesitation and obvious reluctance to aid the defence in any way, strengthened materially the suspicions which were afloat, and rendered a new scrutiny into his objects and conduct advisable. Summoned before the council, he hesitated, prevaricated, and eventually contradicted himself in many important particulars; upon this he was submitted to torture, in accordance with the universal usage of those times; under the pressure of which a confession was extorted from him, that he had entered the town with the traitorous intent of rendering assistance to the pasha. Although a certain cloud of mystery does undoubtedly hang over the conduct of Master George, it being quite within the bounds of probability that the confession, which was extorted by the agonies of torture, was made merely to gain him a temporary respite from the pains of the rack, still there was that in his previous conduct and general history, which renders it almost a certainty that he was in reality the guilty wretch he confessed himself to be, and that he deserved the fate which was in store for him. In truth, he was the next day hung in the public square, in sight of an applauding crowd of the townspeople, and thus, by an act of righteous retribution, died in the midst of the city whose destruction he had plotted, the last of that trio of renegades, by whom Mahomet had been invited to the prosecution of his sinister designs against Rhodes. The pasha had all along entertained the strongest hopes of assistance from the crafty friend he had lodged within the town. Great

was his disappointment, therefore, when he learnt the fate to which that friend had been doomed. Of this fate D'Aubusson was determined that he should not remain long in ignorance, and so, adopting the method of communication which the pasha himself had used, he despatched a billet, attached to an arrow, into the Turkish camp, wherein he announced that the garrison had accepted the caution so kindly impressed upon them by their foes, and had taken the best possible precautions against Master George, by hanging him out of the way.

The suspension of the traitor was, however, no protection against the cannon which was thundering at the ramparts, or the assault which was threatening at the breach. To harass the enemy behind their trenches, D'Aubusson caused to be constructed a large wooden machine, by which huge stones were hurled upon their works. The rocks propelled by this engine were of such a ponderous character, that as they fell upon the covered ways which the Turks had constructed, they crushed them in, and as Dupuis has recorded, "some Turk or other always remained dead under its weight." The instrument whereby this pulverising process was carried on, was by its hilarious artillerists facetiously termed the tribute; the rocks which it hurled, and which so highly incommoded the besiegers, being the only tribute which the Ottoman emperor was to expect from the city of Rhodes.

Whilst the Turkish miners were being ground to powder by this new and most effective antagonist, the defenders had also commenced a little subterranean strategy on their own side; driving galleries beneath the breach, they made openings into the ditch, through which they gradually conveyed into the town much of the stone

with which it was being filled. This material was transported to the retrenchment, to the increased solidity of which it greatly contributed ; and the labour was carried on so briskly under cover of the night, that the deposit which the Turks had made with such great labour commenced to sink into very dwarfish dimensions. For some days the foe were unable to comprehend the cause by which their labour was being neutralised, but the robbery became at length too marked to escape detection ; and the pasha foresaw, that unless he gave a speedy assault, the road by which he purposed entering into the town would be carried away en masse. Prior to making the attempt, which experience had taught him must, even if successful, cost him the lives of many of his bravest troops, he endeavoured once more to obtain, by a peaceful capitulation, that which he was determined, if necessary, to seize by force of arms. A parley was demanded in his name, to which the Grand-Master readily consented ; not with any idea of acceding to the terms which would probably be proposed, but merely to gain time for the strengthening of his retrenchments.

The following day was appointed for the interview, and at the hour named, the Turkish ambassador, Soliman Bey, made his appearance at the edge of the ditch opposite the breach ; D'Aubusson had nominated Anthony Gaultier, castellan of Rhodes, as his representative on the occasion, and as the breadth of the ditch divided the negotiators, the conference was plainly audible to all who were in the vicinity. It was opened by the Turk, who after having paid a just tribute to the gallantry of the defence, urged upon the Knights the propriety of an immediate surrender : " You have," said he, " done all that lay within the power of mortal men to avert

the catastrophe which is impending over you ; you have immortalised your names by a defence unparalleled in history, but do not carry that resistance too far ; let not the madness of despair prompt you to protract your efforts after they have become manifestly hopeless. The breach within your wall is gaping wide, and invites our assaulting columns ; forty thousand of the best troops of the empire are eagerly awaiting the moment which is to give you over into their power ; do not, by your prolonged obstinacy, bring down upon your city the inevitable calamities incident to an assault. Yield yourselves to the clemency of our sovereign ; become his allies, and your lives shall be spared, your property protected, and you yourselves permitted to retain the government of the island, in the strict bonds of friendship with us. If you refuse this offer, your lives will be forfeited, your wives and daughters brutally dishonoured, and your children sold into slavery ; your city will be utterly destroyed, and the memory of it swept from the face of the earth. Such is the inevitable fate of those who persist in opposing the mighty Mahomet. Choose, therefore, whether you will be his friends or his victims."

To this speech, so well calculated to excite both the hopes and fears of the garrison, Gaultier responded in terms of proud disdain. He assured the ambassador that he was mistaken in supposing the town incapable of further resistance : it was true, the ramparts were breached, but retrenchments had been constructed within their ruins, before which the assailants should meet the same fate that had befallen those who had twice vainly attempted the capture of St. Nicholas ; that as regarded the offers of capitulation, the treachery of the Turkish army in moments of triumph had been too



strongly marked and too frequently displayed to enable the garrison to place any further reliance on their pledge. That as to the alleged desire of Mahomet to be a friend and ally to the Order, he had employed a most unusual method for attaining that object: if he were in reality desirous of entering into an alliance with them, let him draw off his forces from the hostile attitude in which they stood upon the shores of Rhodes, and let them negotiate a treaty upon terms of equality. But if, on the other hand, they were determined to become possessed of the island, let them make their boasted assault without further parleying; they would find the garrison ready to receive them, trusting in the power of God to defend the right.

The resolute boldness of this reply taught Paleologus that he had nothing to hope for from negotiation. The audacity of the challenge, by which it was concluded, aroused feelings of the most lively indignation and animosity throughout the Turkish hosts. The Christians had dared an assault, and the pasha was determined to carry the place at all hazards. In order to incite his soldiery to the necessary pitch of valour, he promised them the entire booty of the city; and the certainty of capture became so assured, that sacks were made, wherein to deposit the anticipated pillage. A vast number of stakes were prepared and sharpened, for the charitable purpose of impaling the garrison: whilst each soldier carried at his waist a bundle of cords, wherewith to bind the captives of his bow and spear. Matters having been thus pleasantly arranged on the part of the assailants, the signal of assault was awaited by them with impatience. Before, however, venturing upon this step, Paleologus opened a tremendous fire from every

available piece of artillery which could be brought to bear upon the breach and adjacent ramparts. This bombardment was continued without intermission throughout the day and night preceding that on which the assault was to take place ; and its effect was so destructive, that the garrison found it impossible to maintain themselves upon the rampart.

During the night of the 26th of July, the troops who were to commence the assault were silently moved into their positions ; the roar of artillery continuing with ceaseless virulence. Owing to the impossibility of maintaining their ground upon the exposed rampart, the garrison were unaware of this important step, nor were any extraordinary measures taken to resist the impending storm. About an hour after sunrise on the morning of the 27th, the signal of assault was given by the firing of a mortar. The attack was made upon several points in the enceinte at once, but the main efforts were concentrated upon the breach in the Jews' quarter : the others being merely feints to distract the garrison from the principal point. The roar of the signal mortar was no sooner heard breaking the calm stillness of that summer's morn, than the fierce war-cry of the Infidel arose on every side ; and with the fell spring of the tigress disturbed in her lair, they dashed at those shattered walls, which were the sole remaining bulwark of the harassed garrison.

The severity of the fire, which the pasha had kept up with unremitting energy for the preceding twenty-four hours, had had the precise effect which he had designed. Quailing beneath the withering and pitiless storm of iron which was hurled against them, the garrison had been driven to seek safety in more sheltered localities, and

when the assailants rushed through the breach, now so open and exposed that a horse might have been ridden through it, they found no opponents ready to resist the aggression. In a few minutes, and ere the alarm had been given in the town, the standard of Mahomet was waving on the crest of the rampart ; and the Turks were pouring in a countless throng through the defenceless gap.

Now was indeed a critical moment for the fortunes of the Order. Hitherto they had maintained themselves with a marvellous success : though many a hard fought struggle had chequered the events of the preceding two months, though there had been times when the obstinacy and determination of the attack had been such as to make the fate of the city quiver in the balance, still the dauntless front and the serried ranks of the indomitable defenders had successfully withstood the tempest. Now, however, in an ill-fated moment those serried ranks were no longer at their post in the hour of need : that rampart, which hitherto had been protected from the polluting tread of the Infidel, was now swarming with their hosts ; and the dreaded banner beneath which they fought was waving triumphantly over the already half-conquered city. In this disastrous conjuncture a general panic appeared to seize the defenders. Men ran to and fro in their dismay, scarce knowing where to bend their steps, or how to resist the storm thus suddenly burst upon them. A few moments more of this perilous confusion and all must have been lost. Providentially, however, for the fair fame of his Order, D'Aubusson, ever watchful, and ever at hand, rushed to the scene of contest. His presence instantly reanimated his followers, and restored order and decision in those ranks which but a moment before had quailed with dis-

may. With the speed of lightning he dashed at the rampart: its summit could only be gained by means of ladders, and the first to ascend, sword in hand, was the Grand-Master.

At this moment might have been witnessed the unusual spectacle of the garrison converted into assailants, and endeavouring to recover by escalade that rampart which had so long been their own bulwark, but which was now torn from their grasp, and become a desperate standing point to the foe. Twice did D'Aubusson attempt the ascent, and twice was he hurled from the ladder, each time severely wounded. Undaunted either by the repulse, or by the blood which was streaming from his wounds, he once again returned to the attack. His Knights, he felt, must re-establish themselves upon that fatal spot, or all was lost: better to die pierced by the manly scars of war, than to survive the loss of all which the Hospitallers held most dear. This time he succeeded in establishing himself upon the contested wall, and being speedily joined by numerous comrades, the struggle was renewed upon terms of greater equality. The mere numbers of the Turks acted prejudicially to themselves; they were so crowded together upon the narrow rampart, that they found it impossible to act with vigour; swayed to and fro beneath the fierce attack of D'Aubusson and his followers, they were driven with resistless force backwards over the breach.

The pasha, however, was not prepared tamely to yield the advantage he had once obtained, and a body of veteran janissaries was despatched to support the yielding assailants, and once more regain possession of the breach. D'Aubusson in his gilded armour was easily recognisable in the throng, and Paleologus, who felt that

he was the life and soul of the defence, directed a chosen body of this new reinforcement to forego all meaner prey, and to devote themselves to a direct attack upon the hero, so conspicuous at the head of his gallant band. Dashing upon the Christians with a ferocity which had so often before been the precursor of victory, and clearing for themselves in their impetuous onset a passage through the mailed phalanx by which they were opposed, they succeeded in reaching the spot where D'Aubusson stood, dealing out death and destruction with the sweep of his mighty brand. Hemmed in though he was on every side by these new foes, he yielded not a step, but maintained the unequal combat with an energy and a pertinacity which marked the heroism of his blood. His desperate situation was speedily discovered by his brothers in arms, and a rush was instantly made to the rescue with such impetuous vehemence, that the terror-stricken Moslem was forced to yield, and their beloved chief snatched from the certain death with which he had been so imminently menaced; not, however, before he had been struck to the earth grievously pierced by three new wounds.

Ere he was borne from the field, he had the consolation of seeing the enemy driven, like a flock of sheep, over the blood-stained breach, and his own victorious garrison pursuing them with the edge of the sword. This had, in fact, been the turning point of the struggle. The panic having once established itself amongst the assailants, spread with a rapidity which their disorganised and overcrowded position rendered still more fatal. Flying from the avenging weapon of the Christian, they found their egress from the deadly breach blocked by the tumultuous masses which the pasha had directed to

that spot. In this perilous predicament friend was not distinguished from foe, and the most eager of the fugitives hewed for themselves a pathway to safety by the indiscriminate slaughter of their fellow-soldiers. Numbers, who were unable even by this means to escape from the scene of strife, were hurled from the rampart into the town, a drop of twenty feet, where they were instantly massacred by the infuriated inhabitants. Meanwhile, a deadly fire had been kept up upon the dense mass congregated without the breach from every available point in the adjacent ramparts; and, as every shot told upon so extended a body, the slaughter became terrific. The struggle had now degenerated into a massacre. Pursued by their excited and victorious enemy, they were mown down like sheep, without the slightest attempt at resistance; nor was safety to be found even within the limits of their own camp, whence they were driven in headlong confusion, the great banner of the pasha, which was planted in front of his pavilion, falling into the hands of the garrison.

The demoralisation of the besieging army was now complete. After a succession of repulses, in each of which the slaughter of his troops had been fearful, Paleologus had concentrated all his power for one last crowning effort. His plans had succeeded even beyond his most sanguine expectation; the garrison had been taken by surprise at the critical moment; the rampart had been attained and occupied without a struggle; and the banner of the Prophet had waved in triumph on its summit: yet even with all these advantages, the golden opportunity had been lost; his shattered battalions had recoiled from the fiery phalanx to which they were exposed; and a mere handful of Christians had sufficed to

overcome the very flower of his army. In spite of the countless hosts with which his assault had been supported, the effort had proved a complete failure; the ditch had been choked with their mangled corpses, and the panic-stricken survivors had ignominiously abandoned the field. It was felt on both sides that such a victory as this must be decisive, and that the siege of Rhodes was virtually at an end.

It is curious to observe the different reasons assigned by the historians of both sides, for the unlooked for result of this extraordinary combat. The Turkish writer, Khodgia Afendy, who has given a very detailed and vivid account of the siege, coloured, however, by a natural partiality for his own nation, asserts that the sole cause of their failure was the avarice of Paleologus Pasha. He states, that after having excited the cupidity of his troops by the promise of an abandonment of the entire town to their indiscriminate pillage, he at the last moment, after they had established themselves on the Jews' rampart, recalled that promise, and publicly proclaimed that all the wealth of the city was to be reserved for the use of the sultan. From this moment, says Khodgia, the energy of the assailants declined visibly; feeling themselves cheated of their promised prey, and having their anticipated wealth torn from their grasp, at the very moment when its acquisition had appeared the most secure, they were no longer in a frame of mind to withstand firmly the impetuous onset made by D'Aubusson and his Knights. To this cause he attributes their panic and the consequent failure of the enterprise. The Christian historians, on their side, are equally at a loss to account for their success by any of the ordinary accidents of warfare; they therefore, as was common in

those times, and in their religion, sought for the agency of a miraculous interposition to account for the happy issue of the struggle. They record, that at the most critical moment, when the Grand-Master was surrounded and well nigh overcome by his assailants, there appeared in the heavens a refulgent cross of gold, by the side of which stood a beautiful woman clothed in garments of dazzling white, a lance in her hand, and a buckler on her arm, accompanied by a man dressed in goat-skins, and followed by a band of heavenly warriors, armed with flaming swords. Such a vision as this may well have terrified the barbarous hosts by whom it was witnessed, and, as in matters religious a ready credence was easily gained from the pious but ignorant multitudes of those times, it soon became established as an acknowledged fact, that the safety of Rhodes was due to the personal and visible interposition of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the patron saint of the Order, St. John the Baptist, supported for the occasion by a chosen band of the celestial host.

To modern readers, neither of these causes will be deemed satisfactory. The tale of the Turkish Khodgia, in itself improbable, does not tally with the actual fluctuations of the day, whilst that of the Christians merely excites a smile at the credulity of our forefathers. To D'Aubusson, and to him alone, must be attributed the success, not only of that day, but also of the whole defence from the hour when the atabal of the Infidel first sounded on the shores of Rhodes. His was the master spirit that had guided every effort; his was the eagle eye that had ever comprehended at a glance the exigencies of the situation in the most critical moments; his was the fertile brain from whence were developed



those numerous schemes and devices by which the assaults of the foe were rendered futile, and their insidious treacheries overthrown. He had throughout been the life and soul of the garrison. At one moment directing the erection of a new defence; at another wielding his sword in the thickest of the fight, like the meanest soldier in his garrison; now providing for the security of the feeble and defenceless inhabitants whose safety was committed to his charge; and anon terrifying and overawing the wavering and disaffected by the stern reproof or angry glance: to each and every one of that gallant band he was the father and support, and well was it for them that it was not until he had struck the death-blow to the army which was besieging them, that he himself succumbed beneath the weapon of the Infidel.

Rhodes was now saved; the troops of the pasha were embarking in tumultuous haste, and with crestfallen spirit, on board their galleys; the liberated townspeople were celebrating with enthusiastic joy the triumph of the defence; and Peter d'Aubusson, meanwhile, the author of all this rejoicing, the rescuer of his city, and the hero of his age, lay in his magisterial palace, unconscious of his own glory and his well-earned triumph, prostrated by five different wounds, one of which had by his physicians been pronounced mortal.

## CHAP. XII.

RESTORATION OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF RHODES AND RECOVERY OF THE GRAND-MASTER. — PREPARATIONS BY MAHOMET FOR A NEW SIEGE. — HIS DEATH AND THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION TO HIS EMPIRE. — DEFEAT OF ZIZIM AND HIS FLIGHT TO RHODES. — DEPARTURE FOR FRANCE. — HIS RESIDENCE THERE. — HIS REMOVAL TO ROME AND DEATH. — LAST DAYS OF PETER D'AUBUSSON. — HIS DEATH AND INTERMENT. — HISTORY OF THE HAND OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

THE embarkation of the pasha and his discomfited army was witnessed by the harassed and worn out garrison of Rhodes with feelings of the most lively satisfaction. The inhabitants, after having been cooped up within the limits of the town during the space of two months, were naturally overjoyed at finding themselves again at liberty, and free to seek once more those homes from which they had been driven by the approach of the enemy. This satisfaction was somewhat damped by the aspect which the country surrounding the city presented to their eager view. The devastation of the Ottoman army, which, prior to abandoning its enterprise, had ruthlessly completed the destruction of all which had previously been spared, had created a scene of desolation in the once happy homes of the Rhodian peasantry most distressing for them to contemplate. The danger, however, from which they had just escaped, had been so imminent, that their joy at the happy termination of

the struggle soon overpowered all feelings of grief at the loss of their homes.

Vast numbers of dead had been left strewn upon the plain by the retreating Moslems; and the first step necessary for the health of the island was to remove these ghastly relics of the late warfare. The corpses were therefore gathered together in huge piles and burnt: the labour of burying them, owing to their numbers, being too heavy for the inhabitants to undertake. Dupuis records that on this occasion the women of Rhodes indulged in a little pardonable jocosity; and that, in witnessing the process of broiling to which the unfortunate Mussulman corpses were being subjected, they observed that the Turks had become so fat from the figs and other garden produce which they had ravaged during their stay. The general joy was much increased as soon as it became known that the Grand-Master, whose wounds had originally been pronounced mortal, was likely to recover; and when, after the lapse of a few weeks, he had so far advanced towards convalescence as to be present in person at the laying of the first stone of a church to celebrate his victory, their satisfaction was complete. This church was built at that spot in the Jews' rampart where the last assault had been made and repulsed, and was dedicated to St. Mary of Victory.

The news of the successful defence of Rhodes spread throughout Europe like wildfire. With the exception of Ferdinand, king of Naples, who despatched two galleys freighted with succours for the beleaguered city, which galleys arrived almost immediately after the repulse of the Turks, no helping hand had been outstretched to rescue the island. Now, however, when

D'Aubusson had by the prowess of his own arm, and that of his gallant and unaided fraternity, hurled the discomfited Ottoman with disgrace from his shores, a shout of exultation rang throughout Europe. When the imminence of the danger was past, people began to appreciate its extent; had the Ottoman emperor succeeded in planting his standard in triumph on the ramparts of Rhodes, the road to Italy would have been left completely open to his advance; and his threat that the green banner of the Prophet should wave over the capitol at Rome, might, in all probability have been carried into effect. The energetic and successful resistance of D'Aubusson in his island stronghold had thwarted that prospect; and Rome, rescued from her peril, was proportionably loud in her expressions of gratitude towards her deliverer, to whom she gave the high-sounding title of "Buckler of Christianity."

His first care, upon attaining to convalescence, was to commence the restoration of the fortifications, which a constant battering for a period of eighty-nine days had rendered completely ruinous. He also distributed rewards of all kinds to the Knights who had so bravely supported him in the struggle; whilst, in one instance, where the prior of Ireland, James Hetting by name, had not only refused to join the ranks of his fraternity at Rhodes, in the hour of peril, but had even neglected to forward the amount of responsions for which his priory was liable, that dignitary was deprived of his office; and Marmaduke Lumley, an English Knight who had been desperately wounded at the siege, but had afterwards recovered, was nominated in his place. To the inhabitants generally, in consideration of the great losses they had sustained from the ravages of the Infidel,

he gave free access to the public granaries, and likewise exempted them from all taxation for several years.

Until this period, the people of Rhodes had been considered by the Order as an inferior race, who held towards them a position very similar to that of a serf towards his lord. Now, however, that they had shown themselves not only faithful to their governors, but also brave and devoted, during the most trying moments of the siege, a general feeling sprang up that they should be admitted to terms of somewhat greater equality. The first Rhodian nominated to a post of any importance in the government of the island was William Caoursin, who, though not a professed Knight, was appointed Vice-Chancellor, and ambassador of the Order at the papal court. This dignitary has left to the world two documents, which, although filled with the most pompous and pedantic Latinity, forms nevertheless an important and valuable addition to the history of his time. One is an account of the siege of Rhodes, collected from official sources; although, as he himself says, "during the siege the public acts were not written, but after the victory was gained its history was compiled by William Caoursin, Vice-Chancellor of the Order, which account has been divulged by the press all over the world, previous to which nothing had been recorded." The other document is a history of the proceedings of the Order during the years immediately subsequent, including the romantic episode of the unfortunate prince Zizim, of whom there will be occasion to speak shortly.

The Grand-Master himself also wrote an account of the siege, which he forwarded for the information of the emperor of Germany, and which in its perspicuity, conciseness, and modesty, will bear a favourable com-

parison with almost any despatch of later days.\* It is much to be regretted that no record has been kept of the strength of the garrison during the siege, or of the number and names of those who were killed. The archives of the Order only give the names of those who held official situations in the fraternity; a very small number as compared to the general total of those present. The list framed from these data consists of ninety-two French commanders, comprising Knights of all three languages; thirty-five Spanish and Portuguese; thirty-five Italians; eight Germans, and five English; together with eighteen chaplains and servants at arms of the various languages. This list is necessarily most incomplete and meagre; only professing to include the names of such as were dignitaries of the Order, and even so but imperfectly; subsequent researches have extended the English list to fourteen, and even that is presumed to fall very far short of the reality.†

\* Vide Appendix No. 13.

† The fourteen English heroes whose names have been rescued from oblivion are as follows:—

Fr. John Vaquelin, commander of Carbouch, killed.

Fr. Marmaduke Lumley, dangerously wounded; subsequently prior of Ireland, vice James Hetting, displaced.

Fr. Thomas Bem, bailiff of the Eagle, killed.

Fr. Henry Haler, commander of Badsfort, killed.

Fr. Thomas Ploniton, killed.

Fr. Adam Tedbond, killed.

Fr. Henry Batasbi, killed.

Fr. Henry Anulai, or D'Avalos, killed.

Fr. John Kendall, turcopolier.

Fr. Thomas Docray, afterwards grand-prior of England.

Fr. Leonard de Tybertis.

Fr. Walter Viselberg.

Fr. John Rucht.

Fr. John Boswell or Besoel.

The losses of the Turks have been very variously stated; the most probable estimate being about nine thousand killed and thirty thousand wounded. The great bulk of this fearful list of casualties must have occurred during their last repulse, when, in their flight from the fatal breach towards their camp, they suffered themselves to be mown down by thousands in their panic, without offering the slightest resistance. Paleologus Pasha, after his humiliating discomfiture, could expect but a very unwelcome reception from his disappointed master. Indeed, in the first transports of his rage, Mahomet ordered him, together with several others of the principal leaders of the army, to be bowstrung; but this stern decree was afterwards mitigated into banishment to Gallipoli, where he remained in disgrace until the death of the emperor.

Mahomet consoled himself for the unfortunate issue of the enterprise, under the idea that his own actual presence was necessary for the success of his arms, and he commenced immediate preparations for the assembly of a second and considerably augmented force, with which he proposed to renew his attack on the island in person. The news of this intention on his part, and of the mighty preparations which he had set on foot, filled the minds of the fraternity at Rhodes with well founded alarm. The ramparts, behind which they had made so stubborn a resistance, were in a state of ruin; their treasury was exhausted by the fearful expenditure rendered necessary in order to enable them to maintain that resistance; and their ranks were thinned to a lamentable extent by the casualties incident to so prolonged a struggle. They felt, therefore, that in the position in which they then were, a new siege, if pressed

upon them before they had had time to restore themselves to somewhat of their pristine strength, must end fatally to their cause.

At this critical juncture, as though to add to the calamities of their situation, the island was visited by a succession of the most terrific earthquakes, accompanied by a violent inundation of the sea. The result of this convulsion of nature was the overthrow of many of the principal buildings in the town, and of large portions of the ramparts, which had been already shaken and rendered insecure from the battering they had sustained during the siege. A considerable portion of the tower of St. Nicholas gave way at the same time ; so that the city appeared more hopelessly indefensible than ever. Many of the inhabitants, calling to mind the popular tradition, that the island had originally sprung from the sea, during one of those volcanic convulsions for which the Levant has always been noted, commenced to dread that the earthquakes then prevalent were the forerunners of its equally sudden disappearance. Such a complication of disasters might surely have dismayed the stoutest heart ; and it required the utmost fortitude, which even the heroic D'Aubusson could summon to his aid, to bear him through the dreadful crisis.

Desperate as was his situation, and hopeless the prospect of resisting the gigantic force which Mahomet, with rage in his heart, embittered by his previous disappointment, was at that very moment assembling for his destruction, he nevertheless continued to press forward such repairs and restorations as his limited means, and the brief interval left at his disposal, would permit. Had Mahomet lived to carry his project into execution, and had his mighty array once more stood before the



ramparts of that town, where so many of his nation had already found a grave, he would have been met as boldly and resisted as firmly as his lieutenant had been in the previous year. That such resistance could have been successful was, under the circumstances, hopeless ; but Mahomet would have entered a city of ruins only over the lifeless corpse of the last of its defenders. Providentially however for the Order, in that hour of trial this sad fate was averted from it. In his march across Asia Minor, at the head of his forces, Mahomet was taken suddenly ill of a colic, and died in the village of Nicomedia, on the 3rd of May 1481. Great as had been his destiny, and numerous his conquests, the haughty chieftain scorned to enumerate their catalogue upon his tomb ; but looking rather to the grand conceptions which had been teeming within his ambitious brain than to the acquisitions he had actually made, he directed the following simple epitaph to be placed over his grave : " My intention was to have captured Rhodes and to have subjugated Italy."

The death of Mahomet, scourge as he had always proved himself to his neighbours of every denomination, was hailed with joy throughout Europe ; and nowhere more so, or with greater reason, than in the Island of Rhodes. A sense of relief pervaded every bosom ; and now that their implacable and potent enemy was no more, they felt that the extremity of their danger was indeed past, and from that moment continued the labour of restoration with an energy much stimulated by the feelings of hope which this event had once again excited. Public thanksgivings were offered up in the Conventual Church for the death of the most redoubtable foe against whom the Order of

St. John had ever been called to combat; and it was then recorded, with feelings of very natural exultation, that, spite of all his power and all his efforts, this conqueror of so many provinces had never, during the whole course of his reign, been enabled to wrest a single island, or even a single castle, from the domination of the Hospital.

Mahomet's sudden decease brought with it that result so common to newly organised empires, a disputed succession. He had originally been the father of three sons, Mustapha, Bajazet, and Djem, Zaim, or Zizim, for by all three of these names has his youngest son been called. His eldest son, Mustapha, had been strangled by his order during his lifetime, for having violated the wife of his favourite minister, Achmet Pasha; thus leaving his two younger sons, Bajazet and Zizim, to dispute his empire between them. Bajazet was the elder of the two, born prior to his father's elevation to the imperial dignity. He was a man of quiet and sedate habits, mild in character, and gentle in disposition. For him the excitement of the camp and the tumult of war had no charms. Although possessed of sufficient ambition to make him desirous of ascending that throne which he considered his birthright, his was not the mind to have contemplated any extension of his empire, such as that which had been his father's day-dream. Zizim, on the contrary, young, ardent, and ambitious, bred in a camp, and delighting in war, sought to usurp his father's sceptre more that he might make it the instrument wherewith to achieve future conquests than for the quiet enjoyment of its actual dignities. Although a zealous Mahometan, he was by no means bigoted in his faith, and having during his youth been thrown in contact with the Order of St. John, whilst arranging a

truce on behalf of his father, he had conceived a warm admiration for its members, and more especially for its Grand-Master, D'Aubusson. Having been born subsequent to his father's assumption of imperial dignity, he considered himself his legitimate heir, as being porphyrogenitus, or born in the purple; and was consequently prepared to dispute the succession with his brother. The career of this unfortunate prince is so interwoven with the later years of D'Aubusson's government, that it will be necessary to enter into some detail concerning him; the more so, since his miserable fate has cast a slur most undeservedly upon the rule otherwise so brilliant of that Grand-Master.

The rivalry which arose between the brothers for the vacant throne caused a division amongst the magnates of the empire at Constantinople, where the relative claims of the two princes were warmly contested. Neither of the candidates were at that time in the city; but the faction in favour of Bajazet succeeded in overruling the pretensions of Zizim's partisans, and they crowned one of the sons of the former, a child of thirteen years of age, named Coracut, as a locum-tenens for his absent father. Bajazet, who immediately upon hearing of the death of Mahomet had hurried to the scene of action, speedily arrived at Constantinople, where he assumed in person the imperial dignity, and his claim was peaceably recognised by the inhabitants of the city.

The news of this event reached Zizim whilst he was hurrying from the seat of his government in Asia Minor towards Constantinople. Hastily collecting such troops as were favourable to his cause, he pushed forward towards the town of Broussa, trusting by force of arms to

overthrow the government of his brother. Unfortunately for him, the chief supporter of his brother's claims was the renowned chieftain, Achmet Pasha, a man whose successful career and brilliant warlike achievements had rendered him the idol of his army. It was this chief who had, during the reign of Mahomet, captured the city of Otranto, in which he had placed a garrison sufficiently strong to enable them to maintain the place against all opponents. The Neapolitans, however, terrified at this advanced post of Islamism, so near to Rome, were engaged in its siege when the news arrived of the death of Mahomet. At this moment, Achmet was in the act of advancing in support of the town, with an army of 25,000 men ; but the garrison, dismayed at the death of their sultan, and ignorant of the approaching succour, surrendered to the Duke of Calabria without further resistance. Achmet was consequently compelled to retrace his steps with the army he had raised, and to return to Constantinople. He arrived at that city at the moment when the cabals of the rival factions were at their height ; and the weight of his influence, backed as it was by 25,000 men, when thrown into the scale on the side of Bajazet, at once determined the result in his favour.

The new sultan no sooner heard that his brother had raised the standard of revolt in the vicinity of Broussa, than he despatched Achmet with a powerful army to oppose him. Their first conflict terminated in favour of Zizim, and at its close he entered the town, and caused himself to be proclaimed as the Ottoman sultan. Upon this Bajazet, arousing himself to meet the exigencies of the case, advanced in person at the head of his army against his brother ; and his forces proving vastly

superior both in point of numbers and discipline, he succeeded in completing the overthrow of Zizim's army, the young prince himself being compelled to seek safety in flight. Accompanied by a very slender escort, he extricated himself from the field of battle, and made his escape into Egypt, where he was received with every demonstration of respect and hospitality. Encouraged by these friendly sentiments, he used every exertion to induce the Sultan Kaitbai to embrace his cause. In this, however, he was unsuccessful; the sultan being unwilling to assist him in any other capacity than as a mediator with his brother.

Whilst fruitless negotiations were being carried on on this subject, Zizim received an offer from Kasim Beg, chief of Caramania, who had been despoiled of a large portion of his territories during the reign of Mahomet, to make common cause with him, and to use his best endeavours to place him on the Ottoman throne, provided that Zizim would, on his side, pledge himself to restore the captured provinces. Eager to embrace the opportunity thus presented to him, Zizim instantly joined Kasim Beg, and once more strove to make head against his brother. Achmet, however, advanced a second time against the prince, whose raw levies melted away at the approach of the Ottoman army. Zizim himself took refuge among the mountain passes of the district, and, feeling his cause hopeless in his own country, despatched an embassy to Rhodes, begging permission to place himself under the protection of the Order of St. John, and demanding a safe conduct from the Grand-Master. The propriety of acceding to this request was warmly debated in council at Rhodes: eventually, however, the permission was granted, and a safe conduct was despatched to

the unfortunate prince, by the hands of the prior of Castile, Don Alvares de Zuniga. This ambassador encountered Zizim at Corycus, on the borders of Cilicia, and after having, in the name of his Order, tendered the required guarantee, he returned with the prince to Rhodes.\*

Every preparation had there been made to receive the illustrious fugitive with due respect and honour. A bridge, eighteen feet in length, covered with rich tapestry, was thrown out into the harbour to enable him to land on horseback from his vessel. Upon the mole he found a body of Knights ready to act as his escort in his progress through the town; the streets through which he passed were decorated with banners; flowers and evergreens being strewed in complimentary profusion in his path. Ladies in their gayest attire appeared in the balconies and windows overlooking his route; whose beauty drew from the gallant Eastern the compliment, that "it was with great justice that the Rhodians were considered the loveliest women in Asia." At St. Stephen's Square he was met by the Grand-Master, who received him with those marks of respect due to the son and brother of a powerful emperor.

It was, indeed, a great triumph for the Order of St. John, that they should within so short a time after their utter destruction had been decreed by the powerful Ottoman sultan, be thus receiving the son of that very

\* The popular story, recounted by all the historians of the Order of St. John, of the letter which Zizim wrote to his brother, and which, attached to an arrow, he shot into the midst of the sipahis who had been despatched in his pursuit by Bajazet, and in which letter he reproached his brother in terms so touching as to draw tears from that prince, is quite apocryphal; nor is mention made of such a letter by any of the oriental writers of the period.

potentate, as a helpless wanderer, and a pensioner upon their bounty. However strong the natural feelings of pride and exultation, which must have been stirred in every bosom on that eventful day ; the knights of Rhodes were far too chivalric to allow a trace of such sentiments to appear in their behaviour towards the young prince. Zizim found himself treated by these gallant and noble spirits with the same deferential hospitality as they would have displayed, had he been a powerful monarch on his throne, instead of the destitute fugitive which in reality he was. Every effort was made to render his stay agreeable to him. Tourneys, hunting parties, spectacles, and feasts followed in rapid succession : nothing was omitted which could serve to distract his mind from the gloomy thoughts incident on his position.

It was in vain, however, that they strove to divert his mind from the danger with which he felt he was surrounded, even in the hospitable city of Rhodes. From the Knights themselves he felt he had nothing to fear ; indeed, on the first day of his arrival in the island, when the custom, usual in European courts, was practised of tasting the dishes prior to setting them before him, he, as an Eastern, being unacquainted with the usage, appeared much astonished and even scandalised at the suspicion thus implied ; and to mark his fearlessness of treachery, he insisted upon eating of such dishes only as had not been tasted. Unfortunately, however, he felt, that in spite of all the precautions which the chivalrous hospitality of D'Aubusson had prompted him to take, he was, so long as he remained at Rhodes, in the midst of a population, many of whom would not scruple at any act of treachery against his person. That Bajazet would be only too ready to make

use of any such tool as might present itself for the purpose was, as he was well aware, too much in accordance with the ordinary practice of politics in the East to be for one moment doubtful ; and that, playing as he did for so magnificent and important a stake, he would be prompted to the offer of a munificent reward to any one who would remove his enemy from his path, was also equally sure. He felt, therefore, that amongst the Greeks who were present in great numbers within the city, some plot would, ere long, be concocted, by which his liberty, and in all probability his life, would be placed in peril. Filled with the dread of such a result, Zizim suggested to the Grand-Master that he considered it advisable to quit his hospitable shores, and he requested permission to retire to France, stating at the same time the reasons which had led him to prefer the request.

D'Aubusson could not but see the justice of Zizim's fears; in fact, he had himself been tormented with a constant dread that some calamity would befall the prince whilst under his protection ; still the proposed change of residence was a matter of so great moment, that he did not feel justified in giving his permission without a reference to the General Council. Here a very warm debate ensued on the question. Those who had regarded the presence of Zizim amongst them merely in the light of a political weapon which was to be turned to the best advantage against the Turks, strongly urged his retention in the island. So long, they argued, as they retained within their power the person of one who would prove so constant a source of dread and uneasiness to Bajazet, they might feel sure that he would never dare to undertake any operation to



their prejudice; and that, in their hands, the young prince would prove a most formidable engine, to be used as occasion might favour, against the Ottoman empire. Those, however, who were more disinterested, and who felt that the interests of their Order could never be permanently benefited by a breach of faith, were equally urgent that he should be permitted to follow his own inclinations. The danger which he hourly ran from the secret attempts of the assassin, whilst residing in Rhodes, was so imminent, and at the same time so impossible to guard against, that it was of the highest importance that he should be removed as speedily as possible beyond the reach of so baneful a contingency. The arguments adduced by this latter party were warmly supported by D'Aubusson, and ultimately prevailed in the council, sanction being given to Zizim to retire at once to France; and a suitable escort being nominated, under the command of two Knights of high dignity, to act as a guard to himself and retinue in this new home of his adoption.

At this juncture, ambassadors from Constantinople, despatched by Achmet Pasha on behalf of Bajazet, arrived at Rhodes with pacific overtures, and with a request that plenipotentiaries from the Order might be sent to Constantinople to arrange the terms of a durable peace. There can be no doubt that the presence of Zizim at Rhodes had much disquieted his brother, who felt that, unless he could secure a treaty of peace with the fraternity, he would be in constant dread of the rival claim which, supported by the force of their arms, Zizim might be tempted at any moment to renew. This embassy, so unusual to Mussulman pride, proved to Zizim that his brother would leave no means untried

to secure himself against aggression; he became, therefore, doubly anxious to quit a spot in which he was surrounded by so many dangers.

On the 1st of September 1482, he embarked with his retinue and escort on board one of the largest galleys in the fleet of the Order, and set sail for France. Prior to his departure, he left in the hands of the Grand-Master three most important documents, the contents of which are an ample confutation to the base calumny which D'Aubusson's detractors have so industriously spread, that Zizim was forwarded to France as a prisoner in furtherance of the political views of the Grand-Master and his fraternity. The first was a *carte blanche* to the Order to treat in Zizim's behalf with his brother Bajazet, and to secure for him such appanage as they could extort from the Ottoman treasury. During the period of Zizim's residence in Rhodes, the expenses of his entertainment had fallen entirely upon the Order; nor, unless he could succeed in wringing an allowance suited to his dignity from his brother, would he have any means of support during his residence in France, other than a complete dependence on the charity of the Hospitallers. He therefore empowered D'Aubusson to treat on his behalf with Bajazet on this subject. The second document was a declaration on his part, that his departure from Rhodes and retirement to France were steps taken by his own express desire. The third was a treaty of alliance into which he entered with the Order, and by which he bound himself to abide, in case he should ever succeed in dislodging his brother and mounting the Ottoman throne.\*

\* Vide Appendix No. 14.

The scene between Zizim and D'Aubusson, at the moment of the departure of the former from the island, was touching in the extreme. Forgetting for the instant the proud reserve with which, following the dictates of his Asiatic nature, he had always hitherto veiled his feelings, he, in this hour of separation from the friends who had rescued him from a cruel death, and who had treated him with such considerate and magnificent hospitality, felt it impossible to restrain further the natural promptings of his heart, and falling at D'Aubusson's feet in a paroxysm of grief, he bathed them in his tears. The proud warrior of the cross, who had so often exchanged the lightning flash of defiance with his infidel foe, was not proof against this ebullition of tenderness and sorrow on the part of one who, although the son of his bitterest enemy, had always regarded him and his fraternity with sentiments of affection and esteem.

Whether his keen and politic eye could trace in the dim and misty future some foreshadowing of that miserable fate to which this fugitive prince was doomed, or whether his emotion arose merely from a feeling of sympathy with the distresses of his young guest, certain it is, that, as an eye-witness has recorded, D'Aubusson, the calm, fearless, intrepid D'Aubusson, wept upon the neck of Zizim tears of fraternal affection. Was this the parting between a prisoner and his jailor? Was this a scene likely to have been enacted had Zizim been leaving Rhodes upon a compulsory journey to France, and had D'Aubusson been the perjured wretch who was driving him to that step, and who was to make for himself a political capital out of the measure? The whole scene has been depicted with such minuteness and detail by

Caoursin, as to leave no rational doubt in the mind of the unprejudiced reader of the terms upon which the Ottoman prince and the Grand-Master of Rhodes bade their last adieu.

The departure of Zizim in no way affected the treaty of peace which was being arranged between Bajazet and the Knights of St. John. In virtue of the document which Zizim had left in his hands, D'Aubusson secured for his protégé a revenue of 35,000 gold ducats\*, in addition to which Bajazet covenanted to pay the Order an annual sum of 10,000 ducats, in compensation for the extraordinary expenses to which they had been put during the war with his father. Upon these terms, so highly favourable to the Knights of Rhodes, peace was concluded; and the powerful Ottoman empire beheld itself, in some measure, a tributary to the comparatively insignificant state, whose island bulwarks were bristling on its frontier. It has been alleged as a reproach against D'Aubusson, that he received this large annual payment as a bribe for the safe custody of Zizim; but this statement is at variance with the facts. The entire amount was annually remitted to Zizim, and by him expended, partly in the maintenance of his household, and partly in support of the ambassadors, whom he was continually despatching to the various courts of Christendom. Indeed, that the amount allowed by Bajazet was not sufficient for his maintenance is clear from the fact, that in the chapter-general held at Rhodes on the 10th of September 1489, after a minute examination of the accounts, it was decreed that D'Aubusson should be repaid out of the public treasury the sum of 50,749 golden crowns, which

\* About fifteen thousand a-year, English money.

amount he was demonstrated to have advanced to Zizim out of his private resources, over and above the annual income allowed him by his brother.

The young prince's first intention, upon landing in France, was to proceed at once to the court of the French king, and endeavour to enlist the active sympathies of that monarch in his behalf. The ambassadors, however, whom he despatched in advance, were received with the utmost coldness by Charles VIII., who, being on the eve of an expedition against Naples, felt very indisposed to embroil himself at that moment with the Ottoman sultan; he therefore declined a personal interview with Zizim, and contented himself with some vague offers of assistance, in case that prince should choose to abandon his faith. Zizim returned disheartened to the commandery of Bourgneuf, situated on the confines of Poitou and La Marche, which was the official residence of the grand-prior of Auvergne. Here, surrounded by his own personal retinue, and carefully guarded by the Knights, who had been appointed to act as his escort, he spent his days in such rural amusements as the locality afforded.

He was, however, a personage of too great importance to the political interests of Europe to be permitted to remain, even in this state of seclusion, undisturbed. All the princes of Christendom were seeking to become possessed of the person of one whose name would prove such a powerful auxiliary in an expedition against the Turks; and ere long plots were set on foot, in various quarters, to withdraw him from the protection of the Knights of St. John. At the same time, designs of a yet baser nature, prompted by the treachery of the uneasy Bajazet, were skilfully concocted, to deprive the

young prince of his life. Vigilant, indeed, was the guard which the Knights of Rhodes were compelled to maintain for the protection of their charge from the attempts of both friend and foe ; and this vigilance has been distorted into a support of the accusation that the Turkish prince was, during all this time, a close prisoner in their hands. That Zizim was carefully guarded is an incontrovertible fact ; but that he was so guarded contrary to his own desire is at variance with all trustworthy contemporary evidence ; since, in a letter which he wrote to the Grand-Master from Rome, on the 27th of October 1494, after he had ceased to be any longer under the control of the Order, and when he could have had no object in disguising his sentiments towards them, he thus expresses himself with reference to the guard which the Order had provided for him during his residence in France:—"Most kindly and faithfully have I been served by the said Knights, without being able to testify my gratitude in the slightest degree, by remunerating them in the manner which I should most ardently have desired. With the warmest and most affectionate cordiality, I beg of your most reverend lordship kindly to look upon them all, as persons peculiarly commended to you by your love for me. I will think every favour and benefit which you confer upon them, as though conferred, through your condescension, on myself personally." During Zizim's residence at Rhodes the Grand-Master wrote a letter to the Pope, in which he defines very clearly the conditions under which the Order had consented to grant their protection to the prince. The safe conduct guaranteed for by him was "*Tutus aditus exitusque*," a safe entry into Rhodes and departure therefrom. And this guarantee had been faithfully observed.

He then proceeds to state, with a magnanimity worthy of his character, "We have brilliant expectations, and are determined to do all that lies in our power: if we succeed, well and good; but if not, we must consult the interests of our island, taking care, however, to preserve our public faith, since this must be kept inviolably, even towards our deadliest enemy, whatever may be his unbelief." This was the line of conduct pursued by D'Aubusson throughout the trying period of Zizim's presence in Europe. He had been promised a safe entry and an equally safe exit from the island of Rhodes; and this pledge had been fully redeemed. He left Rhodes voluntarily, and at his own earnest request; and from that moment the risk incurred by the measure fell upon his own head. The Knights, however, scorning to keep within the bare letter of their word, continued their protection to the hapless prince for many years, without which protection, it is not venturing too much to assert, he would speedily have fallen beneath either the open or the insidious attacks of his enemies. That this duty was performed in a manner honourable to themselves and beneficial to the prince, is clearly proved by the letter already quoted, written on his abandonment of the Order's protection, and the transfer of his person to the papal court.

This event took place in the year 1488. The Pope had, for some considerable time, been very urgent that Zizim should be transferred into his own hands, inasmuch as he was then organising an expedition against the Turkish sultan, in which he was desirous of the support which the presence of the prince would afford him; and although D'Aubusson knew that it would have been safer for Zizim to have remained a guest with the

fraternity, still he felt it was impossible for him to resist the urgent and oft-repeated injunctions of his ecclesiastical superior. The transfer was effected with great splendour in the month of March 1488, the king of France being a consenting party. It has been adduced, as a proof of dishonourable dealing on the part of the Order, that the possession of the person of Zizim was purchased by the Pope from them at the expense of numerous concessions which they extorted at the critical moment. These concessions were undoubtedly made, and it is more than probable that they were the result of Innocent's gratitude to the fraternity, for their compliance with his wishes, tardy and reluctant though that compliance had been. Still there is nothing to show that they were made a condition of the transfer, rather than its result; and a glance at the benefits conferred will show that they were such as the Order had a right to claim as an act of justice rather than a favour; being merely the abandonment on the part of the pontiff of claims which had been unjustly usurped by his predecessors. By this deed he pledged himself never to interfere in the nomination to commanderies, even when vacated within his own dominions; a privilege which former pontiffs had exercised with the most pernicious frequency, and in direct detriment to the rights of seniority. He also, at the same time, merged the two effete Orders of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus into that of St. John; though how far this union could be considered a boon to the Hospitallers, it is difficult to perceive, inasmuch as, both in regard to renown and wealth, the Knights of St. John were immeasurably superior to those of the two Orders who were now combined under their banner.



It has also been very generally stated, that a cardinal's hat was conferred on D'Aubusson, as a personal mark of favour from the Pope, on this occasion. The real truth is, that D'Aubusson was invested with the dignity of cardinal in 1485, three years before the transfer of Zizim to the court of Rome. That dignity was in itself an honour of a very questionable kind. Independent of the obvious fact that the title was one more becoming an ecclesiastic than a soldier, it is very evident that the rank which D'Aubusson enjoyed, as Grand-Master of the most Holy Order of St. John of Rhodes, was in itself higher than that which would be conferred by a cardinalship; and it would have been well for the dignity of D'Aubusson's memory, could his historian have recorded that he had declined the paltry bauble. The real reason for his investment with this anomalous rank was, that the Pope had need of his acknowledged talents as a politician and a diplomatist in his traffic with the nations of the East. The title of cardinal was coupled with that of papal legate in the East; a post which insured to the service of Innocent one of the most talented and efficient agents then in existence for the delicate task of intercourse with the Turkish court.

Before the Pope had had time to mature any of those projects for the reconquest of the East, which were teeming within his ambitious brain, he died, and his place was filled by the infamous Borgia, who assumed the triple crown under the title of Alexander VI. During his sway, the position of the unfortunate Zizim became very much changed from what it had been during the life-time of Innocent. The Knights, who had hitherto been permitted to reside with him at the

papal court, were severally dismissed, and he himself confined as a close prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The last vestige of power over the fate of the miserable prince was now wrested from the Order; nor can they be in any way held responsible for the foul crime by which his end was compassed. Alexander, feeling himself secure in the possession of his prize, communicated instantly with Bajazet; and did not blush to traffic with that prince for the blood of his brother. An offer was made by the latter, either to continue to him the annual payment hitherto granted to Zizim, upon condition of his detaining that prince in close confinement, or, in order to end at once the dangers which his life perpetually threatened to Bajazet's crown, he covenanted to pay the sum of 300,000 crowns to the Pope, in the event of his making away with his prisoner.

Alexander's notoriety as a poisoner had already flown over all Europe; and Bajazet did not hesitate to propose in plain terms to the head of the Christian Church, the cold-blooded murder of a defenceless refugee. The Pope would willingly have retained Zizim in life, preferring the annual payment to the sum offered for his murder, but the option did not long remain to him. The measures which Alexander had adopted with regard to Zizim had caused the most lively indignation, not only to the Grand-Master of Rhodes, who unfortunately felt himself powerless in the matter, but also to the young and ambitious king of France, into whose calculations it had never entered that the Pope should retain the Turkish prince a close prisoner, merely for his own individual profit. Advancing at the head of a powerful force, which he had assembled for the purpose of overrunning the kingdom of Naples, to the sovereignty

of which he laid claim, he appeared at the gates of Rome, before Alexander had been enabled to make any preparations to resist him.

The scandalous iniquities of this pontiff's career had resounded throughout Europe. The annals of his life had been stained with almost every crime, and every vice by which human nature is disgraced. Everywhere his deposition was most urgently prayed for, and the very cardinals of his court were unanimous in their desire to see him stripped of his pontifical dignity. At this moment, his doom appeared sealed ; but Alexander, though a monster of vice, was by no means inexpert as a politician ; and out of the nettle danger, with which he was surrounded, he contrived to pluck the flower safety. By means of bribes, lavishly and unscrupulously administered, he bought over most of the advisers of the young king ; and a treaty was concluded, which secured him in his pontificate even more firmly than before. By one of the terms of this treaty, he pledged himself to surrender Zizim into the hands of Charles. Vainly did he resist the insertion of this clause, but Charles was inexorable : the presence of the Turkish prince was by him considered necessary for the prosecution of his enterprise, and provided he carried that point, he cared but little for the other iniquities of which Alexander had been guilty.

The annual stipend so punctually paid by Bajazet was clearly lost to him for ever ; now, therefore, was the time to earn the 300,000 crowns offered for the murder of Zizim. The age in which Borgia lived was renowned for the perfection to which the art of poisoning had been brought, and that pontiff had earned for himself the unenviable reputation of the most skilful

and frequent practiser of that art throughout Europe. In the present case, his talents were brought to bear with his usual cunning upon the person of his unfortunate prisoner. Zizim, at the moment when he was handed over to the protection of Charles, bore within his frame the fatal venom which was slowly but surely working his destruction. So skilfully had the potion been administered, that it was not until the king had arrived with his protégé at Terracina, that the crisis developed itself. Every finger at once pointed to the true murderer; nor has any serious attempt been ever made to refute the charge.

A sad fate indeed was that, for which the unfortunate Zizim had been reserved. After a sojourn of thirteen years in strange countries, far away from his own native land, he was, at the very moment when his gloomy prospects appeared to brighten, smitten by the fell and secret hand of the treacherous poisoner, from whose grasp he had but just torn himself. In subsequent years we find his son Amurath, who had been left as an infant in Egypt, residing in Rhodes under the protection of the fraternity, and receiving from their treasury a pension of 36,000 florins a year. This young prince had abandoned the faith of his father, and become baptised into Christianity, for which reason he was held in great esteem by the Order.

The miserable fate of Zizim caused the most poignant anguish to D'Aubusson, to whom the young prince had endeared himself through many years of kindly feeling and affectionate correspondence. The disgrace which this foul murder had cast upon the Christian Church affected him deeply, and his utter inability to avenge the dastardly act added weight to his grief. Age too had been creep-

ing upon him, and rendered him less able to bear up against his sorrow than would have been the case had he been a younger man. It is from this time that we may date the commencement of that decline, which slowly and gradually brought the noble old man to his grave. Throughout the remaining years of his life, his position was one which any of the monarchs of Europe might have envied. Universally admitted to be the greatest warrior, and the first statesman of his age, he bore a part in the politics of Europe far more important than his official position could have warranted. At the time when Alexander, anxious to remove the stigma cast upon him by the murder of Zizim, had organised a league against the Turks, composed of all the leading powers of Christendom, D'Aubusson was unanimously selected as the generalissimo of the combined forces. The league, it is true, effected nothing: the numerous conflicting interests of its members, the inertness of some, and the obstinacy of others, all conspired to render barren an enterprise which might have been of the most vital importance to Europe, and which, if duly persevered in, would have saved the island of Rhodes from the sad fate which was impending over it. Still the nomination of D'Aubusson as its head marks the general estimation in which he was held; nor can its futile termination be in any way attributed to him, since prior to accepting the command he foretold, with the keen sagacity for which he was famed, its useless end.

In the year 1499, we find an ambassador sent from Henry VII., king of England, with an extremely flattering letter to the Grand-Master, accompanied by a present of horses, of a breed which were prized for their pure blood and extreme docility: they were stated

in the letter to have been reared in the island of Ireland, and to have been called Eburī. He also sent several pieces of artillery, which he intended for the defence of Rhodes, and which he requested might be given over to the charge of the English Knights, and placed upon the ramparts appropriated to their guardianship. During this period no less than five general chapters had been convoked, in the course of which many enactments highly beneficial to the discipline of the Order were passed. Reforms of the most searching kind were introduced, and Rhodes was weeded of many of those unworthy characters, who, from amongst the Greek population with which it swarmed, had brought discredit on the island.

The only drawback to the peaceful end which D'Aubusson felt was rapidly approaching, came from the conduct of the Pope, who, heedless of the pledge of his predecessor, gave to his own immediate family and friends all the leading dignities of the Order as they fell vacant. Remonstrances were utterly disregarded, and D'Aubusson felt himself unable to act in any more stringent manner. In the midst of the acrimonious correspondence engendered by the illegal actions of the pontiff, he sank into his grave, and breathed his last on the 30th of June 1503.

The loss of so great a man from amidst their ranks was keenly felt by the members of his Order, nor was it less regretted by the inhabitants of Rhodes generally, to whom he had endeared himself by the undeviating justice of his rule, and the liberal policy he had invariably maintained towards them. He had reached the age of eighty years, during the latter twenty-seven of which he had held the baton of Grand-Master, and

this lengthened career had been marked by the magnanimity, piety, and heroic deeds with which it was adorned. Beloved by his own Order, revered by all the princes of Christendom, respected and dreaded by the enemies whom he had worsted in the field, or baffled in the council chamber; munificent in his public acts, as the numerous buildings, foundations, and other charities which he established amply testify; affable and gracious in his demeanour towards those with whom he was thrown in contact; he was a man who had no enemies, save those whose misdeeds had brought down upon them the chastisement decreed by his justice, or those in whose jaundiced eyes the mere existence of such pre-eminent virtue was in itself an offence.

The day of his funeral was one of general mourning throughout Rhodes: his body lay in state in the council hall, beneath a canopy covered with cloth of gold, dressed in the robes of his office, with gloves of silk upon his hands, and shoes of golden cloth upon his feet. On his breast lay a crucifix of gold; and at his right hand, arranged upon a table, were the emblems of his cardinalship; on the left were his armour, his lance, and the sword which he had used at the defence of the Jews' rampart, still covered with the Infidel blood in which it had been bathed on that memorable day. Around the corpse stood seven Knights, dressed in the deepest mourning, one of whom bore his cardinal's hat; another his legate's cross; a third the standard of the league of which he had been the generalissimo; and the other four, banners, on which were emblazoned the arms of his family, combined with those of the Order. When the hour of interment arrived, the whole town followed their late prince to the tomb. First in the procession came

the religious corporations of Rhodes ; next, the Greek patriarch, and all his clergy ; then the Latin clergy of the Order, followed by two hundred of the principal citizens of Rhodes, dressed in black, and bearing lighted torches ; after these the Knights, bearing his banners, which they now trailed upon the ground ; next the bier, with the corpse, borne upon the shoulders of the grand-crosses, none others being allowed that privilege. Immediately after the corpse came the Knighthood of the Order, whose extended files completed the melancholy procession. As the revered body was lowered into its last resting place, the baton of his office, and the golden spurs of his Knighthood, were broken over his tomb by the officers appointed for that purpose ; and, after one last long look had been taken at all that now remained of one who had gained the love of so many hearts, and achieved so much for the welfare of his brethren, the grave was slowly and sadly closed over his venerable remains, and the touching ceremonial was brought to a close. He was gone out of their sight, and another would shortly occupy that place he had so worthily filled ; but his memory will remain through successive ages, still green and unfading, and wherever the annals of the Order of St. John are recorded there must ever be found, high amidst the chosen list of those who, even in that fraternity of chivalry and renown, had raised themselves above their honoured fellows, the name of Peter D'Aubusson.

It was during his rule that the relic, so highly prized by the Order till the latest day of its existence, was first brought to Rhodes. After D'Aubusson had succeeded in arranging the treaty, in virtue of which Zizim was to receive an annual pension from his brother,



Bajazet, anxious to testify his gratitude for the good offices of the Grand-Master, presented him with the right hand of St. John the Baptist, which had fallen into the possession of his family at the capture of Constantinople. This relic, which was inclosed in a magnificent casket of Cyprus wood, lined with crimson velvet, and adorned with numerous precious stones, was addressed to D'Aubusson in the following manner: "Bajazet, king of Asia, and Emperor of Emperors, to the very wise and illustrious Grand-Master of Rhodes, Peter d'Aubusson, most generous prince, and father of a very glorious empire."

Few, if any of the relics, which during the middle ages were scattered throughout Europe, until almost every church was possessed of one, if not more, of the so-called bones of the primitive martyrs, can have their authenticity traced with such minuteness of detail as the one thus forwarded to Rhodes. Its history runs as follows:—The body of St. John the Baptist had been buried in the town of Sebasta, after his execution by king Herod; St. Luke the Evangelist, after his conversion to Christianity, is stated to have been very desirous of removing the sainted corpse; joining, therefore, with some of the other disciples of St. John who were still living, they opened the grave under cover of night; but, dreading lest they should be unable to remove the entire body without being discovered, they severed the right hand, which, as having been the actual agent employed in baptising our Lord, they considered the most sanctified portion of the body. St. Luke carried the hand to Antioch, where he preserved it religiously during his sojourn in that city. When, however, he went into Bythinia to preach the gospel, he left the

precious relic in the charge of the church which he had established. It remained at Antioch until the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who, as a devout Catholic, was extremely desirous of obtaining for the imperial city of Constantinople so celebrated a relic as the hand of St. John. Any open attempt on his part would have been in vain, for the people of Antioch prized their treasure highly, and guarded it most carefully; but Constantine, in his religious zeal, had no scruples as to the means he employed for the attainment of his purpose. He bribed a deacon of the church of Antioch to steal the hand, and to bring it to Constantinople; where, as soon as it had arrived, it was placed in the church of St. John. It remained there until the capture of the city by Mahomet, when, owing to the value of its casket, it was placed in the imperial treasury, and it was from this repository withdrawn by Bajazet, for presentation to Peter d'Aubusson.

The correctness of the above statement must be taken upon the credit of the numerous writers who have guaranteed its authenticity, foremost amongst whom stands Caoursin, the vice-chancellor of the Order, who, upon the arrival of the sacred gift, was appointed member of a commission to investigate its claims to authenticity; and who, after having satisfied himself of the accuracy of its history, wrote a treatise upon the subject, in which every particular connected with its various transmigrations is fully recorded for the information and satisfaction of the pious.

## CHAP. XIII.

ELECTION OF ALMERIC AMBOISE. — FUTILE DESCENT OF CANALIS. — CAPTURE OF SEVEN TURKISH GALLEYS AND OF THE QUEEN OF THE SEAS. — DEFEAT OF THE TURKISH FLEET IN THE GULF OF AJACCIO. — ELECTION AND DEATH OF GUY DE BLANCHEFORT. — ACCESSION OF CARRETTO. — USURPATION OF SELIM. — CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY THE OTTOMAN SULTAN. — DEATH OF SELIM AND ACCESSION OF SOLYMAN. — SIEGE OF BELGRADE. — ELECTION OF L'ISLE ADAM. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH SOLYMAN. — PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE. — DETAIL OF THE TURKISH FORCES. — ARRIVAL OF THE HOSTILE FLEET AT RHODES.

THE death of D'Aubusson was speedily followed by that of Pope Alexander, to the inexpressible relief, not only of the Knights of St. John, but also of the whole of Christianity; the scandalous iniquities which had disgraced his pontificate having elicited the abhorrence of every right-minded person. He met his end through a just retribution of Providence, having partaken of poison which he had destined for another; and which, spite of every remedy, carried him to the grave, without a regret and amidst the execration of his suffering subjects. Nowhere was this event hailed with greater joy than at Rhodes. The Pope had, in his grasping rapacity, seized upon all the dignities and emoluments in the possession of the fraternity, as they successively became vacant; and with unblushing effrontery openly sold them to the highest bidder. Remonstrances on the part of the

Grand-Master had proved utterly unavailing, and nothing appeared left to the Order but either tamely to submit to the wanton infraction of all their rights and privileges, or else to cast off their allegiance to the pontiff, who, vile though his personal character might be, was nevertheless recognised as the head of their Church, and their own immediate ecclesiastical superior. Happily the necessity for this alternative was now obviated ; and the Knights were enabled to continue their struggles against the Infidels to whom they were opposed, under the new chief they had elected, without further hindrance from the court of Rome.

This Grand-Master was Almeric Amboise, grand-prior of France, and brother to the prime minister of that kingdom. The nine years during which his sway extended, were marked by no events of importance, beyond a series of naval combats, in which the Order were invariably victorious. Bajazet had, so soon as the death of his brother Zizim had freed him from all engagements with the Order of St. John, entered into a treaty with the sultan of Egypt, for the attack of Rhodes, and the annihilation of the naval supremacy of the fraternity in the Levant. In pursuance of this treaty, a celebrated Turkish corsair named Canalis was despatched by the Ottoman emperor with a powerful fleet, and with injunctions to commit every possible ravage amidst the islands of the religion. This expedition proved a complete failure : driven successively from Rhodes, and several of the other principal islands on which he had attempted a descent, he directed his efforts to Leros ; an insignificant post, which had been but feebly fortified and slenderly garrisoned. The gallantry and presence of mind of a youthful Piedmontese Knight, named Simeonis, saved even this

petty station from the aggression of the Turk. Dressing up all the inhabitants of the place, women as well as men, in the robes of Knights of the Order, he caused them to line the ramparts of the fort in every direction. The corsair, perceiving, as he imagined, a large body of Knights prepared for his reception, whereas he had expected to find only a few feeble veterans, lost heart, and abandoning the attack, returned homeward without a single trophy to mark the prowess of his arms.

The Knights speedily followed up this successful resistance on their part, by several other advantages which they gained over the Infidel. Upon one occasion, a fleet of seven vessels, well armed and fully equipped, having been despatched to the attack of the island of Lango, fell into their power by a stratagem. Two of these vessels had advanced beyond the others, for the purpose of reconnoitring, and had approached so near to the island of Lango as to be descried from the battlements. The commandant instantly despatched the only two galleys at that moment in the harbour, to intercept the advancing foe. These latter crept out to sea unperceived, and contrived to cut off the retreat of the Turks so effectually, that they were compelled to run their vessels on shore, and abandoning them to the Knights, seek refuge themselves within the woods of the island. These latter promptly floated their new acquisitions, and having embarked a sufficient crew from amongst the ranks of the garrison, they advanced to the encounter of the remainder of the Turkish fleet. The Infidels perceiving their own vessels returning, had no suspicion of the change which had occurred in their occupation, and advanced towards them in perfect security and confidence. What was their dismay when the first broadside from

their insidious opponents revealed the calamity which had occurred to their arms. Ere they had well recovered their surprise, the two Rhodian galleys were descried bearing down rapidly upon the scene of strife. With this reinforcement the victory was rapidly accomplished : the seven ships were carried in triumph into port, and their crews sold into slavery, including those who had originally escaped into the island.

This advantage was followed by another, in the capture of a carrack, which trafficked annually between the ports of Egypt and Africa. This vessel, which was called the "Queen of the Seas," was of so enormous a size, that it is said six men could scarcely embrace her mainmast. She had no less than seven decks, and was armed with a hundred cannon, the crew consisting of a thousand picked sailors. Gastineau, the commander of Limoges, undertook to attempt the capture of this leviathan, freighted, as she was, with the valuable merchandise of the east. Having succeeded, under pretence of a parley, in running his galley close alongside of the carrack, he suddenly opened a murderous discharge upon her crowded decks, and then with dashing promptitude completed his victory. The proceeds of this prize were enormous, and the ransoms which the sultan of Egypt paid for the release of the seamen and merchants taken upon the occasion, swelled yet further the public treasury.

A still more important advantage, three years later, attested the naval superiority of the Knights of Rhodes. The sultan of Egypt had, with the consent of the Ottoman emperor, despatched into the gulf of Ajaccio a colony of ship-builders, commissioned to construct a fleet, to be employed against the galleys of Rhodes. The Grand-

Master, at considerable cost, fitted out an expedition for the attack of this colony, which was protected by a fleet of twenty-five vessels. The conduct of the enterprise was entrusted to the Portuguese Knight, Andrew d'Amaral, whose name subsequently attained a melancholy notoriety during the second siege of Rhodes. Associated in the command with him was another Knight, named Villiers de L'Isle Adam, who was destined to achieve an undying reputation during the same struggle. The attack upon the Egyptian colony and its protecting fleet was in the event completely successful, though the issue of the day was for a long time warmly contested. The fleet was utterly destroyed; most of the vessels being sunk and the remainder captured, whilst their crews, and the ship-builders, who were taken on the mainland, were brought as slaves into the harbour of Rhodes.

This was the last event of any importance which marked the career of the Grand-Master Amboise, and on the 8th of November 1512, he died, at the age of seventy-eight years; the greater portion of which had been spent in maintaining the honour and renown of that fraternity of which he was so worthy a member.

Guy de Blanchefort, nephew of Peter d'Aubusson, and grand-prior of Auvergne, became the forty-first Grand-Master, a post for which he was highly qualified, and to which his numerous important services had justly entitled him to be raised. It was to his care that Prince Zizim had been entrusted during his lengthened residence in France, and he had subsequently been nominated to the office of Lieutenant to the Grand-Master, in which position he had rendered much important assistance, both

to D'Aubusson and his successor, Amboise. The high reputation which his talents had gained for him caused a very general feeling to become prevalent, that his Grand-Mastership would be rendered celebrated in the annals of the Institution, from the tact and ability with which he would fulfil its onerous functions. He was not, however, fated to realise these flattering aspirations, having been cut short in his career at the very commencement of his sway. Being absent in France when informed of his election, he at once set sail for Rhodes, although at the time he was in a very feeble state of health, feeling that the threatening aspect of Eastern politics rendered his presence there absolutely necessary. As the voyage progressed, his illness became more severe, and when off the coast of Sicily he appeared so evidently in a dying state, that the Knights who accompanied him urged him to land there. The heroism of Blanchefort supported him in this trying hour ; at all times ready to maintain the interests of his Order, even at the risk of his own life, he was now prepared to forego the comfort of spending his last moments upon shore ; feeling that the doing so might prove prejudicial to the fraternity of which he was the chief. His keen foresight enabled him to perceive, that were he to die within such close proximity to the court of Rome, the Pope would be sure to avail himself of that event to secure the nomination of a creature of his own, without reference to the council at Rhodes. He persisted, therefore, in holding on his course, and as he felt his last hour approaching, he directed that the swiftest galley of the fleet which accompanied him should be held in readiness to push on for Rhodes, the instant that life had become extinct, in order that the earliest



intelligence of the event might be received in that island.

His decease occurred off Zante, and, faithful to the instructions he had issued, the sad intelligence was at once despatched to Rhodes, where it became known on the night of the 13th of October 1513. The Order immediately assembled for the election of a new superior, and we have it recorded that, upon this occasion, the numbers of Knights then present in Rhodes were as follows:—Of the French language there were 100, of that of Provence 90, Auvergne 84, Castile and Portugal 88, Aragon 66, Italy 60, England 38, and Germany 5. Fabricius Carretto, the grand-admiral of the Order, a Knight who had distinguished himself most highly during the first siege of Rhodes, by his defence of fort St. Nicholas, received the vacant baton, by the unanimous choice of the electors.

Most important changes had of late years been transpiring in the East, which threatened the island of Rhodes with a renewed attack from the Ottoman power. The emperor Bajazet had three sons, of whom the two elder partook greatly of his own inert and peaceable disposition. The youngest, however, whose name was Selim, inherited all the ambition and warlike aspirations of those ancestors who had raised the power of the Ottoman empire to its existing point of grandeur. Politic as he was warlike, Selim, the sole dream of whose life was to mount upon the throne to which, by his birth, he could have no claim, exerted all his powers to ingratiate himself with the janissaries of his father's army. In this attempt he succeeded so well, that, with their aid, he contrived to depose his aged parent; and having murdered him as well as his two elder brothers,

the youthful parricide mounted the throne without fear of any opposition on the part of his kindred.

The accession of this young and warlike prince caused the greatest dismay amongst the neighbouring nations, who with just reason dreaded that they would, ere long, become the victims of the same aggressive policy which had seated him on the throne of his father. In this fear the Knights of Rhodes warmly participated, and a treaty of alliance was cemented between the kings of Persia and Egypt and themselves. The storm burst upon Egypt, and, despite the efforts of the allies, the power of Selim, coupled with the treachery of two of the Mamelouk governors, to whom the Egyptian sultan had confided the defence of his frontier, enabled him, in the course of four years, to overrun the whole of that country, and to add it to his own dominions.

The two traitorous Mamelouk chiefs were invested, the one with the government of Egypt, and the other with that of Syria; and this conquest having been completed, Selim turned his attention towards Rhodes, for the reduction of which he commenced immediate and formidable preparations. Whilst thus occupied, however, he died suddenly of a cancer, and thus yielded another respite to the Order of St. John, of which they were not slow in availing themselves for the additional protection of their island. His only son, Solyman, ascended the throne of his father precisely at the same time that Charles V. was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle; and he was destined, during the course of his lengthened reign, to render himself the most illustrious of that race of conquerors from whom he sprang.

It soon became the day-dream of the young and

ambitious prince to achieve that conquest which had proved too formidable for his ancestor forty years previously; but a revolt in the newly conquered province of Syria for some time retarded his operations. Gazelles, the Mamelouk traitor, who had been invested with the governance of that province by Selim, now that that redoubted chieftain was dead, conceived that the opportunity was favourable for a revolt against his youthful successor and the establishment of himself in independent sovereignty over the province of Syria. In aid of this attempt, he besought the alliance of Carretto, who, overjoyed at the prospect of a dissension which might divert the menacing attitude of the Ottoman emperor, assisted him both with men and military stores. The power of Solyman was, however, too great for Gazelles to withstand, and in the very first engagement which ensued, he was overthrown and slain upon the field of battle.

Peace being, by his death, re-established in the Ottoman dominions, Solyman turned his attention towards the aggrandisement of his empire on his European frontier. A large army was assembled at Constantinople, with every preparation for an expedition on a gigantic scale. Its destination was not, however, as the Knights had imagined, the attack of their island, which was yet for a brief space respited from the fate which impended over it. The city of Belgrade was the point where Solyman commenced his career of conquest, and whilst the siege of that city was progressing vigorously, Fabricius Carretto breathed his last in the month of January 1521.

A warm contest ensued for the election of his successor; the names of three candidates having been

brought forward by their respective partisans. One of these was Andrew d'Amaral, the chancellor of the Order; but his arrogance and haughty temperament had created him too many enemies to render his success in the slightest degree probable. The weight of the struggle lay, therefore, between the other two candidates, Thomas Docray, grand-prior of England, and Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, grand-prior of France. Docray was a man whose experience in diplomacy had rendered his name celebrated amongst the fraternity; and he was, moreover, in the possession of a magnificent private fortune, a fact which added greatly to the weight of his claims. As, however, the whole of the French interest was centered in L'Isle Adam, and as that interest was overpoweringly great in the ranks of the Order, the vote was decided against Docray, and L'Isle Adam was proclaimed by the Knights as their forty-second Grand-Master.

The unfortunate D'Amaral felt so keenly the slight which he considered his rejection had cast upon him, that he gave way to the bitterness of his temper, and is reported to have uttered a speech upon the occasion, which was subsequently magnified into an accusation against his honour, and materially assisted in bringing him to the scaffold. He is stated to have remarked, upon hearing of the election of L'Isle Adam, that he would be the last Grand-Master of Rhodes. This, though in all probability merely the ebullition of disappointed ambition, was subsequently tortured into an involuntary revelation of that treachery of which he was accused, and went far to bias the decision of his judges, prejudiced as they were already against him.

L'Isle Adam was residing in his priory at the time

when his election was notified to him ; but, sensible of the importance of the crisis, and the imminence of the danger which threatened his Order, he set sail at once for Rhodes, in the carrack which had been despatched for his conveyance. A succession of disasters overtook the little squadron during the voyage. On one occasion, the carrack caught fire, and was only rescued after the most strenuous exertions on the part of its crew. Immediately afterwards they were assailed by a violent tempest, in the midst of which the ship was struck by a thunderbolt, which killed nine of her crew, and actually destroyed L'Isle Adam's sword by his side, without, however, causing the slightest injury to his person. Such a combination of untoward circumstances was amply sufficient to excite the superstition of his attendants, and they earnestly besought him to abandon the further prosecution of his voyage. L'Isle Adam, however, was not the man to allow these vague terrors to deter him from his purpose ; and, in spite of every obstacle, he held steadily on his course. Whilst calling at Syracuse, he learnt that the pirate Curtoglu was hovering around Cape St. Angelo, in the hopes of capturing him in the midst of his slender escort. Passing, however, the point of peril under cover of night, he succeeded in evading the treacherous corsair, and reached Rhodes in safety.

In the summer of that year, the siege of Belgrade was brought to a conclusion, and Solymán's banner waved triumphantly over its ruined ramparts. This victory having been accomplished, the Ottoman emperor found himself at leisure to turn his attention once more towards that dream of his youthful ambition, the capture of Rhodes. The recollection that the army of his an-

cestor had been driven in confusion from its shores only appeared in his eyes to render the project more attractive. Independently of the desire which he naturally felt to blot out the stigma cast upon the Ottoman arms by the former failure, it was in his eyes a great enhancement of the glory, which the successful prosecution of the attack would reflect upon himself, to remember that so mighty a monarch as Mahomet had failed in a similar undertaking. In this ambitious project he was warmly seconded by many of his subordinates; although in the divan counsels were much divided upon the subject.

Many were there who remembered with dread the stupendous preparations made upon a former occasion by Mahomet; as also the tempting inducements and promising assurances then held out by the traitorous adventurers in his confidence; all of which resulted in a miserable failure, the tide of invasion rolling ignominiously back from those island bulwarks, which the high courage and chivalrous ardour of the Knights of St. John had rendered an impassable barrier. These sage advisers urged, and with considerable truth, that the garrison of Rhodes was composed of very different materials from those of the numerous fortresses which had succumbed to the Ottoman arms; that the city of Rhodes was at this time fortified with far greater strength and completeness than it had been in 1480; that the recollection of their former success would nerve its garrison, and the main body of its inhabitants, to resist to the death any aggression on their island; and lastly, that the powerful force which must inevitably be necessary for so stupendous an undertaking, could be far more brilliantly and usefully employed in other di-

rections. To these arguments the friends of the enterprise retorted, that the failure of Mahomet's attack was mainly owing to his personal absence from the siege ; that the very fact of that failure rendered it highly advisable for them to seize the earliest opportunity of wiping away the reproach which had thereby been cast upon their military fame, and that so far from the fortifications of Rhodes being in a state of complete perfection, they had received trustworthy notification that a large portion of the wall of the bastion of Auvergne had been thrown down, with a view to its more solid reconstruction ; and that if they seized the opportunity thus afforded by their enemies, they would find a breach already made for them, through which they might triumphantly enter the coveted city.

This piece of information had been forwarded to Constantinople by a spy who had been for some years maintained in Rhodes by the Ottoman government. He was by nation a Jew, and a physician by profession, and had been despatched thither by the emperor Selim, for the express purpose of obtaining intelligence as to the state of the city. His profession had secured him a ready entrance and a warm welcome at Rhodes ; where the impending prospect of a siege was likely to render him a valuable auxiliary. He appears to have maintained his clandestine correspondence with the Porte for a considerable time unsuspected ; and it was only at the very crisis of the siege that his treachery was discovered, and he himself rendered incapable of inflicting any further mischief.

Chief among those who thus urged Solyman to the enterprise were Mustapha Pasha, his brother-in-law, and the pirate Curtoglu ; both of whom trusted to derive

considerable emolument and distinction in its prosecution. Their counsels, according as they did so well with the dictates of his own ambition, decided Solyman to carry out the attack. As a preliminary measure, and in order to test the determination of his antagonists, he wrote to the new Grand-Master a letter, couched in the following terms:—"Solyman the sultan, by the grace of God, king of kings, sovereign of sovereigns, most high emperor of Byzantium and Trebizond, very powerful king of Persia, of Arabia, of Syria, and of Egypt, supreme lord of Europe, and of Asia, prince of Mecca and Aleppo, lord of Jerusalem, and ruler of the universal sea, to Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master of the island of Rhodes, greeting: I congratulate you upon your new dignity, and upon your arrival within your territories. I trust that you will rule there prosperously, and with even more glory than your predecessors. I also mean to cultivate your favour; rejoice then with me, as a very dear friend, that following in the footsteps of my father, who conquered Persia, Jerusalem, Arabia, and Egypt, I have captured that most powerful of fortresses, Belgrade, during the late autumn; after which, having offered battle to the Giaours, which they had not the courage to accept, I took many other beautiful and well-fortified cities, and destroyed most of their inhabitants either by sword or fire, the remainder being reduced to slavery. Now after sending my numerous and victorious army into their winter quarters, I myself have returned in triumph to my court at Constantinople." L'Isle Adam was not slow in perceiving the menace which lay couched within the terms of this epistle; he therefore returned a response breathing a still more open spirit of hostility; it ran as follows:—



“ Brother Philip Villiers de L’Isle Adam, Grand-Master of Rhodes, to Solyman, sultan of the Turks: I have right well comprehended the meaning of your letter, which has been presented to me by your ambassador. Your propositions for a peace between us are as pleasing to me as they will be obnoxious to Curtoglu. This pirate during my voyage from France tried to capture me unprepared; in which, when he failed, owing to my having passed into the Rhodian sea by night, he endeavoured to plunder certain merchantmen, that were being navigated by the Venetians; but scarcely had my fleet left their port, than he had to fly, and to abandon the plunder which he had seized from the Cretan merchants. Farewell.”

To this bold epistle the sultan again replied, and endeavoured to inveigle him into sending some dignitary of the Order as an ambassador to Constantinople, from whom he should be enabled to extort valuable information concerning Rhodes. L’Isle Adam was too well acquainted with Turkish treachery to entrust any member of his Order into the power of the wily Solyman; and the event shortly proved the wisdom of his precaution, since a Rhodian native, who had been despatched by his fellow-townsmen, to open a negociation with the Turks on the Lycian shore, was treacherously made captive, and carried away to Constantinople; where, in the most foul disregard of the laws of nations, he was cruelly tortured by order of Solyman, and a confession was extorted of all that he knew concerning the fortifications of Rhodes.

It was now very clear to every reasonable mind, that no negociation could any longer stave off the impending blow; and L’Isle Adam prepared himself with prompt

energy to resist it manfully. Embassies were sent to all the principal courts of Europe to implore assistance in a struggle, the event of which might prove a matter of so great moment to Christendom; but the emperor Charles V. and the French king Francis were too warmly engaged in their own domestic broils to give any heed to the cry for assistance which arose from the shores of Rhodes. The commanderies had all furnished such contingents as it was in their power to contribute, and L'Isle Adam felt that in the approaching struggle he would have to trust for success far more to the spirit of his garrison than to their numbers. Only one of the numerous embassies which he had despatched in every direction was prosperous in its issue; and this was the mission to Candia, which he had entrusted to Anthony Bosio, a serving brother of considerable talent and sagacity, a relation of the historian of the Order. This able negotiator succeeded in bringing from the Candian shore, not only an ample supply of stores, but also five hundred Cretan archers, in those days highly reputed for their skill with the cross-bow. He had likewise attracted into the service of the Order, the celebrated Venetian engineer, Gabriel Martinigo, whose reputation as a master of that science stood so high, that his presence in Rhodes was universally hailed as a most invaluable auxiliary in the hour of need.

Martinigo was so much struck with the devotion and zeal which he noticed on every side, that his highest ambition became a desire to be enrolled a member of that illustrious fraternity; and he besought the Grand-Master, that as he was determined to abandon all his worldly prospects, and in that moment of peril to link his fortunes with those of the city he had come to defend,

he would be graciously pleased to receive him as a member of his fraternity. As Martinigo was a man of good family and unmarried, there was no objection or obstacle to the accomplishment of his wishes; and the Knights greeted with joy this new and valuable acquisition to their ranks. He was at once elected a grand-cross; a large pension was assigned to him, and the whole charge of the fortifications vested in his hands. Various additions were at his suggestion made to the defences: the gates were protected by ravelins, and casemates were constructed in the flanks of the bastions: the counter-scarps were mined in such directions as appeared likely to be made use of in an assault; whilst within the town barricades were erected in all the principal streets.

L'Isle Adam's next care was to cause a rigid inspection to be made of his little garrison: the members of each language were drawn up in front of their respective auberges, fully armed and accoutred; every language being reported upon by a Knight of another division. Each individual was called upon in turn to swear with his hand upon the cross-hilt of his sword, that the equipments which he wore upon the occasion were his own property, and had not been borrowed from any other person. In this manner L'Isle Adam satisfied himself of the complete preparation of his little garrison. The number of the English knights present at the siege has not been recorded; mention has only been made of the names of twenty\*, but this must have fallen far short of

\* The twenty English Knights whose names have been preserved, owing to their having occupied posts of greater prominence than their brethren, were as follows:—

Fr. John Bouch, or Buck, Turcopolier, killed.

Fr. Nicholas Hussey, commander of the English bastion.

the number actually present. Conspicuous among these stands John Bouch, or Buck, the Turcopolier, who was selected as one of four leaders of supporting bodies, which were destined to be retained without any special duty, so as to be in readiness to carry succour wherever their services might be most needed. The commander of the English bastion was Nicholas Hussey; whilst the leader of the troops apportioned for the defence of the English quarter was William Onascon. In like manner, were leaders selected in the other languages to command at their respective posts. L'Isle Adam undertook for his own share the defence of the

Fr. William Onascon, commander of the English quarter.

Fr. Thomas Sheffild, commander of the palace postern.

Fr. Nicholas Farfan, in the Grand-Master's suite.

Fr. Henry Mansel, ditto, killed.

Fr. William Weston.

Fr. John Ranson.

Fr. William Tuest (qy. West).

Fr. John Baron.

Fr. Thomas Remberton.

Fr. George Asfelz.

Fr. John Lotu.

Fr. Francis Buet.

Fr. Giles Rosel.

Fr. George Emer.

Fr. Michael Roux.

Fr. Nicholas Usel.

Fr. Otho de Montselli, or Monteilli.

Fr. Nicholas Roberts. This Knight wrote an account of the siege to the Earl of Surrey. Vide Appendix No. 15.

Although there is no distinct record of the deaths of any of the above-mentioned Knights during the siege, excepting the Turcopolier and Henry Mansel, it is stated that they all perished, with scarce an exception, and that the protection of the English bastion had eventually to be entrusted to Knights of other languages.

quarter of St. Mary of Victory, the point where the last and most desperate struggle had taken place in the previous siege.

A commission was named, including the three Knights, the chancellor D'Amaral, the Turcopolier John Bouch, and Gabriel de Pomeroy, whose duty it was to examine into and report upon the supplies of provisions and ammunition which were contained within the arsenals of the city. Their joint report asserted that the supply of both was ample, and that no farther store of either was necessary. Before, however, the siege was brought to a termination, the ammunition of the garrison became exhausted, and this report, by which the Grand-Master had been misled as to the state of his magazines, was brought forward against the unfortunate D'Amaral as an additional proof of his treason. The absurdity of this accusation may be perceived at a glance; the treason, if such it were, must have been shared in by his brother commissioners, against whose fair fame no suspicion of scandal had ever been breathed. Nothing, in fact, was more likely than that the commissioners should have underrated the expenditure of the garrison. The siege was protracted during a space of time far exceeding that occupied by the former one; whilst the amount consumed in the mining operations of Martinigo, eminently successful though those operations were, went far towards exhausting the supplies of the town, and could hardly have been foreseen by D'Amaral or his associates.

A careful examination into all the allegations brought against this unfortunate Knight will prove them to be equally unreal, and not a whit more substantiated by probabilities. Had he been in treasonable communication with Solyman, would that monarch have been

driven to so many expedients in order to procure accurate information as to the state of the town. From a man in the chancellor's official position nothing, of course, was concealed by L'Isle Adam, and he was most accurately informed of all that was taking place in connection with the defence. Were information such as this at his command, Solyman would have had but little occasion to trouble himself with spies of a meaner class; and the numerous measures which he took to secure the services of persons of this description form a very important argument in favour of the innocence of D'Amaral. This Knight, however, was, unfortunately for himself, of so haughty and turbulent a disposition, that he was perpetually swelling the number of his antagonists, and giving them some fresh pretext upon which to found additional accusations against him. Thus, at this critical moment, he headed a cabal which broke out amongst the Knights of Italy, who, under the plea that the Pope, Adrian VI., was arrogating the patronage of their commanderies, requested permission to depart for Rome, in order to plead their cause before his holiness in person.

This request was very naturally refused by L'Isle Adam, who, at the moment when he was expecting to see the whole power of the Ottoman army arrayed against him, could ill spare the services of a single Knight. D'Amaral, within whose bosom was still undoubtedly rankling a sense of jealousy, at the preference which had been shown for L'Isle Adam over himself, prompted them to seize for themselves that permission which the Grand-Master had refused to accord; and they secretly departed from Rhodes by night, and proceeded to Candia.

L'Isle Adam was much dismayed at this serious defec-

tion from his force, already too feeble for its duties; still, his was not the character to swerve from the path of duty through any motive of expediency. In the present dilemma his course was prompt and decisive; and, as is usually the case, when men guide themselves by the strict rules of justice and rectitude, it was, in the end, eminently successful. He at once summoned a general council, before which he arraigned the recusant Knights, and in their absence judgment was passed by default. They were unanimously sentenced to be deprived of their habit, and expelled the fraternity, as unworthy members, who had treacherously and pusillanimously abandoned their brethren during a crisis of extreme danger. The terms of this sentence soon brought the fugitives to a sense of their duty. They had abandoned the island, not from any symptoms of cowardice or disinclination to share the perils of their brothers in arms, but simply from a feeling of insubordination, aroused in a moment of pique and irritation, against L'Isle Adam. The view which had been taken of their conduct by the council touched their honour deeply; and all the chivalry of knightly character was once more awakened within their bosoms. Instantly hurrying back to Rhodes, they threw themselves at the feet of the Grand-Master, imploring a remission of their sentence, and that they might be permitted to wash away, in the blood of the common foe, all recollection of their present misconduct. To this petition L'Isle Adam, who was overjoyed at the prospect of recalling so many gallant spirits to his standard, warmly assented, and during the lengthened struggle which ensued, the conduct of the Knights of Italy was such, as to cause him no regret at the leniency he had shown them.

The total strength of the garrison, whose inspection L'Isle Adam had caused to be made, amounted only to 600 Knights, and 4500 men at arms. In addition to this force, which might be considered in the light of regular troops, many of the inhabitants of the town had enrolled themselves as volunteers during the hour of danger; and they were formed into several battalions, who rendered material assistance to the overtasked and exhausted garrison during the siege. The mariners also, who usually manned those galleys which had rendered the flag of St. John so redoubtable throughout the Levant, were landed, and formed into a naval brigade, for service in the batteries and at other points in the defences where they might be rendered useful. The peasantry, who were flocking into the town from the surrounding country, were made available as pioneers, and performed most of the manual labour which the paucity of the troops rendered them unable to execute for themselves.

A general description of the town and fortress of Rhodes has been given in the account of its first siege, but since that period, many important additions and improvements had been effected. All the buildings which had been left standing since the days of D'Aubusson, and which had afforded such admirable cover for the besieging army at that time, were now cleared away, and the country left completely open to the guns of the town, which enfiladed it in every direction. The main port was closed with a double chain, whilst the port of the galleys was blocked, by sinking at its mouth, boats laden with stones. A double enceinte completely encircled the town, to which, in some parts, was added a third line of rampart. These lines were flanked by



thirteen large towers, solidly constructed and well adapted for resisting the enemy's artillery. Five of the towers were enclosed in bastions, of which they might be considered the keep; so that these five points were capable of a separate and isolated resistance, even should the intermediate rampart become forced. They were called the bastions of Provence, Auvergne, England, Spain, and Italy. A net-work of advanced lines covered the main enceinte, the gates were all protected by ravelins, the ditches were sufficiently wide and deep to ensure them against all danger of escalade, and their counter-scarps were well revetted and palisaded.

The five bastions were placed under the direct control of as many Knights, who were expressly nominated for that purpose, and under whose orders were placed a select detachment of their own languages. The general enceinte was divided, as was their usual custom, into eight portions; each of which was confided to the protection of a separate language, and a Knight of that language selected as commander. The corps of reserve was divided into four portions, at the head of which were placed respectively the chancellor D'Amaral, who was to support the quarters of Auvergne and Germany; the English Turcopolier, John Bouch, for Spain and England; the grand-prior of France, Peter de Cluys, for France and Castile; and the grand-prior of Navarre, George de Morgut, for Provence and Italy. The Grand-Master himself, with his lieutenant Gabriel de Pommeroy, at the head of his body-guard, was reserved for general purposes, without any specially defined duties. The tower of St. Nicholas, which had in the former siege

borne the main brunt of the attack, was placed under the command of Guyot de Castellan, a Knight of Provence; and was garrisoned by twenty other Knights and three hundred men.

Such were the leading arrangements which the wisdom of L'Isle Adam had prompted him to make, and by means of which every one knew his post at the moment of alarm. His military dispositions, however, did not prevent him from displaying the zeal of his piety, and the earnest trust which he felt in the support of a higher power. Prayers were offered in all the churches by his order; and the intervention of the Almighty invoked to rescue them from the grasp of the Infidel. The town was divided into two sects; those who owned the allegiance of the Pope, and were members of the Latin church; and those who belonged to the Greek persuasion. At the head of each was an archbishop, in both cases nominated by the Grand-Master; the Latin dignitary being Leonard Balestin, and the Greek, Clement. Fortunately for the prospects of the town, these functionaries zealously co-operated with each other for the public weal, and maintained the most desirable harmony between their respective flocks, to whom they each addressed the most earnest exhortations to secure their general allegiance to their common chief. The address of the Greek archbishop has been recorded by Fontanus, and presents a most eloquent specimen of the declamation of the period. L'Isle Adam was certainly fortunate in possessing, at this crisis, two such able and energetic coadjutors; men whose position gave them so much power to sway the opinions and feelings of their countrymen.

Whilst these preparations were making for the defence, Solyman was, on his side, gathering together his

forces in readiness for the undertaking; and as a last measure, prior to commencing operations against the island, he despatched the following summons of surrender to L'Isle Adam: "The sultan Solyman to Villiers de L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master of Rhodes, to his Knights, and to the people at large. Your monstrous injuries against my most afflicted people have aroused my pity and indignation. I command you, therefore, instantly to surrender the island and fortress of Rhodes, and I give you my gracious permission to depart in safety with the most precious of your effects; or if you desire to remain under my government, I shall not require of you any tribute, or do aught in diminution of your liberties, or against your religion. If you are wise, you will prefer friendship and peace to a cruel war. Since, if you are conquered, you will have to undergo all such miseries as are usually inflicted by those that are victorious, from which you will be protected neither by your own forces, nor by external aid, nor by the strength of your fortifications which I will overthrow to their foundations. If, therefore, you prefer my friendship to war, there shall be neither fraud nor stratagem used against you. I swear this by the God of heaven, the Creator of the earth, by the four Evangelists, by the four thousand Prophets, who have descended from heaven, chief amongst whom stands Mahomet, most worthy to be worshipped; by the shades of my grandfather and father, and by my own sacred, august, and imperial head."

This letter was read by L'Isle Adam in full council, where it was at once decreed that no other reply should be accorded than such as could be borne by the cannon of the town. Any further parleying would indeed have

been fruitless, for by the time when this letter was being read at Rhodes, viz., 14th June 1522, every preparation for the immediate commencement of the siege had been completed by Solyman. From this day the unfortunate inhabitants of the surrounding country commenced pouring into Rhodes, bringing with them the slender remains of their property, their instruments of husbandry, domestic animals, corn, wood, &c., in a long and melancholy procession. Sad was the spectacle which they presented as they thus abandoned their cherished homesteads; and found themselves left with only the pitiable alternative of ravaging their own lands in order to prevent the enemy from deriving any sustenance therefrom. Bitter were the curses and loud the denunciations which they called down from heaven upon those who had driven them to the necessity of thus destroying their homes, and earnest were their prayers to the throne of mercy that their city might be preserved from capture, and their wives and little ones rescued from the polluting touch of the Infidel.

Mustapha Pasha had been selected by Solyman as the leader of his gigantic force, and Curtoglu, as admiral of the fleet, had the management of all connected with their transport. The strength of this army numbered 200,000 men, of whom 140,000 were men at arms, and 60,000 were peasants from Wallachia and Bosnia, who were brought thither to execute such mining operations and other trench duties as their manual skill enabled them to perform with greater facility than the Turkish soldiers. These unfortunate wretches had been torn from their homes with the most brutal violence, and compelled, against their will, to take part in an enterprise for which they could have no possible sympathy; and the ruthless manner in which, during the siege,

they were worked like beasts of burden, and driven to labour under the most deadly fire, was such, that of that vast array scarce a man survived to witness the conclusion of the siege.

The naval armament, by which this enormous force was transported, together with all its materiel and provisions, numbered nearly 400 sail of different descriptions, of which upwards of 100 were galleys and vessels of considerable magnitude. An advanced detachment, consisting of 30 vessels, piloted the way to the scene of action, and pouring upon the smaller islands, which had been abandoned, carried sword and ravage in every direction. In the island of Lango, however, they met with a decided repulse. The governor, a French Knight named Prejan de Bidoux, at the head of his garrison, dashed at the disembarking marauders, and drove them back with confusion to their ships. Awed by this act of determination, they sheered off, and bore away in the direction of Rhodes. 1533

Early on the morning of the 26th of June, a signal from St. Stephen's hill conveyed intelligence into the city that the Turkish fleet was in sight. It was the octave of the feast of St. John, during which period it had been an invariable custom at Rhodes for a procession to be formed through the principal streets of the town. L'Isle Adam, desirous as far as possible to reassure and calm the terror-stricken population, directed that this procession should pursue its usual course although the enemy's fleet was at that moment studding the horizon. The procession over, high mass was performed in St. John's church, and at its conclusion the Grand-Master approached the altar, and mounting its steps, he elevated the Host on high in the presence of the assembled multitude, and prayed to heaven, on be-

half of the people committed to his charge, that God would deign to give them fortitude and boldness to defend His holy religion, and honour his sacred name; and that the fire and sword, the slaughter and rapine, the carnage and slavery with which they were menaced by the blood-thirsty Infidel, might through His infinite mercy be averted from them. L'Isle Adam, recognised as he was as one of the first soldiers and most accomplished captains of the day, was equally eminent for the fervour of his piety and the earnestness of his religious zeal. When, therefore, on this eventful morning, he thus consecrated his cause to heaven, and appealed to the Most High in terms of eloquent and touching supplication, for protection against the foe by whom his city was menaced, his hearers felt that, under the leadership of such a man, their cause must be in good hands, and that if it were the will of heaven that they should prosper, none could better carry that decree into effect.

The religious ceremony being concluded, the doors of the church were closed, and the garrison directed to repair to their respective posts. The city gates were shut and the bridges raised, flags were hoisted upon the various bastions, and all stood awaiting the first scene of the bloody drama. The Grand-Master, arrayed in magnificent gilt armour, rode at the head of his guards, with three Knights by his side, each bearing a banner; one the grand standard of the Order, the second a banner which had been presented by the Pope to D'Aubusson after the successful issue of the former siege had become known, and the third a flag emblazoned with his own coat of arms. This latter was borne by a young English Knight named Henry Mansell, who was killed early in the siege, after which his duty as a standard bearer was performed by a French Knight.

Not a man, woman, or child, on that eventful day, remained within their houses; but every point of view from whence the motions of the hostile fleet could be observed, was crowded with anxious gazers. Many there were within that mingled crowd—men whose hair time had sprinkled with silver, and on whose brows he had ploughed his furrows—who, looking backward through a long vista of years, could call to mind a scene very similar to that on which their looks were now bent, when, forty-two years back, their seas had been once before covered with the proud fleet of that empire, between which and themselves an undying animosity was ever burning. Then they had triumphed gloriously, and the God of battles had fought on their side. He had espoused their cause against the Infidel swarms who raged in impotent fury beneath their battlements; He had aided them to hurl back the ruthless invader from their soil; and even now the bones of thousands who once had mustered in that proud array, lay whitened beneath the soil of Rhodes. The husbandman still, in the preparation of his land, ever and anon turned up some relic to remind him of that strife, which he justly esteemed his country's glory; and amidst those plains of verdure, with which the city was surrounded, many a patch of green, more brilliant than the rest, was pointed at as the spot where lay one of those numerous masses of slain who were placed there in huddled confusion after the retreat of their fellows.

With all these memorials of their former victory before their eyes, and with the knowledge that the Rhodes of the present time was far more complete in its defences, and far more capable of resistance than that which had maintained itself successfully forty years before; with the strains of martial music filling the air, and exhila-

rating their hearts ; with the dazzling splendour of that summer's sun flashing upon many a knightly crest, and many a brodered pennon, it was natural that they should feel a sense of confidence amounting almost to exultation, and that they should look with a feeling well nigh of certainty for the moment when the foe, recoiling in dismay from their ramparts, should once again seek an ignominious safety in flight.

Some there were, however, who, spite of all these brilliant auguries of success, gazed upon that gorgeous pageant, which was then spread before their eyes, with feelings of dread and terror. They well knew that the power of Mahomet, even when at the zenith of his glory, was far inferior to that of the prince who now swayed the sceptre of the mighty Ottoman empire with undisputed sovereignty. His career had, up to the present moment, been one unbroken succession of triumphs ; the power had not as yet appeared which could withstand the vigour of his attack ; the army which was now pouring its numberless battalions upon the shores of their fair isle exceeded that which they had before so successfully resisted, not in mere numbers only, but also in every detail of its equipment, and was led by generals who had been trained to victory beneath the redoubted banner of their universally-dreaded sultan. With these adverse circumstances to contend against, it might well prove that the constancy and bravery, even of the Knights of St. John, might be unavailing, and that they yet might live to see the day when the detested banner of the Arabian impostor should wave over those ramparts whereon they were now standing, and which had been for so many years maintained in proud and honourable security.



## CHAP. XIV.

THE SECOND SIEGE OF RHODES.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE.—  
PLOT FORMED BY A FEMALE SLAVE WITHIN THE CITY.—DISPOSI-  
TION OF THE TURKISH ARMY.—DETAIL OF THEIR ARTILLERY.—  
CONSTRUCTION OF CAVALIERS.—MINING OPERATIONS.—EXPLOSION  
OF A MINE UNDER THE BASTION OF ENGLAND, AND SUBSEQUENT  
ASSAULT.—REPEATED ATTACKS OF THE OTTOMANS, AND THEIR  
INVARIABLE REPULSE.—ACCUSATIONS BROUGHT AGAINST THE CHAN-  
CELLOR D'AMARAL.—HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION.—DEVOTION AND  
COURAGE OF THE RHODIAN WOMEN.—NEGOCIATIONS FOR SUR-  
RENDER.—TERMS OFFERED BY SOLYMAN.—ACCEPTANCE OF THOSE  
TERMS, AND CLOSE OF THE SIEGE.

THE main difficulty against which L'Isle Adam had to contend, in conducting the defence of Rhodes, was the paucity of his garrison. Numerous tempting opportunities constantly presented themselves for opposing the besiegers by direct attack ; but as each of these attempts must have involved a certain amount of loss, and as no minor advantage could in any way compensate for the most trifling diminution of his forces, the Grand-Master found himself compelled to curb the ardour and impatience of his followers, and to permit advances to be made, which, had his numerical strength been greater, he would have checked in the outset.

The nineteenth century has been by no means singular in its production of marvellous propositions, such as those of Captain Warner, Lord Dundonald, and others of that class. It is recorded by Fontanus, in his history

of this siege, that a Florentine, named Girolamo Bartolini, brought forward a project whereby the whole Turkish navy was to be destroyed at one blow. That this suggestion was not adopted by L'Isle Adam, proves that it did not bear within it the probabilities of success; although his refusal has, by contemporary writers, who were ever anxious to blacken the reputation of D'Amaral, been attributed to the malignant influence of that Knight. L'Isle Adam was not the man to permit his judgment to be swayed by the opinions of others; and, had he received a favourable impression of the project of Bartolini, it would not have been in the power of D'Amaral to prevent its execution.

The disembarkation of the besieging army, an occupation which extended over many days, proceeded quietly, and without interruption from the garrison, who were busily engaged, during this period, in making their last preparations to meet the coming storm. All preliminary measures having been completed, the Turks broke ground, under cover of a cannonade, and commenced the construction of their trenches, with the aid of the Wallachian peasants, who had been brought for that purpose. The Rhodians, on their side, harassed the advances of the working parties by constant sorties, in which the impetuosity of their attack, and the superiority of their valour, invariably gave them the advantage. These incessant checks greatly impeded the advance of the trenches; whilst, on each occasion, vast numbers of the defenceless pioneers fell beneath the sword of the garrison.

Disaffection had, indeed, from the very commencement of the expedition, shown itself throughout the Ottoman host. Upon the night when the fleet had first

made its appearance, a deserter succeeded in making his escape from one of the ships then lying at a distance of several miles from the coast. He was picked up at St. Nicholas's tower, having swam a distance stated to be between six and seven miles, under cover of the night. This fugitive, after having given correct information as to the magnitude of the force composing the expedition, stated that there was great reluctance on the part of the janissaries to engage in the operation. The history of the failure in the attempt made by their ancestors, forty years before, was well known to all of them, and the almost superhuman valour displayed on that occasion by the Knights of St. John had lost nothing of its terror by constant repetition. They were well aware that since that day much had been done to strengthen the defences of the fortress, and they were much disposed to look upon Rhodes, defended as it was by such a frowning mass of batteries, and garrisoned by the lion-hearted race before whom their forefathers had so often recoiled, as almost entirely impregnable.

The ill success of their first attempts in pushing forward the siege-works, and the fearful slaughter committed amongst their pioneers, by the constant and harassing sorties of the garrison, completed their disaffection. Murmurs and remonstrances soon made themselves heard throughout the camp, and it was with difficulty that the troops could be induced to advance to what they considered certain destruction. Pyrrhus Pasha, an aged counsellor in whom Solyman placed the highest confidence, and who had been appointed to accompany the army, rather in the light of an adviser than a general, deemed it necessary to report this disaffection of the janissaries to his master, informing him that nothing

short of his own immediate presence on the spot could control the turbulence of the mutineers. Solyman had staked too much on the issue of the struggle to permit of its miscarriage through any dissatisfaction on the part of his own troops; and his decision was very promptly formed, so soon as he became acquainted with the case. Hastily assembling a force of some 15,000 men, he at once hurried to the scene of action, determined to stifle by his presence every symptom of revolt, before it should have had time to gain head against him. By a judicious mixture of clemency and severity, he rapidly restored the spirit of his army; and the late mutineers, ashamed in the presence of their redoubtable sultan, of those murmurings and that insubordination in which they had indulged, now became fired with an anxious desire to efface the memory of their cowardice, and fighting, as they did, under the eye of their monarch, sought only for an opportunity to distinguish themselves.

Meanwhile, a plot of a most dangerous character had been discovered within the limits of the city, the details of which had been arranged, and were to have been carried into execution by a woman. This female, who was a slave within the town, and a Turk by nation, eager for the success of her countrymen, and, at the same time, anxious to regain her own freedom, devised the idea of setting fire to the city at several points, and of giving admission to the besiegers during the confusion which would ensue. This design she communicated to several of her fellow slaves, and she even succeeded in establishing an intelligence with the commander of the Turkish army. The hour for the attempt had already been agreed upon, and all the necessary arrangements made to ensure its complete success, when, by an inadvertency

on the part of one of the confederates, the existence of the plot became revealed to the authorities. The conspirators were at once seized and subjected to torture; under the agony of which a complete confession was extorted from all concerned, excepting only the adventurous female who had devised the scheme, and who stoutly maintained her innocence, in spite of the extreme tortures to which she was subjected. Her constancy remained unshaken to the end; and she suffered the last penalty of the law without breathing one syllable to inculcate either herself or others. Of her guilt, however, if guilt such an attempt can be called on the part of one who was detained a slave within the town, there was not the shadow of a doubt; and her severed limbs, publicly exposed upon the ramparts, served ever after as a warning to deter others from similar projects.

Suspensions of treason throughout this siege appear to have been very prevalent; and the rumours to that effect which were constantly being spread about, engendered an universal feeling of distrust, highly prejudicial to the maintenance of good discipline within the garrison. Many of these suspicions were entirely groundless, and the offspring of pure imagination; still, there lurked within the ramparts an amount of treachery amply sufficient to account for their existence. The Jewish doctor still resided within the town, and succeeded in maintaining an intercourse with the Turkish leaders, whereby much valuable information was imparted to them. It was by his suggestion that the besieging artillery was turned against St. John's church, from which elevated spot the garrison had been enabled to overlook the whole Turkish camp, and to trace their operations in the trenches. A few days' practice at so

elevated a target, sufficed to achieve its overthrow, and the Knights were from that time deprived of a post of observation which they had found extremely useful.

The numerous sorties in which the garrison had indulged during the earlier days of the siege had, it is true, materially impeded the works of the besiegers, and caused the slaughter of vast crowds of their Wallachian pioneers, but these successes had not been gained without the occurrence of a certain amount of loss to themselves, and L'Isle Adam, who felt that every life under his command was of more value to him than a hundred were to the Turks, in whose countless battalions such casualties made but little impression, strictly forbade their further continuance. The Turks were thus enabled to labour at their trenches and batteries, without any further opposition on the part of the town, other than could be afforded by the ceaseless play of artillery, which was brought to bear upon every point of approach with the most fatal precision and accuracy. The cessation of these sorties prevented the capture of any further prisoners being effected, and the Grand-Master speedily found the disadvantage of being no longer acquainted with the movements which took place within the enemy's camp. In this dilemma, a party of sailors undertook to provide the information so much required ; dressing themselves in Turkish habiliments, and speaking the language of that country with facility, they left the harbour during the night in a boat, and coasting along the shore, proceeded fearlessly into the midst of the Turkish encampment. Here they succeeded in inveigling two genuine Moslems into their craft, and returned undiscovered into the town. The unfortunate captives were at once taken up to the top

of St. John's tower, which had not as yet been demolished; and there they were questioned by Martinigo, the Venetian engineer, and two other Knights, upon various points connected with the besiegers' array; and they were very plainly given to understand, that at the least symptom of prevarication on their parts, or at the slightest hesitation to afford the information demanded, they would at once be hurled headlong from the dizzy height on which they stood. Under the pressure of such a menace as this, one too which the stern glances of their captors proved to be no idle jest, everything which they knew connected with their army was at once disclosed to their interrogators.

The order in which the besiegers' forces were encamped thus became known to the defenders. Their lines stretched in a complete arc round the ramparts of the city, their flanks resting on the water's edge at either side. On the extreme left stood the detachment commanded by the pirate Curtoglu; next to whom were the janissaries, commanded by their aga; then the troops of the Beglier Bey of Natolia; on St. Stephen's hill, which was the centre of the position, were the far famed Mamelouks, who composed the personal body-guard of the sultan; next to whom were the divisions of Achmet Pasha and Pyrrhus Pasha; the circuit being closed by the troops under the command of Mustapha Pasha, who was Captain-General of the whole expedition. As their fleet stretched across from one flank to the other, the unfortunate garrison was completely surrounded both by land and sea, and it was impossible for any reinforcement to effect an entrance into the port without breaking through the strict blockade which had been established.

The Ottoman sultan had staked his military renown upon the successful issue of the enterprise, and from the moment when he first planted his foot upon the Rhodian soil he determined either to witness his banner waving in triumph over its far-famed ramparts, or to find a grave in that land which he had attempted to conquer. In order to mark distinctly his fixed determination to persist in the prosecution of the siege, he caused his soldiers to build him a palace within the limits of the camp, of so durable a character, as to preclude all idea of departure. When, indeed, we consider the enormous multitude whose lengthened array stretched around the devoted city, it appears almost incredible that any serious attempt at resistance should have been made; but the Knights of St. John had never been accustomed to count their foes, and, justly proud of those fortifications which it had taken their fraternity two hundred years to raise, they would have maintained their attitude of defiance though their island had swarmed with twice that number of invaders.

From the same source whence he had gained the information already detailed, Martinigo also learnt the number and magnitude of the battering train which had accompanied Solyman's army. This train included six brass cannon, for throwing balls of three palms and a half in dimensions; fifteen others of from five to six palms; twelve large bombards of from nine to ten palms; two others still larger, measuring eleven palms. In addition to these there were twelve basilisks of eight palms, and fifteen double cannon for throwing iron balls. There were also twelve brass mortars for vertical fire, carrying balls of from seven to eight palms. From these mortars the cannoneers of the Turkish army had ex-



pected great advantage; and an incessant fire was poured from them into the town. Bourbon records that they discharged 1713 stone shot, and eight brass balls, filled with artificial fire, during the early part of the siege. These brass balls were in all probability the first attempt at shells which history has recorded; and from the fact that so few were made use of, we may probably conclude that they were not found to answer the purpose for which they were intended.

The sultan had not long continued the direction of the siege before he discovered that from the position in which his trenches were situated he was unable to gain any command over the fortifications which he was attacking. To obviate this difficulty, he directed two large cavaliers to be raised; one in front of the bastion of Italy, the other between the posts of Spain and Auvergne. As the site selected for these stupendous works was completely commanded by the cannon of the town, and as, from the strenuous manner in which the operation was pushed forward, it became evident to the garrison that something of more than ordinary importance and magnitude was contemplated, every battery which could be brought to bear upon the spot played with unceasing vehemence; and the losses sustained by the Turkish pioneers was prodigious. Heaps of slain marked the advance of the structure; but as Solyman held the lives of these unfortunate peasantry in no esteem, the labour was pushed forward with undiminished energy. Spite of all the power of the Rhodian artillery, the mounds rose higher and higher, until at length they dominated over the ramparts in their front, and exposed the defenders to a galling fire from their summit.

Whilst this work was being carried on, a division was made in the Turkish camp, by which the circuit of attack was divided amongst the principal leaders of the army. Mustapha Pasha directed that against the English quarter; Pyrrhus Pasha was opposed to the Italians; Achmet Pasha, assisted by the aga of the janissaries, directed the operations against the bastions of Spain and Auvergne; the Beglier Bey of Natolia against Provence; and the Beglier Bey of Romania, from the gardens of St. Anthony, opposed himself to the German post in the tower of St. Nicholas. Several futile attempts were made to reduce the German bastion and the tower of St. Nicholas, but the powerful fire brought to bear upon the Turkish batteries by the skill of Martinigo utterly annihilated their efficiency.

A more general distribution of their cannon was then decided upon; and for a whole month the air resounded with the constant roar of artillery, which in all directions was belching forth its murderous fire against the ramparts of the devoted city. The bastions of England and Italy soon began to show signs of the vigour with which they had been attacked; at the former spot a new rampart had been constructed around the old one, but a short time prior to the commencement of the siege, and this new wall it was which gave way. The more ancient one proved a better defence, and resisted the shock of the enemy's artillery long after the other had crumbled. The unflagging energy of the garrison repaired these damages as rapidly as they were caused, by the sinking of ditches, and the construction of retrenchments behind the vulnerable points. Solyman perceived that, with antagonists such as these, a simple war of artillery might last for ever, since in every

direction new defences sprang up as rapidly as the old were demolished ; he determined, therefore, upon pushing forward his attack upon different principles ; and for this purpose he had recourse to mining. Shafts were sunk in various directions, and galleries driven forward beneath the principal bastions. Martinigo had, however, foreseen the probability of this mode of approach ; and the countermines which he had prepared before the commencement of the siege materially assisted him in opposing them. By the simple aid of the distended parchment of a drum, he was enabled to detect the vicinity of the enemy's miners when at work, through the vibration of the earth ; and his measures were taken accordingly to destroy their advance.

Two galleries, however, which had been driven beneath the bastion of England, eluded his vigilance, and the first warning which the defenders at that post received was conveyed in the form of two fearful explosions, which overthrew the entire salient of the work. A battalion of Turks, who had been drawn up within their trenches, awaiting the result of springing the mine, no sooner beheld the cloud of dust and the volume of smoke which darted into the air, and heard the crash which betokened the downfall of the rampart and the opening of a way for themselves into the heart of the city, than they dashed forward with a wild shout of triumph, and mounting the breach still smoking in its ruins, gained the summit before the defenders, aghast at the calamity which had befallen them, could regain sufficient presence of mind to oppose the onslaught. The standard of the Prophet was planted on the conquered rampart, and the victorious foe, flushed with this moment of success, pushed forward

with redoubled ardour, until the bastion appeared inevitably lost. Here, however, they were fortunately brought to a check by the inner retrenchment, behind which the Knights, now recovered from their momentary confusion, opposed a steady and obstinate resistance. At this critical juncture the Grand-Master made his appearance upon the scene, followed by the body-guard who always accompanied him. At the moment of the explosion, he had been engaged in the celebration of mass in the chapel of St. Mary of Victory, built by D'Aubusson. The alarm reached him at the moment when the officiating priest had intoned the prayer "*Deus in adjutorium meum intende.*" "I accept the angury," cried out the Grand-Master, and then turning to those by whom he was surrounded, he exclaimed, "Come, my brethren, let us exchange the sacrifice of our prayers and praises for that of our lives, and let us die, if God so wills it, in defence of our religion." Roused to enthusiasm by this noble exhortation, they rushed to the point of assault, hurled themselves into the midst of the contending battalions, and in a few moments carried all before them. Foremost in the fray stood L'Isle Adam, his gigantic and burly frame conspicuous amidst his compeers, as armed with a short pike he dashed vehemently at the foe, and both by word and deed encouraged his followers to drive back the invading swarms. A few moments of desperate strife sufficed to attest the moral and physical superiority of the Knights of St. John. Cowering under the withering storm directed against their front, the Turks, unable not only to advance but even to maintain themselves upon the ground already gained, gradually gave way, and poured in confusion back

through the breach which they had so shortly before entered in triumph.

Mustapha Pasha had been watching the fortunes of the day from the advanced trenches, and had been congratulating himself with the hopes that Rhodes was gained. He was not, however, long left in the indulgence of this vain dream, and his fury, as he beheld his receding battalions fleeing tumultuously from the scene of strife, exceeded all bounds. Hastily drawing his scimitar, he rushed upon the foremost of the fugitives, and in the vehemence of his rage, cut down several with his own hand. The remainder, staggered at this unlooked for proceeding, and finding that they had as much to fear from a retreat as from an advance, rallied at his call. Led by himself in person, the breach was once more mounted, and the struggle again renewed. Their advantage, however, had now been lost, and it was not possible even for the valour of Mustapha to restore the fortunes of the day. Bravely, however, he combated, and fiercely he struggled once again to penetrate within the ruined rampart, but it was vain. The breach was now crowned by those who were well able to maintain it against all the turbaned hosts whom he could hurl upon their serried front; and the baffled and discomfited columns of the Infidel were eventually forced to relinquish the strife, and to retire in despair to the shelter of their trenches.

It would prove an almost endless task to describe the constant succession of assaults by means of which Mustapha endeavoured to regain the advantage which he had lost in his first attempt. In each case the means employed, both in the attack and the defence, were almost precisely similar; and they invariably

ended in the discomfiture of the Infidels, who were always driven back into their trenches with the most fearful slaughter. Indeed, the detail of the events which occurred during the month of September would consist of a succession of scenes similar to those already depicted. The sudden alarm, caused either by the explosion of a mine, or the appearance of the foe defiling in battle array from his trenches; the hasty call to arms, the ringing of the bells, whereby the impending danger was notified to the garrison generally, the rush of the assailants, the firm stand of the defenders, the fiercely shouted war-cry re-echoing from either side, the roar of artillery, and the incessant rattle of the smaller pieces of ordnance, the shouts of the combatants, the fearful groans of the wounded, the flashing of Greek fire, and the fatal hissing of the seething pitch, as its deadly contents were poured upon the foe who were swarming upon the breach; such were the principal details of the hideous picture which these scenes of strife invariably presented; what need, therefore, to repeat the tale? The results are the only real points of importance, and these were invariably the same. Though the assaulting columns were numbered by thousands and tens of thousands, selected from the choicest flower of Solymán's army, whilst the defenders consisted of but a few hundred Christians, harassed, exhausted, and weakened by their previous efforts; still upon each successive occasion the countless swarms of the Moslem were forced to recoil from the impassable barrier of Christian steel.

Thus upon the 13th, the 17th, and the 24th of September, the most furious attempts were made to carry the town. Upon the 13th of September the attack was

made on the Italian quarter; on the 17th the English bastion withstood the violence of the assault, the celebrated English commander, John Buck, falling upon this occasion gloriously at the head of his language. Upon the 24th of September, in accordance with the suggestions of Mustapha, the attack was not confined to a single point, but was directed against every quarter where a practicable breach had been made in the ramparts. The bastions of Spain, Italy, and Auvergne were all assailed simultaneously; yet even this gigantic effort of superior force failed in its purpose. Although several temporary advantages enabled the besiegers to gain a footing upon the rampart, and to plant the standard of their religion upon its blood-stained summit, still the success was in each case but momentary, and the impetuous onset of the garrison invariably ended by restoring the fortunes of the day. In order to encourage the efforts of his soldiery by his own immediate presence, the sultan had caused a scaffolding to be erected, from whence he might personally witness the success of the assault. He had fired his soldiers with the prospect of an enormous booty, having promised to yield up to them the whole plunder of the city; and this, combined with the knowledge that they were combating under the immediate eye of their sovereign, had roused them to a pitch of enthusiasm such as he had fondly hoped must prove the precursor of victory. If, however, the assailants were fired by the hope of gain, and the prospect of distinction, the defenders were equally nerved to the combat by an enthusiastic sense of religious devotion, and by the energy which despair had brought to their aid. The latter incentives proved in the event victorious, and Solyman had the mortification of wit-

nessing, from his lofty post of observation, the utter discomfiture of his forces.

Sounding a retreat, he descended to his tent, and in the bitterness of his mortification resolved, to wreak his vengeance on those who had originally counselled the expedition. Both Mustapha and Pyrrhus were condemned to instant execution; and the sentence would most certainly have been carried into effect, had not the other captains of the host, by their intercession, prevailed on him to reverse the decree. They were, however, banished from the camp, and forced to return to Asia, whilst the siege was yet in abeyance. The Admiral Curtoglu was reserved for a far more humiliating fate, having been sentenced to undergo the indignity of corporal punishment on the poop of his own galley; after which he was ignominiously expelled from the fleet: the reason alleged for this severity being, that he had neglected to make use of the opportunities presented to him of aiding the land forces in their assault by means of a naval diversion.

Whilst these successes were enabling the garrison still to maintain their resistance against the Turks, the seeds of those disastrous results which were eventually to accomplish the loss of the town had commenced to show themselves. Although, prior to the commencement of the siege, it had been reported to L'Isle Adam, by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, that the quantity of powder stored in their magazines was sufficient for a siege, even though its duration should extend for upwards of a year, yet a month had barely elapsed before it became manifest that the supply was too limited for the occasion. In addition to the powder within the magazines, there were large stores of saltpetre within the town; and



L'Isle Adam promptly established a manufactory of gunpowder, under the immediate superintendence of two Knights and a committee of citizens. Even with this aid, however, it became necessary to practise the most rigid economy in the expenditure of ammunition; and the efforts of the garrison, in opposing the approaches of the besiegers, were much constrained and impeded by this vital want.

Treason also shortly began to display itself. The incident of the female slave who had organised a rising in aid of her countrymen without the walls, has already been mentioned; and the dread of a similar attempt on the part of her fellow slaves was a perpetual source of apprehension. The Jewish doctor who had been placed in Rhodes as a spy by the father of Solyman, and who had contrived to maintain a constant correspondence with Mustapha during the siege, was at length detected in the very act of discharging a treasonous billet into the enemy's camp, attached to an arrow. The evidence against him was positive and conclusive; he was nevertheless submitted to the torture, in the hope of eliciting from him the extent of his misdeeds, and, under its pressure, he confessed to having informed the enemy of the dearth of ammunition, and state of destitution in which the town was plunged; and that he had urged them to persevere in the siege in spite of every obstacle, as they were sure eventually to prove successful. His fate was such as he deserved, but the mischief he had caused did not end with him, as, but for the information which he had imparted, in all human probability Rhodes would not have fallen.

As it was, the constant ill-success which had attended his efforts, and the fearful carnage which had decimated

his troops, caused Solyman to pause, and ponder well the advisability of abandoning the enterprise. At that moment the fate of the city hung suspended in the balance, and a feather's weight would have inclined it in her favour. Truly it was a glorious sight, to contemplate an army of well nigh 200,000 men thus baffled and held at bay by a garrison reduced through its many casualties to little more than 1500 fighting men. Those fortifications with which they had, at so great a cost of labour and material, surrounded the enceinte of their town, had crumbled beneath the indefatigable artillery of the enemy. Huge gaping breaches in every direction laid open the town to instant assault, and yet, destitute though they had become of even the ordinary necessities of life; short of powder, food, and wine; they still protracted the defence with undiminished obstinacy, and stood upon the shattered relics of their bulwarks, determined to maintain them whilst there yet remained a Knight to oppose with his person the entrance of a Turk.

It is not surprising that in this desperate situation men should lend a ready ear to tales of treason amongst themselves. It was evident to every mind that treachery did exist somewhere within the garrison; all that went on within the town was well-known to Solyman, and many points in his attack had been altered in consequence of information which he had received. They scarcely knew where to look for the traitor that was among them, and each one glanced fearfully at his neighbour, as though feeling that in such a case none were to be trusted. At this critical moment, suspicion was directed against the superior dignitaries of the Order by a Spanish pilgrim, a female of great reputed

sanctity, who was then residing at Rhodes, having lately returned from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Her pious demeanour had gained her great influence amongst the people, who were led to attribute to her supernatural powers. This woman, perambulating the streets with naked feet, commenced denouncing some of their leaders, asserting that the calamities which had befallen Rhodes were the results of the vengeance of God, called down upon them on account of the iniquities prevailing amongst their chiefs. No names were mentioned, but general suspicion, thus turned in a particular direction, awaited but the slightest mark to draw down the vengeance of the community upon the unfortunate individual who might become its victim.

Whilst the ferment was at its height, a servant of the chancellor D'Amaral, named Blaise Diaz, was detected on the bastion of D'Auvergne with a bow in his hand. As this was not the first time that he had been seen under similar circumstances, he was arrested and brought before the Grand-Master. By his order the man was interrogated before the judges of the castellany, and under the influence of the question he admitted his guilt, averring that he had been employed by his master to discharge treasonable correspondence into the enemy's camp. D'Amaral was at once arrested and confronted with his accuser, who in his presence repeated the charge. No sooner had the name of the chancellor become bruited abroad, in connection with the treason that had so disturbed the minds of the populace, than numbers rushed forward, eager to add corroborative testimony in support of the accusation. The arrogance of his conduct, and the haughty insolence of his bearing, had created him many enemies in every sphere of life; and now,

when the cloud of suspicion had fallen upon his fair fame, all were ready to lend a helping hand to complete his destruction; nor was there found one to breathe a word for the undeviating gallantry of his conduct during the forty years of good service which he had rendered to the Order. A Greek priest deposed that he had seen the chancellor with Diaz on the bastion of Auvergne, and that the latter had discharged an arrow with a letter attached to it from the rampart. Other evidence was also adduced to prove that on the election of L'Isle Adam, he had asserted that that Knight would be the last Grand-Master of Rhodes. Upon this testimony he was submitted to torture, which, however, he bore with unswerving fortitude, asserting that he had nothing to reveal, and that at the close of a life spent in the service of the Order, he would not disgrace his former career by the assertion of a falsehood to rescue his aged limbs from the pain of the rack.

His firmness and constancy did not avail to save him from those who were clamorous for his death. The concentrated hatred of years was now poured upon his devoted head, and his doom was irrevocably sealed. Diaz, of whose guilt there could not be the shadow of a doubt, was sentenced to be hanged and quartered; which decree was carried into execution on the 6th of November. D'Amaral, whose rank forbade so degrading a death, was doomed to be beheaded. Prior to this last scene, however, it was necessary that he should be stripped of the habit of his Order, which ceremony was carried into effect in the church of St. John, on the 7th of November, and on the following day he suffered the last penalty of the law, in the public square, with the

same dignity and firmness that had characterised the whole of his previous conduct.

Of the two contemporary writers who have given accounts of this siege, both of whom were eye-witnesses to the events they record, one, namely the Chevalier de Bourbon, asserts the guilt of the chancellor without hesitation, and may be fairly taken as the mouthpiece of the general opinion within the town. The other, however, Fontanus, who was one of the judges appointed to investigate the charge, is far more obscure upon the matter, and a careful perusal of his work leads to the supposition that he had detected no proofs of guilt in D'Amaral. Never, perhaps, was man condemned to death upon weaker evidence. The deposition of his own servant, who, it must be remembered, had been detected in a treasonable act, and might naturally wish to save himself by fixing the guilt of the transaction upon another, should have been received with great caution. The evidence of the Greek priest was absolutely worthless. Why, if he had previously witnessed the transmission of treasonable communications, had he not denounced the criminal at once, at a time when treason was known to be fraught with so imminent a danger? The explanation which D'Amaral gave of this man's evidence was probably correct, when he asserted that it was the effect of spite, owing to his having frequently had occasion to find fault with the looseness of his life, so scandalous in a member of his profession. That was not, however, a moment when men weighed calmly either their motives or their actions. The mere suspicion of treason was in itself sufficient for condemnation, and the chancellor D'Amaral fell a noble, and as far as

history can judge, an innocent victim to popular clamour.

Meanwhile, the sultan was weighing in his own mind the advisability of abandoning the siege ; and this design he would have carried into effect had he not been informed by an Albanian deserter of the state of destitution to which the garrison was reduced. Upon the receipt of this information, he at length determined to persevere ; and either to triumph over the obstinate resistance of the town, or to find a grave beneath its soil. Upon the degradation of Mustapha, Achmet Pasha had been nominated to the chief command ; and under his leadership several fresh assaults were made, and as invariably repulsed. Upon each occasion the breaches became wider, and the ramparts more untenable ; the defenders were fewer, and their strength more exhausted ; hope had given way to despair, and the prospect of a relief from Europe had grown more and more dim ; still the foe was ever driven back, and Solyman was forced to admit that he should be enabled to enter the city only when the last of its illustrious defenders lay stretched upon its ramparts.

Not only the men in this desperate struggle earned for themselves the proud meed of glory so protracted a defence well merited ; the women of Rhodes, in the fearful emergency, proved themselves worthy helpmates to the heroic garrison. Many stories are told of their courage and devotion during the trying crisis ; and throughout they appear to have aided materially, by precept and example, in maintaining the constancy of the besieged. One woman, a Greek by birth, and either the wife or the mistress of an officer of the garrison, (since she is variously reported as either), gained for her

memory an imperishable renown by her sad though brilliant fate, upon the occasion of one of these latter assaults. She had been engaged in bringing wine and refreshments to the defenders, when, at the very moment that the Turks appeared about to force the barrier opposed to them, and penetrate into the town, she saw her husband struck to the earth, and perish beneath the weapons of the assailants. Overwhelmed with despair at this sad spectacle, she rushed to her home, conceiving that the last hour of Rhodian freedom had arrived, and that the foe were even then penetrating into the town. Vowing that her children should never fall alive into the hands of the Turks, to be trained up in the errors of Islamism, and to become apostates to that religion in which they had been born, she slew them both, and then returning to the scene of strife, rushed into the thickest of the struggle, and fell covered with wounds; not, however, before she had amply avenged the fate of her lover.

When the women were capable of acts such as these, the glorious defence which Rhodes effected ceases to be matter of surprise. There is, however, a limit to the powers of human endurance, and the time had now come when that limit appears to have been reached. The resistance which was still offered was as indomitable as ever; although the Turk had established himself permanently upon two distinct points on the ramparts, he was not yet master of the place; and as each successive bulwark was forced and abandoned, fresh ones sprang up. The churches of St. Pantaleon and Notre Dame de la Victorie had both been destroyed to prevent their occupation by the advancing enemy, and their ruins had served to form a fresh barrier to his progress. Well

might Solyman begin to despair of ever calling the city his own ; for six months had he poured all the gigantic resources in his possession against its bulwarks, sixty thousand men had, according to the statement of Achmet Pasha himself, fallen beneath the swords of the garrison, in addition to from forty to fifty thousand who had succumbed to disease and the inclemency of the weather ; and yet, after all this sacrifice, he found himself advancing into the town, only in the face of ever-renewing barricades. He might, it was true, by the sheer force of numbers, and an obstinate perseverance in the contest, gradually destroy even the last vestige of resistance, but it would be only to gain a ruin tenanted by corpses.

Then, too, he could not hope that succour for the garrison would be much longer delayed in its arrival. Owing to the disturbed character of European politics, he had been enabled to continue his struggle against Rhodes for a period of six months unmolested ; but now that the gallant resistance it was maintaining was being told throughout Europe with enthusiasm ; when men were gazing with admiration upon the spectacle thus afforded to them, he could not expect that he would much longer be left to pursue his object undisturbed. Under these circumstances he acquiesced eagerly in the proposal of Achmet Pasha, that the garrison should be invited to capitulate. Unwilling, however, that such a suggestion should appear to emanate from himself personally, he directed a Genoese, named Monilio, who was present in his camp, to undertake the mission. Matters were prepared for him by the transmission of sundry letters, which were shot into the town, and in which the sultan urged upon the people



to surrender, promising both life and liberty for themselves and families, in case of a speedy compliance, and threatening them with the most dire vengeance, should their resistance be further protracted.

When these letters had had sufficient time to create the effect intended, Monilio presented himself one morning before the bastion of Auvergne, requesting an interview with Matteo de Via, one of the leading citizens of Rhodes. Upon this request being refused, he commenced to urge those to whom he was speaking to demand terms of capitulation from the sultan, drawing, at the same time, a most fearful picture of the consequences, in case they neglected to do so. In this attempt he met with a haughty repulse, being informed that the Knights of St. John only treated with the Infidels sword in hand. With this unsatisfactory answer, Monilio returned to the camp, but two days later he again appeared, bearing, as he averred, a letter from the sultan to the Grand-Master. This letter L'Isle Adam refused to receive, and the messenger was informed that if he attempted any further parleying, he would be fired upon. The Grand-Master had long since decided upon the line of conduct he intended to pursue. He was well aware that his own resources were too far exhausted to admit of his protracting the defence much longer. Still he had ever in view the prospect of a relief from Europe; and even if this last hope should fail him, he had determined to make the ruins of Rhodes the common grave of himself and his brethren, ere he would submit to yield it to the Infidel.

Had the town contained within its limits none but members of the Order of St. John, this resolution would most indubitably have been carried into effect, and

history would have had to record a far bloodier and more tragical termination than that which Providence decreed should be the fate of the city. It no sooner, however, became noised abroad that the subject of capitulation had been mooted from the Infidel camp, than a cabal arose in the town to urge its acceptance. There were not wanting those who preferred life to the glory of a further resistance; and, indeed, it may well be considered, that to men unfettered by the vows which bound the members of the Order, further opposition, under such hopeless circumstances, must have appeared perfect madness. The principal citizens commissioned their metropolitan to urge upon the Grand-Master the necessity of treating with the enemy. L'Isle Adam now found that it did not depend entirely upon himself to carry his heroic resolutions into effect. Without the concurrence of the citizens, this would be impossible; and the metropolitan openly assured him that that concurrence would not be obtained.

A council was therefore summoned to deliberate upon the matter; and, whilst it was sitting, three deputies from the townspeople appeared, who presented a petition signed by the principal inhabitants, in which they implored the Order to provide for the safety of their wives and children, and to rescue from the polluting profanations of the Infidel those holy relics of their religion which they all held in such high veneration. The petition closed with a threat that if the Order neglected to comply with its requests, the inhabitants would feel themselves bound by every law divine and human to secure the safety of those dearer to them than life, through their own efforts. Upon hearing this petition, the Grand-Master called upon the prior of St. Gilles,

and the engineer Martinigo, to report upon the existing state of the town and fortifications. Thereupon, the latter rose and asserted, upon his honour and upon his conscience, that he did not consider the place longer tenable; that the slaves and other pioneers had all been either killed or wounded, so that they were no longer able to muster a sufficient amount of labour to move a piece of artillery from one battery to another; that it was impossible without men to carry on the repairs and reconstructions rendered necessary by the constant bombardments of the foe; that their ammunition and stores had long since been consumed, and the little powder which remained was barely sufficient to enable them to resist two more assaults; and that seeing the great advantage which the enemy had gained, they being already established within the town, without any possibility of dislodging them, he was of opinion that the city was lost, and that there was no further hope of saving it. The prior of St. Gilles corroborated this statement in every particular, and joined with Martinigo in urging the necessity of a capitulation.

The council was long and stormy: many there were who like the Grand-Master were desirous of emulating the self-devotion of their predecessors, and of burying themselves, and all belonging to them, beneath the ruins of Rhodes, ere they would permit the contamination of the Infidel's presence in the guise of a conqueror. Had the Knights been alone within the city, and had there not been a large and defenceless population placed under their charge, this glorious but suicidal line of policy would have been adopted. As it was, however, there were not wanting men in that council chamber who perceived that in passing this sentence of doom upon them-

selves they were also drawing down destruction upon others, who had no religious call for such a sacrifice, and who, having faithfully stood by them during many an eventful struggle, were now entitled to ample consideration at their hands. A further protraction of the defence would involve not only their own deaths, which they were justified in sacrificing for their faith, but also the ruthless and indiscriminate massacre of all the male population, the brutal violation of the women, the slavery of the children who would be trained up as apostates to their religion, and the profanation and destruction of those sacred relics which they prized so highly, and in the possession of which they considered themselves greatly favoured amidst the communities of Christendom. Moreover, they felt that the question at issue was not left entirely in their own hands. They might, it is true, decide upon maintaining the struggle, and thereby doom the town and all its inhabitants to certain destruction; but would the people stand tamely by and see themselves thus marked out for slaughter, without opposing an effort, simply because the council had so decreed it? The memorial which had already been read proved that such would not be the case; and that if they were not prepared to capitulate themselves, there were those among the people who would not hesitate to take the matter into their own hands.

If the town were to be yielded, it was far better that it should be by the unanimous act of its garrison, which would ensure their obtaining better terms from the sultan than he would be disposed to grant if he once knew that there was a division in their councils. It was therefore decreed that the next offer of parley should be accepted; and that the Grand-Master should

be authorised to secure the best terms which he could obtain. The chiefs of Solyman's army were too desirous of putting a stop to the fearful effusion of blood which had now been going on for six months, and of obtaining possession, upon almost any terms, of that city which seemed, as it were, to recede from their grasp as they advanced, to keep the garrison waiting long for an opportunity of negotiation.

Upon the tenth of December, a white flag was observed waving from the top of a church, standing within the limits of the Turkish position, and this was at once answered by another, hoisted upon a windmill near the Cosquino gate. Two Turks then advanced from the trenches for the purpose of opening a parley, and were met at the above-named gate by Martinigo and the prior of St. Gilles. They handed in a letter containing the conditions upon which the sultan would consent to a capitulation. In consideration of the instant surrender of the town, he was prepared to permit the Grand-Master with his knights, and such of the citizens of all ranks as might choose to leave the town, to depart with their personal baggage, and all their household property. Those who chose to remain were guaranteed in the undisturbed exercise of their religion, and were to be freed from tribute for five years; the churches were to be protected from profanation; and all property, both public and private, rescued from pillage. The letter concluded with the most awful threats and denunciations, if these terms were not at once accepted.

The council decided upon despatching an embassy to the Turkish camp; and nominated for this purpose Anthony Grollée, the standard-bearer of the Order, and a Rhodian named Robert Perrucey. These ambassadors

at once proceeded to the tent of Achmet Pasha, who on behalf of the Turks despatched into the city two hostages of high rank, to guarantee the safe return of the Rhodian envoys. On the following day Solyman admitted them to an audience, but commenced by ignoring the contents of his letter, conceiving it to have been beneath his dignity that he should have taken the initiative on the subject of capitulation. He however averred that he was willing to adhere to the terms therein specified, but that he required an immediate reply. A truce for three days was entered into, and one of the envoys was directed to return to Rhodes with the sultan's offer, the other being, meanwhile, retained in the Turkish camp.

Whilst this parley was going forward, a re-action set in amongst some of the more hot-headed of the youthful Rhodians. A tumultuous band of these turbulent fire-eaters presented themselves before the Grand-Master, complaining that he was opening negotiations with the enemy, by which the townspeople were to be sacrificed to ensure the safety of the Order; and that it was well known how useless it was to enter into any treaty with the Turks, who immediately upon the surrender of the town, would, as they had previously done in the case of Belgrade and other cities, at once repudiate the terms of the contract. They desired, therefore, to maintain the defence to the last moment, and urged upon the Grand-Master that he should at once break off all further parley. To this demand L'Isle Adam replied, that he was delighted to observe so martial a spirit still reigning within their bosoms; that their views coincided precisely with those which he had always personally maintained; and that, should the negotiations then

going forward not succeed, they might rest assured that he would call upon them to redeem their pledge, and assist him in protracting the defence of the town to the latest possible point. The irony of this speech could scarcely have passed unobserved ; since none knew better than L'Isle Adam how little reliance was to be placed upon the idle vapourings and the martial braggadocio of these Rhodian heroes.

As he was still not entirely without hopes of a succour from Europe, he determined upon protracting the negotiations as far as possible. With this view he on the following morning despatched a fresh embassy to the Turkish camp, the real object of which was to gain time, but the ostensible one to endeavour to persuade Solyman to offer somewhat easier conditions. For this purpose he forwarded a letter, which had been received by Peter d'Aubusson from Bajazet, the grandfather of Solyman, in which that prince invoked the malediction of heaven upon any of his successors who should attempt to disturb the Order of St. John in the peaceable possession of the island of Rhodes. Achmet Pasha, to whom this letter was first shown, and who was extremely anxious that the negotiation should be brought to a successful termination, at once destroyed the document, feeling sure that if it ever came under the eye of his master, it would only stimulate his rage against the fraternity, by recalling to his memory an incident in the history of his forefathers which in no way redounded to the glory of his race.

At this juncture, and whilst the terms of the treaty were being discussed, an unfortunate collision between some of the members of the garrison and the Turks, in which several of the latter lost their lives, brought the

whole matter to a premature close; the truce was rescinded, the batteries reopened, and everything was placed upon its former warlike footing. Some prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the Turks were mutilated, by having their fingers, noses, and ears cut off, and in that miserable plight were sent back into the town with the message that such was the treatment the garrison might now expect at the hands of the sultan. L'Isle Adam was overjoyed at the failure of his negotiation. He had never entered into it warmly, and nothing but a stern sense of necessity and duty had induced him to give his consent to the attempt. Now that that attempt had been made, and had failed, and when the enemy were pursuing their attack with even greater vigour and animosity than ever, he felt that the project which he had entertained, of burying himself and his fraternity beneath the ashes of their city, would speedily be accomplished.

Mindful of the boastings in which the Rhodian youth had indulged, at a time when their valour appeared no more likely to be put to the test, he summoned them all to the ramparts, and allotting to each the post which he was to occupy, forbade any one to abandon it under pain of instant death. In the inflexible pursuance of this stern decree, the first who was discovered retiring from the scene of danger where he had been stationed, was seized, and by the direction of the Grand-Master, instantly hanged, to the great dismay of his brethren, who, now that their frothy enthusiasm had evaporated, beheld themselves doomed to certain destruction in no very pleasant frame of mind.

The recommencement of hostilities was followed up by an assault upon the retrenchment of the Spanish



bastion, still maintained by the Knights. This took place on the 17th of December, and although the struggle was continued for nearly the whole day, the Turks were once more worsted by the noble band of heroes to whom they were opposed, and were compelled to retire in discomfiture to their lines. On the following day, however, they were more successful, for the assault being renewed, they found themselves eventually left in undisputed possession of the last vestige of the bastion. This loss completed the dismay of the inhabitants. Those who had but a few days before been foremost in urging war to the knife, now pressed upon the Grand-Master the necessity of a speedy surrender.

Unable to control the panic of the multitude, and resting sure that they would, if opposed, speedily secure for themselves what they now demanded of him, he consented to re-open the negotiation, and fresh envoys were despatched to Solyman, with *carte blanche* to surrender the town upon the best terms they could obtain. Solyman received the ambassadors in his pavilion, in all the splendour of his imperial majesty, surrounded by the janissaries of his body-guard. Upon hearing the errand which had brought them into his presence, the sultan consented once again to offer the terms which he had previously tendered, and these conditions were immediately accepted by the envoys on behalf of L'Isle Adam. The principal stipulations were, that the citizens should remain in perfect freedom in their persons and in their religion; that the Knights should be permitted to leave the island in their own galleys, bearing with them all their personal property; and that such of the citizens as preferred to follow the fortunes of the Order, rather than remain at Rhodes under the

dominion of the Turks, should have free permission to do so ; and that twelve clear days should be allowed for the embarkation. The churches were to be guaranteed from profanation, and their sacred relics were to remain the property of the Order.

That the due execution of the treaty might be ensured, the Turkish army was to be withdrawn from the vicinity for several miles, and only a select body of four thousand janissaries were to enter the gates, and take possession in behalf of their imperial master. In return for this clemency, so unusual in those days of sanguinary warfare, the Knights were to yield up peaceable possession, not only of the city, but of all its dependent islands, and the castle of St. Peter on the mainland. Twenty-five of the Knights of the Order, including two grand-crosses, and the same number of citizens, were to be given as hostages for the due execution of this treaty ; and as soon as they had made their appearance in the Turkish camp, the aga of the janissaries, with the specified number of troops, entered the town, and took formal possession of it on behalf of the sultan.

Thus the island of Rhodes, after having remained for a period of two hundred years in the possession of the Knights of St. John, once more reverted to the power of the Infidel, from whom it had been torn by Fulk de Villaret. All the skill which engineering science had developed upon its massive fortifications, all the beauties which the genius of art had lavished upon its buildings, were now lost to the Order and to Christianity. That lovely island, the garden of the East, so replete with beauties both natural and artificial ; that city whose ramparts had so long frowned with proud disdain

upon the utmost efforts of its Infidel foe, now no longer owned the gentle sway of the friars of the Hospital ; but still bearing the relics of its former grandeur, and still displaying in its buildings the magnificence of those who had raised it to what it was, passed for ever beneath the rule of the Moslem, whilst its former lords were once again doomed to seek their fortune upon the wide world.

Twice before, in narrating the history of the Order of St. John, has it been necessary to pause upon a picture very similar to this. The torrent of Christian enthusiasm, pouring eastward in its impetuous onset, had originally rescued the Holy Land from the desecration of the unbeliever. At the utmost confines of that newly acquired territory, we find the Knights of the Hospital the most powerful bulwark of the infant kingdom. As the enthusiasm of Europe died away, and the power of the Infidel was gradually concentrated and aggrandised, the pressure upon the Christian establishments in Syria became irresistible. Step by step the Hospitallers were driven backward, ever with their face to the foe, and never yielding one inch of ground until it had been watered with the blood of the noblest of their community. Jerusalem, Margat, Acre, and Rhodes were so many steps by which the overwhelming power of the Infidel had driven them to retire westward. Every stage in this progress had been dearly purchased ; every effort which human ingenuity could devise, or human fortitude prompt, had been made to check this fatal retrogression, but in vain. For 200 years the fraternity had maintained this, their last bulwark in the East. Once during that period they had successfully resisted the whole might of the Turkish empire, and the defence

of Rhodes had become a bye-word of admiration throughout Europe.

Now they had for a period of six months withstood a force exceeding their own forty-fold. Ample time had, through their indomitable courage, been given to the nations of Europe to foil the ambition of Solymán, and to rescue from the hands of the Moslem the fairest flower of the Levant, but the opportunity had been rejected. Internecine strife and petty jealousies had prevented any interference on behalf of the besieged garrison. The Turk had been suffered to wreak his will unrestrained and uncontrolled, and the natural result followed, that the banner of the false prophet was at length to be seen waving over those battlements where the white cross of St. John had, during so many years, hurled its proud defiance, an object equally of hatred and of dread to the corsair of the East.

To the communities of Europe the loss of Rhodes was justly a subject of the deepest shame. Apathy and indifference could be stretched to no further point than that which they had been permitted to attain for the six months during which this memorable struggle lasted; and its unfortunate issue must ever remain a deep blot in the history of the sixteenth century. To the Knights of Rhodes, however, the event bears with it no such memory of disgrace. The gallantry which had so long withstood such desperate odds was warmly recognised, and enthusiastically hailed by admiring nations. As the struggle progressed, and its ultimate issue became more and more certain, men held their breath as they gazed upon that touching scene of heroism and endurance; and when at length, driven from their homes, feeble in number, and shattered in prospects, the relics

of that gallant band wandered westward in search of a new haven, they were everywhere greeted with such rapturous enthusiasm as well marked the sense which Europe entertained of the efforts which they had made. The feeling of the world was aptly expressed by Charles V., who upon hearing of the disastrous issue of the siege, turned to his courtiers and exclaimed, "There has been nothing so well lost in the world as Rhodes."



# APPENDIX.

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## No. 1.

### CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE GRAND-MASTERS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, DISTINGUISHING THE VARIOUS NATIONS.

1. Raymond du Puy	.	.	French	.	1118—1160
2. Auger de Balben	.	.	French	.	1160—1162
3. Arnaud de Comps	.	.	French	.	1162—1168
4. Gilbert d'Ascali	.	.	Engl. (doubtful)	.	1168—1169
5. Gastus	.	.	doubtful	.	1169
6. Joubert	.	.	doubtful	.	1169—1179
7. Roger des Moulins	.	.	doubtful	.	1179—1187
8. Garnier de Napoli	.	.	English	.	1187
9. Ermengard Daps	.	.	doubtful	.	1187—1192
10. Godfrey de Duisson	.	.	French	.	1192—1194
11. Alphonso of Portugal	.	.	Portuguese	.	1194—1195
12. Geoffrey le Rat	.	.	French	.	1195—1207
13. Guerin de Montaque	.	.	French	.	1207—1230
14. Bertrand de Texi	.	.	French	.	1230—1231
15. Guerin	.	.	doubtful	.	1231—1236
16. Bertrand de Comps	.	.	French	.	1236—1241
17. Peter de Villebride	.	.	doubtful	.	1241—1244
18. William de Chateaufneuf	.	.	French	.	1244—1259
19. Hugh de Revel	.	.	French	.	1259—1278
20. Nicholas Loŕgue	.	.	doubtful	.	1278—1289
21. John de Villiers	.	.	French	.	1289—1297
22. Odon de Pius	.	.	French	.	1297—1300

23. William de Villaret . . .	French . . .	1300—1306
24. Fulk de Villaret . . .	French . . .	1306—1319
25. Elyon de Villanova . . .	French . . .	1319—1346
26. Deodato de Gozon . . .	French . . .	1346—1353
27. Peter de Cornillan . . .	French . . .	1353—1355
28. Roger de Pius . . .	French . . .	1355—1365
29. Raymond de Berenger . . .	French . . .	1365—1374
30. Robert de Julliac . . .	French . . .	1374—1376
31. Ferdinand d'Heredia . . .	Spanish . . .	1376—1396
32. Philibert de Naillac . . .	French . . .	1396—1421
33. Antoine Fluvian . . .	Spanish . . .	1421—1437
34. John de Lastic . . .	French . . .	1437—1454
35. James de Milli . . .	French . . .	1454—1461
36. Peter Raymond Zacosta . . .	Spanish . . .	1461—1467
37. John Baptiste d'Ursins . . .	Italian . . .	1467—1476
38. Peter d'Aubusson . . .	French . . .	1476—1503
39. Almeric Amboise . . .	French . . .	1503—1512
40. Guy de Blanchefort . . .	French . . .	1512—1513
41. Fabricius Carretto . . .	Italian . . .	1513—1521
42. Philip Villiers de L'Isle Adam . . .	French . . .	1521—1534
43. Peter du Pont . . .	Italian . . .	1534—1535
44. Didier de Saint Jaille . . .	French . . .	1535—1536
45. John d'Omedes . . .	Spanish . . .	1536—1553
46. Claude de la Sangle . . .	French . . .	1553—1557
47. John de la Valette . . .	French . . .	1557—1568
48. Peter de Monte . . .	Italian . . .	1568—1572
49. John L'Eveque de la Cassiere . . .	French . . .	1572—1581
50. Hugh de Verdala . . .	French . . .	1581—1595
51. Martin Garces . . .	Spanish . . .	1595—1601
52. Alof de Vignacourt . . .	French . . .	1601—1622
53. Louis Mendes de Vasconcellos . . .	Spanish . . .	1622—1625
54. Antony de Paule . . .	French . . .	1625—1636
55. John de Lascaris . . .	French . . .	1636—1657
56. Martin de Redin . . .	Spanish . . .	1657—1660
57. Annet de Clermont . . .	French . . .	1660
58. Rafael Cottoner . . .	Spanish . . .	1660—1663
59. Nicholas Cottoner . . .	Spanish . . .	1663—1680
60. Gregory Caraffa . . .	Spanish . . .	1680—1690

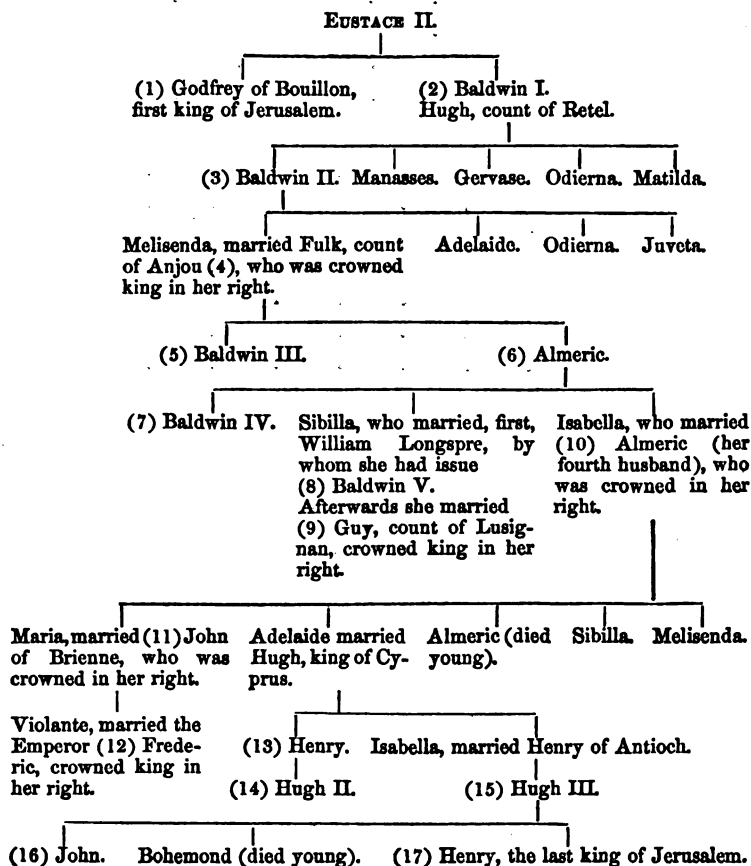


61. Adrian de Vignacourt .	French .	1690—1697
62. Raymond Peirelos .	Spanish .	1697—1720
63. Mark Antony Zondodari .	Italian .	1720—1722
64. Antony Manuel de Vilhena .	Portuguese .	1722—1736
65. Raymond Despuig .	Spanish .	1736—1741
66. Emmanuel Pinto .	Portuguese .	1741—1773
67. Francois Ximenes .	Spanish .	1773—1775
68. Emmanuel de Rohan .	French .	1775—1797
69. Ferdinand de Hompesch .	German .	1797—1799

French Knights .	38
Spanish Knights .	13
Italian Knights .	5
Portuguese Knights .	3
English Knights .	2
German Knights .	1
Doubtful .	7

## No. 2.

## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF JERUSALEM.



## No. 3.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE MUSSULMAN RULERS,  
TRACED FROM MAHOMET.

A.D. 632. Death of Mahomet.

634. Omar.

644. Osman.

656. Ali.

*Division into the three Caliphates of Egypt, Damascus, and Cairo.*

*Caliphs of Egypt.*

969. Morzz.

975. Azz Billah.

996. Hakem.

1021. Duher.

1036. Monstaur Billah. (The caliph who first authorised  
the erection of a Hospital at Jerusalem.)

1092. Barkiarck.

1094. Mostali. (Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders,  
1099.)

1101. Mansor.

1130. Haphed.

*Sultans of Egypt.*

1145. Nourheddin.

1149. Dhafer.

1155. Fayez.

1160. Adhed Sedinillah.

1171. Saladin. (Loss of Jerusalem.)

1193. Aziz.

1198. Mansour.

1200. Saphadin I.

1218. Kamel.

1238. Saphadin II.

1240. Saleh.

1249. Moudham.

*Mamelouk Sultans.*

- A.D. 1250. Aschraf.  
1254. Azzedin.  
1257. Nourrhedin.  
1259. Koutoug.  
1260. Bibais.  
1277. Bereki Kan.  
1279. Kelaon.

*Ottoman Empire.*

1288. Osman (or Othman).  
1325. Orkan.  
1359. Amurath (or Mourad) I.  
1389. Bajazet I.  
1402. Conquest by Tamerlane and death of Bajazet.  
1402. Solyman I.  
1410. Musa.  
1413. Mahomet I.  
1421. Amurath II.  
1452. Mahomet II.  
1480. First siege of Rhodes.  
1481. Bajazet II. (Zizim's flight to Rhodes.)  
1512. Selim I.  
1520. Solyman II. (the Magnificent).  
1522. Loss of Rhodes.  
1565. Siege of Malta.  
1566. Selim II.  
1574. Amurath III.  
1595. Mahomet III.  
1603. Achmet I.  
1617. Mustapha I.  
1618. Osman II.  
1622. Mustapha restored.  
1623. Amurath IV.  
1640. Ibrahim.  
1649. Mahomet IV.  
1687. Solyman III.  
1692. Achmet II.  
1695. Mustapha II.

- A.D. 1703. Achmet III.  
 1730. Mahmoud.  
 1754. Osman III.  
 1757. Mustapha III.  
 1774. Achmet IV.  
 1789. Selim III.
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## No. 4.

ORIGINAL DONATION OF GODFREY OF BOUILLON TO THE  
 HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN. (Ex Cod. papyrac. Biblioth.  
 Vaticanæ, N. 3136, page 19.)

AU nom de la sainte, quidessevrer ne se puet, Trinite, Jê Godoffroy par la grace de Dieu et de la reigne ffus assavoyr a tous presens et avenir que come par la remission de mes pechies Je eusse chargie mon cuer et mes espaules dou signe dou sauveur crucifie pour nous; Je parvins au dernay au luog ou ssaes-terent les pies du tres aut Jhesu Crist, et come Je eusse visite le saint cepulcre dou Seignor et tous less saints luogs de saints hopitivées entendement de penitence a la fin Je parvins a lyglise dou benaure hospital, fondez en honor de Dieu et de sa tres benaurée mère et de Saint Johan precursor dou Seignor, et voyant en ela dons de grace dou Saint Esperit qui no se porroyt recomtier, lesquels sont departis en les povres foybles et malades habundament et humblement vouz adyeu et de penitence a la dite mayson de l'hospital et a tous les freres une maison fondee sur monalem abryele mon boure en la froide montagne de tout ce qui apeut deli et ses rentes et avoir et porceor a tous jorns mays franchement. C'est don de ma donation fu fait en lan delincarnacion noutre Seignor en lan de la prise de Jerusalem MCLXXXIII en la seysesme epacte en la primieyra Indicion pour la salu de marme, de mon pere, et de ma mere, et de tous mes devantiers et de mes parens et de tous autres fiells et vis et mors.

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## No. 5.

**LIST OF THE FIRST MEMBERS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN, COTEMPORARIES WITH ITS FOUNDER, GERARD, FROM 1099 TO 1135. (From Paolo Antonio Paoli.)**

Lambert . . . .	. Supposed to have been a son of Canon de Montaique, and to have been martyred by the Saracens.
Robert di Riccardi . . .	. Robert Fitz Richard, an Englishman, Prior of the Order in England in 1100, and supposed to be of the family of Lacy.
Roger de Pagan or Payen .	. Master of the Hospital in Jerusalem in 1112.
Bojante Ruggiero . . .	. Mentioned in a charter of Atto, Count d'Abuzzo.
Gualtier . . . .	. Mentioned in a charter of Ponz, Count of Tripoli, 1105.
Bertrand . . . .	. Prior of Monte Pellegrino, 1105.
Ridolfo . . . .	. Superior of the Hospital establishment at Jaffa, 1126.
Gubaldo . . . .	. Prior of Messina, named in a charter of Roger, King of Sicily, 1137.
Berand . . . .	. Prior of Arles in 1117.
Berald . . . .	. Hospitaller of St. Gyles, mentioned by Count Atto.
Pietro Barcinonise . . .	} Mentioned in a charter dated 1117.
Bernard the Deacon . . .	
Ascelin . . . .	
Pietro d'Andusia . . .	
Stephen Raymond . . .	
Poggio de Montlaur . . .	
Odo . . . .	
Culveto . . . .	} Prior of Toulouse at its foundation, 1120.
Gerald . . . .	

Durand . . . .	Constable of the Order, named in a letter of Hugh, Seigneur of Jaffa, 1125.
Bertrand . . . .	} Named in a charter dated 1125.
Arnold de Someri . . . .	
Robert . . . .	} 1126.
Peter Malet . . . .	
Pierre Raymond . . . .	} Named in a letter of Hugh, Count of Jaffa, 1126.
Regnier de Tiberias . . . .	
Pierre de Tiberias . . . .	
William of Jaffa . . . .	
Pietro Galliziano . . . .	
Gerard William of Jaffa . . . .	
Pierre William the Chancellor . . . .	} Named in a charter of Bernard, Bishop of Arles, 1129.
William de Saint Clement . . . .	
Anno . . . .	First Master.
Raymond du Puy or Poggio . . . .	} Named in a charter of Baldwin II., 1129.
Alfan . . . .	
Jean Turc . . . .	Superior of the Order in France, 1130.
Gerard Jebert . . . .	Called also Josbert and Zebert, named by William of Tyre.
Andrea the Priest . . . .	} Named in a charter of Garnier, Seigneur of Cesarea, 1131.
William Bertrand . . . .	
Hildebrand Chaco . . . .	
Gerard de Calumgum . . . .	
Martin Re . . . .	} Named in a donation of Baldwin, Bishop of Beirat, 1133.
Gerard the Subdeacon . . . .	
William Almeric . . . .	
Ridolfo . . . .	} Named in a charter of Hugh, Count of Jaffa, 1133.
Ponsio the Priest . . . .	
Gerard—Clerico . . . .	
Gerard Giobbe Barro . . . .	
Thomas . . . .	} Named in a letter of Gonzelin, Count of Cesarea, 1134.
Guarine . . . .	
Oelardo . . . .	

## No. 6.

**BULL OF POPE PASCHAL II., CONFIRMING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN. (Translated from the original Latin.)**

Paschal, bishop, and servant of such as are the servants of God, to his venerable son Gerard, founder and Master of the Hospital at Jerusalem, and to his lawful successors for evermore. The requests of a devout desire ought to meet with a corresponding fulfilment. Inasmuch, as of thy affection thou hast requested, with regard to the Hospital which thou hast founded in the city of Jerusalem, in proximity to the Church of the blessed John the Baptist, that it should be supported by the authority of the apostolic see, and fostered by the patronage of the blessed apostle Peter: We, therefore, much pleased with the pious earnestness of thy hospitality, do receive the petition with our paternal favour, and do ordain and establish, by the authority of this our present decree, that that house of God, your Hospital, shall now be placed, and shall for ever remain, under the protection of the apostolic see, and under that of the blessed Peter. All things whatsoever, therefore, which by thy persevering care and solicitude have been collected for the benefit of the said Hospital, for the support and maintenance of pilgrims, or for relieving the necessities of the poor, whether in the churches of Jerusalem, or in those of parishes within the limits of other cities; and whatsoever things may have been offered already by the faithful, or for the future may through God's grace be so offered, or collected by other lawful means; and whatsoever things have been, or shall be granted to thee, or to thy successors, or to the brethren who are occupied in the care and support of pilgrims, by the venerable brethren the bishops of the diocese of Jerusalem; we hereby decree shall be retained by you in peace and undiminished. Moreover, as to the tithes of your revenues, which ye collect everywhere at your own charge, and by your own toil, we do hereby fix and decree, that they shall be retained by your own Hospital, all



opposition on the part of the bishops and their clergy notwithstanding. We also decree as valid all donations, which have been made to your Hospital by pious princes, either of their tribute moneys or other imposts. We ordain furthermore, that at thy death no man shall be appointed in thy place, as chief and master, by any underhand subtlety, or by violence; but him only who shall, by the inspiration of God, have been duly elected by the professed brethren of the Institution. Furthermore, all dignities or possessions which your Hospital at present holds, either on this side of the water, to wit in Asia, or in Europe, as also those which hereafter by God's bounty it may obtain; we confirm them to thee and to thy successors, who shall be devoting themselves with a pious zeal to the cares of hospitality, and through you to the said Hospital in perpetuity. We further decree that it shall be unlawful for any man whatsoever rashly to disturb your Hospital, or to carry off any of its property, or if carried off to retain possession of it, or to diminish ought from its revenues, or to harass it with audacious annoyances. But let all its property remain intact, for the sole use and enjoyment of those for whose maintenance and support it has been granted. As to the Hospitals or Poor Houses in the Western provinces, at Burgum of St. Ægidius, Lisan Barum, Hispalum, Tarentum, and Messana, which are distinguished by the title of Hospitals of Jerusalem, we decree that they shall for ever remain, as they are this day, under the subjection and disposal of thyself and thy successors. If, therefore, at a future time, any person, whether ecclesiastical or secular, knowing this paragraph of our constitution, shall attempt to oppose its provisions, and if, after having received a second or third warning, he shall not make a suitable satisfaction and restitution, let him be deprived of all his dignities and honours, and let him know that he stands exposed to the judgment of God, for the iniquity he has perpetrated; and let him be deprived of the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, and of the benefits of the redemption of Our Lord, and at the last judgment let him meet with the severest vengeance. But to all who deal justly and rightly with the same, on them be the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, so that not only here below

they may receive the rewards of a good action, but also before the Judge of all mankind, they may enjoy the blessing of peace eternal.

I PASCHAL, Bishop of the Catholic Church.  
I RICHARD, Bishop of Alboe, have signed.  
I CALIXTUS, Bishop of the Catholic Church.  
I LANDULPHUS, Bishop of Beneventum,  
have read and signed.

Given at Beneventum, by the hand of John, Cardinal of the Roman Church, and Librarian, on the 15th day of the calends of March, in the 6th indiction of the incarnation of our Lord, in the year 1113, and in the 13th year of the Pontificate of our Lord Pope Paschal II.

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### No. 7.

**BULL OF POPE BONIFACE VIII., IN THE YEAR 1300, RECAPITULATING THE ORIGINAL RULE OF RAYMOND DU PUY, LOST AT THE CAPTURE OF ACRE. (Translated from the original Latin.)**

Boniface, bishop, and servant of such as are servants of God, to his beloved sons the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, greeting, and apostolical benediction : Whereas, from the throne of apostolic eminence, whereon, by the will of the divine grace we have been placed, we are constantly reminded how that ye have constantly displayed a wholesome adherence to the divine commands (spurning all the allurements of this world, which, although attractive, are but an illusion), fearing not to expose both your persons and your possessions to jeopardy in their fulfilment; and whereas we have carefully called to mind how that ye have ever hitherto displayed the most devoted affection, and the most reverential zeal towards our person, and towards your mother the Church of Rome, and continue so to do at the present time; we have thought it fit, and do consider it reasonable that, bestowing

upon you and your Hospital our munificent grace, we should (so far as with God's permission we are enabled), admit your petitions to our favourable consideration. And whereas your prayer, when laid before us, was to the effect that some time since, at the capture of the city of Acre, ye lost the apostolic letter containing the provisions of your "Rule," with other things of no small value, for which reason ye have humbly petitioned of us, that whereas ye no longer possess the letter of the brother Raymond, at that time the Master of your Hospital, who established the aforesaid "Rule," signed and sealed with his leaden seal, in which letter the said "Rule" was distinctly laid down, as ye assert; we might be graciously pleased to grant to you under a bull from us, a renewal of this "Rule," as a guarantee of a greater precaution:

We, therefore, being ever solicitous for the prosperity and tranquillity, as well of yourself as of your Hospital, and being favourably disposed towards the granting of your pious requests, have caused the aforesaid "Rule," as it is understood to have been contained in the letter of the said brother Raymond, to be registered in the following terms, a few omissions and alterations of words having been made in it by our order. We, nevertheless, do confirm and renew the same "Rule," by our special grace, being well acquainted with it. The tenor of the letter was as follows:—

In the name of the Lord, Amen. I, Raymond, the servant of Christ's poor, and Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem, by the advice of the General Chapter of both clerical and lay brethren, have established the following precepts and statutes in the house of the Hospital of Jerusalem. In the first place, I desire that all those brethren who here dedicate themselves to the service of the poor, shall, by God's assistance, maintain inviolate the three promises which they have made to him, namely, chastity; obedience, which is to be understood to include whatever may be commanded by the Master; and to live without any property of their own; because the fulfilment of these three vows will be required of them by God at the last judgment. And let them not seek for, or claim as due to them, more than bread and water and raiment, which things are

promised to them ; and let their raiment be humble, because our masters, the poor, whose servants we profess to be, appear scantily and meanly clad, and it is not right that the servant should be proudly arrayed whilst his master is humble.

Furthermore, it is ordained that their behaviour in Church shall be decorous, and their conversation such as befits their calling ; let the clergy perform the service of the altar in white garments, and let each presbyter have a deacon, or a sub-deacon, to attend upon him, and when occasion demands it, let some other priest exercise this office ; and let a light be for ever burning in the Church both by day and by night. And for the visitation of the sick, let a presbyter attend, dressed in white robes, bearing with reverence the Body of our Lord ; and let him be preceded by a deacon, or a sub-deacon, or at least by an acolyte, bearing a lantern with a lighted candle, and a sponge filled with holy water. Furthermore, when the brethren appear in the cities or fortresses, let them not go alone, but two or three together ; nor shall they select by whom they are to be accompanied, but shall go with whomsoever the Master shall direct. Also, when they have arrived at their destination let them remain together. In their gait, in their dress, and in all their deportment, let them do nothing which may give offence in the eyes of any one, but only that which befits their sacred calling. Moreover, whenever they may be in a house, or in church, or wherever else women may be present, let them mutually guard over one another's chastity. Nor let women wash either their hands or feet, or make their beds, and so may the God that dwelleth on high watch over them in that matter. Amen.

And let pious persons, both clerical and lay, be sent forth to seek alms for the holy poor. And when they shall require hospitality let them proceed to the church, or to the house of some person of good repute, and let them ask for food of that person for the sake of charity, and let them buy nothing else. And if in truth they find no one who will assist them, let them purchase by measure one meal only, by which to support life. And out of the alms which they may collect, let them secure neither lands nor pledges for themselves, but let them deliver the amount over to their Master, with a written account, and let

the Master transmit it with the paper to the Hospital, for the use of the poor. And of all their donations, let the Master take a third part of the bread, wine, and other nutriment, and should there be a superfluity, let him add what remains to the alms, and let him send it under his own hand to Jerusalem, for the use of the poor.

And let none go forth from any of their convents to collect alms, save only those whom the chapter and Master of the church may have sent; and let those brethren who have gone forth to make these collections be received into whatever convent they may arrive at; and let them partake of the same food as the brethren may have divided amongst themselves; and let them not give any further trouble there. Let them carry a light with them; and into whatever house they may have been received with hospitality, let them cause the light to burn before them. Furthermore, we forbid our brethren from wearing any such garment as may be unbefitting our religion; and above all, we forbid them to use the skins of wild beasts; and let them eat but twice in the day, and on every fourth day of the week, and on Saturdays, and from Septuagesima until Easter, let them eat no meat, excepting only those who are infirm and feeble; and let them never appear without clothing, but dressed in robes of wool or linen, or in other similar habiliments. But, if any of the brethren shall have fallen by the force of his evil passions into any of the sins of the flock, which may God forbid; if he have sinned in secret, let him repent in secret; and let him impose upon himself a suitable penance: if, however, his sin shall have been discovered publicly, and beyond contradiction, let him in the same place where he may have committed the sin, on the Sabbath day, after mass, when the congregation shall have left the church, be stripped in the sight of all, and let him be scourged and beaten most severely with thongs, or rods, by his superior, or by such other brethren as the superior shall depute to perform this duty; and then let him be expelled from our Institution.

Afterwards, however, if God shall have enlightened his heart, and he shall return to the Hospital, and shall confess himself to have been a guilty sinner, and a transgressor of the laws of God, and shall promise amendment, let him be again received, and a

suitable penance be imposed upon him; and for a whole year let him be considered as on his probation, and during this period let the brethren observe his conduct, and afterwards let them act as seems best to them in the matter. And if any brother have a dispute with another brother, and the superior of the house shall have noticed the disturbance, let this be his penance: let him fast for seven days; the fourth and the sixth, on bread and water; eating upon the ground without a table or a napkin: and if he shall have struck a blow, then for forty days; and if any brother shall absent himself from the convent, or the superior under whose control he hath been placed, wilfully and without the permission of the superior, and shall afterwards return, let him eat his meals on the ground for forty days, fasting on every fourth and sixth day on bread and water, and let him remain in the position of an alien for so long a time as he shall have absented himself, unless that time shall have been so prolonged that it shall seem fitting to the chapter to remit a portion. Moreover, at table, let each one eat his bread in silence, as the apostle directs; and let him not drink after the "Completorium," and let all the brethren keep silence in their beds.

But if any brother, having misconducted himself, shall have been corrected and admonished twice or three times by the Master, or by any other brother, and by the instigation of Satan shall have refused to amend his ways, and to obey, let him be sent to us on foot, and bearing with him a paper, containing his crime; yet let a fixed allowance be made to him, that he may be enabled to come to us, and we will correct him. And let no one strike those entrusted to them as servants, for any fault whatever: but let the superior of the convent, and of the brethren, inflict punishment in the presence of all; yet let justice always be supported within the convent. And if any brother shall have made a disposition of his property after his death, and shall have concealed it from his superior, and it shall afterwards have been found upon him, let the money be tied round his neck, and let him be severely beaten by one of the brothers in the presence of the rest, and let him do penance for forty days, fasting every fourth and sixth day on bread and water.

Moreover, since it is necessary to lay down a statute for you all, we ordain that for each of the brethren as shall go the way of all flesh, in whatever convent he may die, thirty masses shall be sung for his soul. At the first mass, let each of the brethren who is present offer a candle and a piece of money; which contribution, whatever may be its amount, shall be spent on the poor. And the presbyter who shall have sung the masses, if he does not belong to the convent, shall be maintained therein on those days, and his duty being finished, the superior himself shall entertain him; and let all the clothing of the deceased brother be given to the poor. But the brothers who are priests, and who shall sing these masses, let them pour forth a prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ on behalf of his soul, and let each of the priests sing a psalm, and each of the laity repeat 150 paternosters.

And with respect to all other crimes, and affairs, and complaints, let them be adjudged upon in general chapter, and let a just sentence be pronounced. And all these precepts we enjoin and impose upon you, in virtue of our authority, on behalf of Almighty God, the blessed Mary, the blessed John, and the poor; that they be observed strictly and zealously in all points. And in the convents where the Master and chapter have established a Hospital, when a sick person shall make application, let him be received thus: first, after having confessed his sins to the presbyter, let him partake of the holy sacrament; and afterwards let him be carried to his bed, and there, as though he were the Master, let him be charitably entertained every day with food before any of the brethren are supplied, and that of the best the house can afford. And on each Sabbath day, let the Epistle and Gospel be sung in the Hospital, and let holy water be sprinkled around in procession. Furthermore, if any brother, having the superintendence of a convent in any foreign land, shall appeal to any secular person, rebelling against our authority, and shall give him the money appropriated to the poor, in order that, by his power, he may establish the authority of the said brother against the Master, let him be expelled from the general society of the brethren. And if two or more brethren shall be dwelling together, and if one of them shall

have misconducted himself by an evil course of life, the other brothers are not to denounce him, either to the public or to the prior, but first let them chastise him by themselves, and if he will not permit himself to be chastised, let them call in the assistance of two or three others and chastise him. And if he shall amend his ways they should rejoice thereat; but if, on the other hand, he shall remain impenitent, then, detailing his crimes in a letter, they shall forward it to the Master; and whatever he and the chapter may decree, let that be done to the offender; and let no brother accuse another brother unless he is well able to prove the charge, for if he does so he is no true brother.

Furthermore, all the brethren of every convent, who shall now, or have heretofore offered themselves to God, and to the sacred Hospital of Jerusalem, shall bear upon their breasts, on their mantles and on their robes, crosses, to the honour of God and of his sacred cross; to the end that God may protect us by that symbol of faith, works, and obedience, and shield us from the power of the devil, both in this world and in the world to come, in soul and in body, together with all our Christian benefactors.—Amen. Therefore, let no man whatsoever be permitted to infringe this charter, signed, confirmed, and renewed by us, or to oppose himself audaciously to it. If, however, any one shall presume to act thus, let him know that he renders himself liable to the anger of Almighty God and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.—Given at the Lateran, on the 7th day of the ides of April, in the sixth year of our Pontificate.

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## No. 8.

**BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER IV., DATED IN 1259, DECREERING A DISTINCTIVE DRESS FOR THE KNIGHTS OF JUSTICE.**  
(Translated from the original Latin.)

ALEXANDER IV., Pope, to our beloved sons, the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, greeting,



and apostolical benediction. Whereas, Almighty God hath built up your Order upon the foundation of obedience, as an immovable pillar in his Church, for the defence of the Holy Land, of which ye are the renowned and stalwart champions, and the chosen protectors, and for the defence of which ye have girt yourselves with the glorious armour of the cross of salvation, to fight the battles of the Lord against the blasphemers of His name; and whereas, as ye are the elect people of God, a princely race, and earnest body of righteous men, the council and congregation of the King of mighty kings, in whose hands verily are two equal swords and burning lights, to execute vengeance on the nations, and to protect the city of the Lord; we intend, therefore, to strengthen with suitable gifts, and to encourage with worthy favours, your Order, and yourselves also, who are the soldiers of Christ, in whom the Lord hath aroused, in those regions, the spirit of the brave Maccabees, and of the other warriors of old of the same class; and to concede to you such things as are known to redound to the development of your Order, and the protection of the Holy Land.

Since it has come to our knowledge that, amongst the brethren of your Order, both Knights and others, there is no distinction or diversity of dress, contrary to the usual custom in most other similar institutions; on which account it comes to pass, that the love of many brethren of noble birth, who, casting aside the allurements of the world, under the garb of your Order, have chosen to devote themselves to the defence of the Holy Land, grows cold; we, therefore, being earnestly desirous that your Order may still continue, by God's help, to be enriched with fresh donations, and may grow and increase in the votive offerings which it shall receive, do hereby grant to you, by the authority of these letters, permission to decree unanimously, and hereafter to maintain inviolate, the regulation, that the Knights, brethren of your Order, shall wear black mantles, that they may be distinguished from the other brethren; but in campaigns, and in battle, they shall wear surcoats and other military decorations of a red colour, on which there shall be a cross of white colour, sewn on in accordance with that on your standard; in order that by the uniformity of signs, the

unanimity of your spirits may be clearly apparent, and that thus, in consequence, the safety of your persons may be insured. Therefore, let it be lawful for no man to infringe upon this statute of our concession. For if any one shall presume upon such an attempt, let him know that he will fall under the indignation of Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.— Given at Anagnia, on the third day of the ides of August, in the fifth year of our Pontificate.

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### No. 9.

LETTER OF THE GRAND-PRECEPTOR OF THE TEMPLE AT  
JERUSALEM TO HENRY II., KING OF ENGLAND, CONCERN-  
ING THE LOSS OF JERUSALEM. (From Roger Hovenden.  
Translated from the original Latin.)

To the most well-beloved Lord Henry, by the grace of God the illustrious king of the English, duke of Normandy and Guienne, and count of Anjou; the brother Terric, formerly the grand-preceptor of the house of the Temple at Jerusalem, greeting, through him that sendeth health to kings.

Know that Jerusalem, with the citadel of David, has been given up to Saladin. The Syrians, however, have the charge of the Holy Sepulchre, until the fourth day after the feast of St. Michael, and Saladin himself hath permitted ten of the brethren of the Hospital to remain in the house of the Hospital for one year, to take charge of the sick. The brothers of the Hospital have in truth, as yet, bravely resisted the Saracens, and have already captured two convoys from them, in the latter of which captures, they have valiantly seized upon all the arms and stores and food, which had been in the castle of Faber, which the Saracens have destroyed. As yet Saladin is still being opposed at Gracchus (Crac), near Mount Royal; at Mount Royal itself, at Saphet of the Temple, Gracchus of the Hospital, Margat, Castellum Blancum, and in the provinces of Tripoli and Antioch.

Jerusalem, however, having been taken, Saladin has removed the Cross from the Temple of our Lord, and has had it dragged about the streets for two days, and publicly defiled. Then he caused the Temple of the Lord to be washed with rose water, within and without, above and below, and their laws to be proclaimed at its four quarters, with great acclamation. From the feast of St. Martin until that of the circumcision of our Lord, he has besieged Tyre; hurling stones into it incessantly, by day and by night, from thirteen engines. On the vigil of St. Sylvester, the marquis Conrad distributed Knights and foot soldiers around the walls of the city, and having armed seventeen galleys, and ten smaller vessels, he attacked the galleys of Saladin, with the assistance of the house of the Hospital, and the brethren of the Temple, and overcoming them captured eleven of them, and took the great Admiral of Alexandria, and eight other admirals, a multitude of the Saracens having been slain. The remainder of the galleys of Saladin, escaping out of the hands of the Christians, fled to the army of Saladin, and being driven ashore by his command, he caused them to be set on fire and reduced to ashes. Overcome with grief, he had his horse's ears and tail cut off, and then rode him through the whole army, in the sight of everybody.—Farewell.

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### No. 10.

**BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III., DATED IN 1179, RE-ESTABLISHING PEACE BETWEEN THE RIVAL HOUSES OF THE TEMPLE AND HOSPITAL. (Ex Rymer, tom. i. page 61, ad ann. 1182, lib. ii. p. 149. Translated from the original Latin.)**

**ALEXANDER**, bishop and servant of such as are the servants of God; to his beloved sons, the master and brethren of the Order of the Temple, greeting, and apostolical benediction.

The more your Order, and that of the brethren of the Hos-

pital of Jerusalem, are considered to be pleasing to God, and to man, and the more necessary and useful it is proved to be to the kingdom of Palestine, the more doth it become us to entertain feelings of delight and joy at the unity which exists between yourselves and them ; and to labour with all diligence that the bond of love may be preserved between you : induced, therefore, by this reason, we not only look with thankfulness upon the peace and concord which ye have established with their consent, with our beloved sons the Master and brethren of the Hospital, with respect to all the disputes which heretofore had been agitated between your house and theirs, as well concerning lands and possessions, as about money and divers other matters ; but also, ratifying the same, we do confirm it with our apostolic authority, and do decree that it shall remain for evermore firm and unimpaired ; and we have therefore thought fit to insert the terms of that peace verbatim in this letter.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, amen. Let it be made known to all, as well to those that are yet for to come, as to those now present, that by the will of Almighty God, and by the directions and admonition of our Lord Pope Alexander, whom alone we are bound to obey, next to our Lord himself : I, brother Odo of St Amand, humble Master of the Order of the Temple ; and I, Roger de Malins, Master of the house of the Hospital of Jerusalem, by the advice and decision of our chapters, do establish a firm peace, and a happy concord, with regard to all the disputes which had heretofore arisen between the house of the Temple and that of the Hospital, as well about lands and possessions, as about money and divers other matters ; all subjects of quarrel having been so equitably settled on either side, that none of them can, for the future, be ever revived or repeated.

We do decree and ordain that all the brethren of the Temple and Hospital shall preserve, hold, and cherish the peace and concord, the termination of all their disputes, which is conducive to reciprocal brotherly affection ; since hereafter, for evermore, all the goods and possessions which either house is recognised as holding this day, as well beyond, as on this side of the sea, will remain its own in safety, peace and quiet. . If, however,

any quarrel hereafter shall arise amongst us or our successors, or amongst our brethren, either on this side of the sea or on the other, we do enjoin that it be peaceably terminated by the brethren of both houses, in accordance with the decree of our Lord the Pope, in the following manner: Let the preceptors of those houses or provinces, in which the dispute shall have arisen, in conjunction with certain discreet brothers, study to terminate that quarrel, and to preserve peace amongst themselves, without fraud, and as far as possible without giving cause for vexation to the opposing party.

If, however, the brethren shall have been unable, by themselves, to put an end to that dispute, let them summon to their assistance certain of their mutual friends, by whose counsel and mediation the affair may be amicably terminated in the following manner, namely, that on whichever side the majority of brothers or of friends shall have decided, the dispute shall be settled in that manner so that an undisturbed peace and firm affection may be established for ever amongst the brethren.

If, however, they shall be unable to arrive at a peaceful conclusion in this manner, let them refer the dispute to us in writing, and we will terminate it, with God's permission, so that the brethren may retain peace and benevolence towards each other.

If, however, any brother, who may be absent, shall rebel against this treaty, and from the preservation of peace and harmony, be it known to him that he is acting against the decrees of his Master, and the constitution of the chapter of Jerusalem, and he shall in nowise be able to expiate his offence on this head, until he shall have presented himself before his Master, and the chapter of Jerusalem.

Moreover, we have thought fit to add to the foregoing, that the brethren of each house shall everywhere love and honour each other, and study after the welfare of one another, with mutual affection, and brotherly unanimity, so that, though belonging by profession to separate houses, they may appear to be one through affection.

We decree, therefore, that it shall not be lawful for any man whatsoever to infringe upon this statute, which we ourselves have confirmed, nor to oppose it with audacious daring.

If, however, there be anyone who shall attempt such a proceeding, be it known to him that he will fall under the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given and signed on the fourth day of the nones of August.

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No. 11.

LETTER FROM POPE GREGORY IX. TO THE EMPEROR  
FREDERIC, REMONSTRATING WITH HIM ON HIS CONDUCT  
TOWARDS THE MILITARY ORDERS: DATED IN 1230.  
(Translated from the original Latin.)

POPE GREGORY IX., unto our beloved son Frederic, emperor of the Romans, always augustus, greeting and apostolic benediction. If thy real desire is, as it should be, that the affairs of the Holy Land be not set in confusion, but rather that they may be regulated, it is right that thou shouldest refrain from molesting the Hospitallers and Templars, by whom that land has hitherto been governed in the midst of many difficulties, and without whom it is believed that it could not be governed at all; and that thou shouldest support them with thy beneficent favour, thus advancing thine own interests, since thou wilt be purchasing for thyself an incomparable reward from God, and a good reputation amongst men. Even though we were to pass over in silence those keen reproaches which are made to us, that the possession of those things which were restored to them by us appears to have had but a momentary duration, yet can we no longer pass over their serious and bitter complaint in which they lament that they are being robbed by others, whilst they neither wished nor intended to deviate from what was right. Wherefore it is not doubtful, that from thence grave losses may impend over the Holy Land, since, whilst labouring under poverty, they no longer possess the means of defending the land according to their wont. Wherefore, that thou mayest prudently consult the interests of thine own con-

science, as also both our own and thy reputation, we ask, advise, and exhort in the Lord, your imperial highness, that, choosing rather to be bound by the virtue of charity, to which all other virtues yield in importance, than to be branded by outraged justice, thou shouldest make restitution to both Hospitallers and Templars of all those things which have been taken away, so that thou mayest avoid the Divine wrath, and that we may justly commend thy clemency; whereas otherwise, thou wilt seem to be exposing our forbearance to various detractions. But to the end that we may the more fully express our desire to thee on this subject, we have put our words into the mouth of our beloved son, the abbot of Casemar; to the which we crave that thou shouldest bestow an unhesitating credence. Given at the Lateran, on the fourth day of the kalends of March, in the fourth year of our pontificate.

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No. 12.

LETTER OF POPE GREGORY IX., DATED IN 1238, COMPLAINING OF THE EVIL PRACTICES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.

WE grieve, and record with sorrow, that as we are given to understand, you live in a disorderly manner, retaining within your houses prostitutes, with whom you form positive connections, and that you constitute yourselves defenders of those who assume your habit, though they wrongfully retain possession of their property, provided they pay you a tribute four times a year; and that you receive thieves, and those who waylay pilgrims, within your houses and castles: That you have supplied Vataces, the enemy of God and the Church, with horses and arms, having received lands and houses from him in exchange, not ceasing to render him aid and countenance against the Latins: That you have reduced your accustomed charities to the poor: That you have changed the last will and testament of

those who have died in your Hospitals, and not without grave suspicion of falsifications; and you do not permit the sick to be confessed by any other priests than by the chaplains of your Order, except by special licence from yourselves; and that you have committed several other enormities, which have offended God, and created great scandal amongst the people. Several of your brethren are also very strongly suspected of heresy, from which it is not unreasonably feared, but from this small commencement of evil, many others may be corrupted, and that this pest may become spread far and wide. Therefore, we direct that within three months from the receipt of this letter, reforming your lives to a better course, you shall promptly correct, and carefully amend the things complained of above, and other matters which require to be improved in your Hospital. Otherwise we shall grant authority to our venerable son, the archbishop of Tyre, that at the expiration of that time, unless a proper reform shall have been established in these matters, he should proceed in person to the spot, and having God only before his eyes, after due inquiry touching the above and other matters, that he shall correct and reform them, as well in the head as in the members, which correction and reform he will in his office know how to direct. Given at the Lateran, on the third day of the ides of March, in the eleventh year of our pontificate.

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### No. 13.

LETTER OF PETER D'AUBUSSON TO THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY, CONTAINING A NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST SIEGE OF RHODES. (Translated from the original Latin.)

MOST invincible and serene prince; it appears to us in no way incongruous that we should describe to your imperial majesty the incidents which have occurred in the siege of the town of Rhodes; by the Turks in its attack, and by ourselves in its defence; now that the day of battle has had a prosperous ending



to the honour of the Christian name; and we do not doubt but that your imperial majesty will derive no little pleasure from our victory. The Turks having encamped around the city, sought diligently for points of attack; they then endeavoured to shake and destroy the ramparts on all sides with their cannon, and soon showed plainly what their intentions were; and for that purpose surrounded the city with guns and mortars, and with them overthrew nine of its towers and a bastion; and struck and destroyed the magisterial palace. It appeared, however, most convenient for them to attack and press the city upon three sides principally: the attack of the tower on the mole of St. Nicholas appearing the most advantageous for concluding the affair; by means of which they deemed that the city would the most readily fall into their power. This tower is a citadel, at the extremity of the mole, which juts out into the sea in a northerly direction as far as the harbour extends; and is visible to approaching mariners, who may either keep close to it, or easily avoid it. On the westward is situated the chapel of St. Anthony, at a distance of barely two hundred paces, with the sea between. The advantages of the place having been therefore perceived, the Turkish army strove by every means in their power to get it into their possession. They brought three huge brass bombards to batter down the tower, whose size and power were incredibly great, and which threw balls of stone of nine palms, and they placed them in the chapel of St. Anthony. Wonderful to relate, and most calamitous to behold, this renowned fort, which appeared of such surpassing strength, after having been battered by three hundred stone balls, had the greater part of its extent destroyed, overthrown, and ruined. The enemy, who beheld the ruins with exultation, filled the air with their shouts, which vain rejoicing was, however, speedily converted into sorrow. For we being anxious for the safety of the tower, beholding its great and fearful ruin, strove to prop up the remainder of the wall, and since such a course appeared the most judicious, after so complete a downfall, we decided upon protecting not the tower only, but also the mole of St. Nicholas itself. With the most vigilant care and numberless inventions, a thousand labourers worked day and night without intermission; who dug

a deep ditch, and constructed a bulwark with timber on the top of the mole, around the tower, and in the midst of its foundations, and completed an impregnable redoubt at a great cost. There we placed a guard of our bravest warriors within the ruins of the mole, and supplied them with stores and ammunition. At the end also, and foot of the same, we placed other garrisons, both at the eastern and western extremities; because at those points the ramparts ended, and the sea is fordable, so that it was necessary to watch and defend them lest the Turks should pass there and attack us in the rear. And on the walls of the tower we placed bombards, which should sweep the spot during an attack. Fireworks were also prepared to attack the fleet. Twice did the Turks storm the tower, and the new work on its ruins: the first time, when they thought it easy to capture with only moderate force, before daylight at early dawn; when they attacked the place in triremes prepared for the purpose, and fought vigorously. But our men, who were intent upon the defence of the place, were constantly on the watch. So the enemy was driven back discomfited. And in that battle nearly 700 Turks were killed, as we learnt from the deserters. After the lapse of a few days, however, enraged at their former repulse, they again attacked the tower with a powerful marine, and with ingenious skill; shaking and destroying our repairs and new bulwarks with their heavy artillery, and some were completely destroyed. We, however, promptly repaired whatever they overthrew. To carry out the attack, they then got ready triremes well supplied with munitions, and ingeniously prepared for the fight, and certain other heavy vessels (called commonly "parendarias"), in which were heavy guns and stones; that they might establish themselves upon the mole and tower, which they thought they were secure of, and from that point annoy and breach and capture the city itself. They also prepared certain flat-bottomed boats, from which some of the boldest among them reached the mole, and constructed a bridge with the most wonderful skill; which was to cross from the church of St. Anthony to the mole at the foot of the tower. But we suspecting what would occur, after the first attack, had laboured with all our strength and ingenuity; added to our munitions, in-

creased our fortifications, and did not spare the most serious expense; for we judged that the safety of the city depended on that spot. In the middle, therefore, of the night, the Turks on the thirteenth of the kalends of July, burning with a fiercer ardour than ever, approached the tower with the utmost silence, and attacked it on all sides with the greatest impetuosity; but our ears were, however, pricked up, and we were not asleep. But when we discovered that the foe were arrived, our machines commenced to hurl their stones, our soldiers girded on their swords, and missiles of every description being hurled from the tower and mole, overthrew and repulsed the enemy; the battle was carried on with the utmost vehemence from midnight until ten o'clock. Numberless Turks, who had reached the mole from the boats and triremes, were killed. The floating bridge, laden with Turks, was broken by the missiles from our machines, and those who were on it were thrown into the sea. Four of the triremes, and those boats which were laden with guns and stores, were destroyed by the stones hurled upon them, and were sunk. The fleet also was set on fire, and forced to retire; and thus the Turks departed, beaten and defeated. Many of their leading commanders fell in this battle, whose loss was deeply mourned for by the army. Deserters, who joined us after the battle, told us that the Turks had received a severe check, and that nearly 2,500 had been slain. But when the Turks lost all hopes of capturing the tower, they turned all their energies, their ingenuity, and their strength, on an attack of the town itself, and although the whole city was so shaken and breached by their artillery that scarcely the form of the original city remained, still their principal attack was directed against that part of the walls which encloses the Jews' quarter, and looks towards the east; and against that part which leads to the post of Italy. For the purpose, therefore, of destroying and breaching those walls, they brought eight gigantic and most enormous bombards, hurling stones of nine palms in circumference, which played upon the walls without ceasing night and day. Nor did the bombards and mortars placed around the city cease from hurling similar stones, the fall of which added greatly to the general terror and destruction. We therefore placed the

aged, the infirm, and the women in caves, and other underground spots, to dwell, which caused but few casualties to occur from that infliction. They also prepared another description of annoyance, by using fire-balls and lighted arrows, which they hurled from their balistæ and catapults, which set fire to our buildings. We, however, careful for the safety of our city, selected men, skilled in the art, who, ever on the watch, put out the fires wherever the flaming missiles fell. By these precautions the Rhodians were preserved from many mishaps. The Infidels also attempted to approach the city underground, and excavated winding ditches, which they partly covered with timber and earth, that they might reach the ditches of the city under cover; and they built up batteries in many places, from which they kept up an unceasing fire, with colubrine and serpentine guns, and harassed and wearied our men, and also thought it would be an advantage to fill up that portion of the ditch which is adjacent to the wall of the spur. They continued without ceasing, therefore, to collect stones, and secretly to throw them into the ditch, so that part being filled up by their labours to the level of the opposing wall, they could form a pathway in the shape of a back, from which they could conveniently enter upon the walls of the town. We, however, perceiving the attempt of the foe, watched over the safety of the city, and throughout the city, and castle, and ditches, inspected carefully where repairs and munitions were required; which the Turks perceiving, turned again in despair to the Jews' rampart, and other spots; whilst we with repairs and supports restored such places as they had ruined, with stakes of the thickest timber, firmly planted into the ground, and covered with earth, and with roots, and branches interlaced, which clinging together most tenaciously and firmly, sustained the shock of their missiles, and protected the breach, lest the rampart falling into the city should afford them an easy descent. We also made similar bulwarks, with stakes interlaced with brushwood and earth, as cover for our men, and as an obstacle to the Turks when climbing up. We also prepared artificial fire, and other contrivances, which might prove useful in repelling the attack of the Turks. We also thought it advisable to empty that part of

the ditch which the Turks had filled with stones ; but as that could not otherwise be done secretly, from the situation of the ditch, we made for ourselves an exit beneath the stones, and secretly brought them into the town. The Turks who were nearest the ditch, however, remarked that the heap of stones diminished, and that the facilities for an ascent would be reduced, unless they rapidly carried out the attack they contemplated. Thirty-eight days were passed in these labours ; and during that time 3,500 huge stones, or thereabouts, were hurled at the ramparts, and into the town. The Turks perceiving that the opportunity of storming the town was being gradually taken away from them, hastened on their preparatory works, and on the day before the assault, and that night, and even on the early morning itself, they battered at the walls without intermission with eight huge bombarda, hurling enormous rocks ; they destroyed and overthrew the barriers that had been erected behind the breach ; the sentries, look-outs, and guards of the ramparts were mostly killed, and it was hardly possible to mount the wall, except by taking the utmost precautions, and by descending a little at the sound of a bell, and afterwards continuing the ascent. Nor was time given us to repair the ruined fortification ; since the vigour of the bombardment never relaxed, and in a little time 300 stones, or thereabouts, had been discharged. The bombardment having concluded, the Turks, at the signal of a mortar, which had been placed there the day previous, mounted the breach, on the 7th day of the kalends of August, in a vigorous and rapid attack ; and the ascent was, as we have already said, easy for them, easier than it was for our men, who had to use ladders. Annihilating the guard who had been placed on the summit of the rampart, who were unable to resist that first onset, before our reinforcements could ascend the ladders, they had occupied the spot, and planted their standards there. The same thing occurred at the bastion of Italy, whose summit they gained. The alarm was given on all sides, and a hand to hand encounter commenced, and was carried on with the utmost vehemence. Suddenly, our men opposing themselves to the foe, on the right and left of the rampart, drove them from the higher places, and

prevented them from moving about on the walls. Of the four ladders, too, which had been provided for the descent into the Jews' quarter, one had been broken by our order, but having ascended by the others, we opposed ourselves to the enemy, and defended the place. There were, in truth, two thousand most magnificently armed Turks upon the walls, in dense array, opposing themselves to our men, and striving, by force of arms, to drive them away, and expel them from the place. But the valour of our men prevented us from giving way. To the first body, however, of Turks, who had gained the walls, there followed an immense multitude of others, who covered the whole country, the adjacent breach, the valley, and ditch, so that it was hardly possible to see the ground. The deserters state that four thousand Turks were engaged in the assault. Our men drove about three hundred of the enemy, who were upon the rampart, back into the Jews' quarter, where they were killed to a man. At that conflict we raised the standard bearing the effigy of our most sacred Lord Jesus Christ, and that of our Order, in the presence of the enemy; and the battle raged for about two hours around the spot. At length the Turks, overcome, wearied, and panic-stricken, and covered with wounds, turned their backs, and took to flight with such vehement haste that they became an impediment to one another, and added to their losses. In that fight there fell 3500 Turks or thereabouts, as was known by the corpses which were found within the city, and upon the walls, and in the ditches, as also in the camp of the enemy, and in the sea; and which we afterwards burnt, to prevent disease; the spoils of which corpses fell into the possession of our men, who, following the flying Turks, even to their camp on the plain, slew them vigorously, and afterwards returned safely into the town. In which battle many of our bailiffs and brave soldiers fell, fighting most valiantly in the midst of the hostile battalions. We ourselves, and many of our brothers in arms, having received many wounds, having returned thanks to God, and placed a strong guard on the walls, returned home; nor was so great a calamity averted from us save by the Divine assistance. For we could not doubt but that God had sent assistance from heaven, lest his poor

Christian people should become infected with the filth of Mahometanism. Turkish women had prepared ropes, under the hopes of obtaining possession of the city, wherewith to bind the captives, and huge stakes, wherewith to impale them whilst living. For they had decreed that every soul, both male and female, above ten years of age, was to be killed and impaled; but the children under that age were to be led into captivity and compelled to renounce their faith; and all booty was to be given over to plunder, the city being reserved for Turkish governance. But being frustrated in their evil designs, they fled like a flock of sheep. During these battles, and the attacks made on different days, as also in defending the approaches, and clearing the ditches, and in the general defence of the town by means of our artillery, which played constantly on their army, we killed, as the Turkish deserters revealed to us, nine thousand of them, and an innumerable quantity more were wounded; amongst whom Gusman Balse and a certain son-in-law of the sultan's died of their wounds. The struggle being ended, they first burnt all their stores, and retired to their camp, a little distance from the city, where, embarking their artillery and heavy baggage, and consuming a few days in transporting some of their army into Lycia, they left the Rhodian shore, and retired to Phiscus, an ancient city on the mainland: thus they retired beaten, with ignominy. May the omnipotent God happily preserve your imperial majesty to our prayers.

Given at Rhodes, on the 13th day of September, in the year of the Incarnation of our Redeemer MCCCCLXXX.

Your imperial majesty's humble servant,  
PETER D'AUBUSSON,  
Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem.

## No. 14.

THE DOCUMENT GIVEN BY THE SULTAN ZIZIM TO PETER  
D'AUBUSSON WHEN ABOUT TO LEAVE RHODES.

KNOW all men, that I, the sultan Zizim, sprung from the Ottoman race, son of the invincible Mahomet, king of kings, and sovereign emperor of Greece and Asia, am infinitely indebted to the very generous and most illustrious prince seigneur Peter d'Aubusson, Grand-Master of Rhodes; but know also that, considering the kind offices which he has rendered me in the most fatal adventure of my life, and desirous of marking my gratitude as far as the present state of my fortunes will permit, I promise solemnly to God and our great Prophet, that if ever I recover, either entirely or in part, my father's imperial crown, I promise and swear that I will maintain a constant peace, and an inviolable friendship, with the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, and with all his successors, in accordance with the following articles. In the first place, I pledge myself, my children, and my children's children to maintain a perpetual attachment for the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to the extent that neither I myself, nor my children, shall ever do an injury to the Knights, either by land or by sea; that so far from obstructing their vessels, or disturbing the commerce of the merchants of Rhodes, or of the other islands of the religion, we will open our ports to them, and will permit them to enter freely into all the provinces under our sway, as though they were themselves our subjects; or rather we will treat them as our friends, in permitting them to buy and sell, and to transport their merchandise wherever they may think fit, without the payment of any duty or tax. In addition to this, I consent that the Grand-Master shall withdraw every year from my dominions 300 Christians of both sexes, and of such ages as he may select, to transfer them to the islands of the Order, or for any other purpose which he may think advisable; and in order to make some return for the outlay which the Grand-Master has made, and is making every day,



with such liberality on my account, I agree to pay him in specie the sum of 150,000 gold crowns. Lastly, I promise upon oath to restore to him all the islands, all the lands, and all the fortresses which the Ottoman emperors have captured from the Order; and in testimony that such is my will I have signed this deed with my hand, and have sealed it with my seal. Done at Rhodes, in the palace of the Auberge de France, on the 5th day of the month of Reget, in the year of the Hegira 337 (31st of August, 1482).

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## No. 15.

LETTER OF SIR NICHOLAS ROBERTS TO THE EARL OF SURREY, DESCRIPTIVE OF THE SECOND SIEGE OF RHODES. (Ex Cotton MSS. Copied from Taafes "Knights of St. John." This letter is much injured, and rendered illegible in many parts.)

RYGHT honerable and my singler good Lord . . . . thankynge your Lordshipe . . . . with your letters of recommen . . . . to the Lord Master, the which letters I deliverede . . . . I deliverede to the Lord Master thos leters of recommendationes that the Kings grace . . . . Cardinal, and my Lords grace, y<sup>r</sup>. father wrot to him . . . . I deliuaryd unto Sir Thomas Sheffield a leter that my . . . . your father sent hym, and he gave me answer . . . . the time shold come he wold speake to . . . for me, and to do the best he coulde for me . . . . it not been for hym, my lord master was determined to . . . . geven me part of the commandrey of grace . . . . commandrey, called Dynmore, bysydes leceiste . . . . by the deth of the turkopplier, callyd Sir . . . . whome was slain at the seage of the Ro . . . . lord master hath given the said commande to Sir . . . .

As touching the distructione and taking of the Rodes, I avised your lordshipe by my lres, datayd in february last past, w<sup>h</sup> my next lres, I shall send your lordship the copy of all suche

things that hath ben between the great Turk and us during the seage I beleve seins the tyme of the romans as far as I have red in . . . . was ther never no towne beshegied w<sup>t</sup> so gret an army, both by se and by lande, as . . . . beshegied with all; for by the se he had t . . . . of Vsailles not lakking XVth thousand seamen, and by Lande, a hundredth thousand fething men, and fette thousand laborers with spades and pikes, were the occasione of the taking of the Rodes in the space of four moniths, they brought a mowntaine of erth befor them to the walles of the towne, which was as hie agen as the walles of the towne wer, the which . . . . the distructione and dethe of many a man . . . . and child; for at all such tymes as they would geve us any batalle, they would put IIII or V springarders upon the said mowntaine, that the people for a man could not go in the . . . . of that mountaine. I was one of those that the lord master . . . . Religione sent to the gret Turk for p . . . . such tyme as the pact was made betwene the Turks and him. The gret turk ys of the age of . . . yers; he ys vere wise discret and muc . . . . bothe in his wordes and also in his . . . . being of his age. I was in his courte . . . . at such time as we were brought first to make our reverence unto him we fou . . . a red pavilion standing between too . . . lions marvelous ryche and sumptu . . . . setting in a chayr, and no creatur sat in the pavelione, which chayr was of g . . . work of fin gold, his gard stonding near his pavilion to the number of XXII . . . . they be called Sulaky, thes number . . . . continually about his person, he ha . . . . number of XI thowsand of them; they wear on ther heddes a long white cape, and on the tope of the cape a white ostrage . . . . which gevith a gret show . . . . Armye was divided in fowre partes, the captains . . . . waz callid as folowith, the principall captaine is called pero bashaw, second mustapha bashaw, the thjrd hakmak bashaw, the fourth the . . . . igalarby of anatolia. They be the IIII governours under the gret turk; eury one of them had fite thousand men under his Baner, and they lay at IIII severall places of the towne, and euery one of them made a breche in the wall of the towne; that in some places Vc men on horseback myght come in at once; and after that the wall

of the town was downe, they gave us battall often tymes upon even ground, that we had no manner of advantage apone them; yet thankid be God and Saint John, at euery battall they returned without their purpose. Upon Saint Andru<sup>e</sup> ys evin last, was the last battall that was betwene the turkes and vs; at that battall was slain XI thousand turkes, and of our part, a hundredth and . . . ur score, and after that day the turkes purposed to give vs no more battall, but to come into the towne by trenches in so much, y<sup>t</sup>. they mad . . . gret trenches, and by the space of a month did come allmost into the mydst of our towne, in so much that ther lay nightly wtin our town . . . thousand turkes; the trenches wer covered with thick taballes, and holes in them for thyer springardes, that we could not aproche them . . . and a monithe after we saw precisely that the toune was loste we would never give over in esperance of socours, and at such tyme as we sawe y<sup>t</sup> theyr come no succours, nor no socours redde to come, and considering that the most of our men were slain, we had no powther nor . . . manner of munycone, nor vitalles, but all on by brede and water, we wer as men desperat . . . determyned to dye upon them in the felde, rather than be put upon the stakes; for we doubted he would give us our lyves, considering ther wer slain so many of his men; but in the end of the seson they came to parlement w<sup>t</sup> vs, and demandyd to know of vs whether we would make any partial . . . and said that the gret Turk was content if we wold geve him the walles of the towne, he would geve us our lyves and our goodes; the commons of the towne hearing this gret profer, came . . . to the lord master, and said that considering that the walle and strength of the towne ys taken, and the municone spent, and the most of yor Knights and men slaine, and also seing ther ys no socours redy to come, they determynd . . . this partido that the gret Turk geveth us the lyves of our wiffes and children. The lord master hering the opinion of the hole commonalty resolved to take that partido, fell downe allmost ded, and what time he recoveryd himsel in sort, he seeing them contenue in the same, at last consented to the same. During the seage the lord master hath ben found in every

batall, oft as the worst Knight of the religione . . . . .  
 Knights ther war slain VII hundredth and three, of the Turkes  
 and hundredth and three thousand, they gave us XXII batalles,  
 the XX . . . . September was the general batall, from the  
 beginning of the day to hie . . . . without caseing; they  
 gave us batalles in V places of the towne, and ther war slain by  
 their own confessione, at that batalle XXII thousand; the  
 gret turk war ther in parson, and in the batall we had slain  
 three score . . . . upon our walles, or ever we war redy to  
 . . . . them; ther war slaine of our part VI thousand and  
 . . . . during the siege tyme. May the Lord have your  
 lordship in his mercifull kepyng. Messena, the XVth day  
 of May. By the hand of your faithfull cervant and

bedman,

NYCHOLAS ROBERTS.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



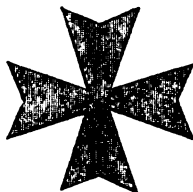


Engraved by H. Adlard from an original painting in the Palace at Malta.

Р. Я. Яковлев

A  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
KNIGHTS OF MALTA  
OR THE  
ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL  
OF  
ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

BY  
MAJOR WHITWORTH PORTER  
ROYAL ENGINEERS



PRO FIDE POUR LA FOI

IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOL. II  
M A L T A

LONDON  
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS  
1858





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PLAN OF THE  
FORTRESS OF MALTA

at the time of the Siege by the Turks in 1565

*The Positions of the Turkish Batteries are coloured Green*



A

# HISTORY

OF

# THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

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## CHAPTER XV.

SURRENDER OF RHODES AND DEPARTURE OF THE ORDER FOR CANDIA. — ARRIVAL AT MESSINA. — INVESTIGATION INTO THE CAUSES OF THE NON-ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS. — DEPARTURE FOR CIVITA VECCHIA. — INTERVIEW OF L'ISLE ADAM WITH THE POPE. — PROJECT FOR BESTOWING MALTA ON THE ORDER. — HOPES OF REGAINING RHODES. — L'ISLE ADAM PROCEEDS TO MADRID. — HIS NEGOCIATIONS. — VISITS PARIS AND LONDON. — RETURNS TO ITALY. — MALTA CEDED TO THE ORDER. — ANTÉCEDENT HISTORY OF THAT ISLAND. — TRIPOLI. — ITS DISADVANTAGES AND DANGERS. — DESCRIPTION OF THE HARBOUR OF MALTA. — EXPEDITION TO MODON. — DISPUTED ACCESSION TO THE BISHOPRIC OF MALTA. — ENGLISH REFORMATION. — INSURRECTION IN THE CONVENT. — DEATH OF L'ISLE ADAM.

THE surrender of Rhodes took place on the 20th December 1522; and by the terms of the capitulation, a period of twelve days was granted to the Knights, within which they were permitted to take advantage of its stipulations. Messengers were at once despatched to the castle of St. Peter and the island of Lango, the

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B

only two outposts which had been maintained during the siege, directing their garrisons to abandon these strongholds, and to repair at once to the point of rendezvous in the island of Candia.

The provisions of the treaty were not carried out by the Turks with that rigid exactitude which the Knights had a right to expect. Many foul outrages were perpetrated by the janissaries, after they had obtained possession of the city; churches were desecrated, women were violated, the inhabitants were plundered, and many other excesses committed by the licentious soldiery into whose hands they had fallen. For these acts, however, Solyman can in no degree be held responsible, since the moment the intelligence reached his ears, he sent a peremptory mandate to the aga of the janissaries, intimating that he should pay the penalty of any further infractions of the treaty with his head. Solyman, indeed, appears throughout this transaction to have been actuated by a desire of obtaining a reputation for magnanimity and clemency. He was well aware that the fraternity of St. John contained within its ranks members of all the noblest families in Europe, and that every deed performed in connection with them, whether good or evil, was certain to meet with very general criticism.

That clemency was not one of his usual attributes, the horrors perpetrated with his sanction at the capture of Belgrade fully testify. He must therefore have been influenced by some extraneous motive, in the line of conduct which he pursued towards the Knights of St. John after they had fallen into his power. The stubbornness of their resistance during a period of six months, and the gigantic losses which they had succeeded in inflicting upon his army, must have raised within his



heart feelings of exasperation, such as nothing but a deep sense of policy could have induced him to forego. It redounds, therefore, greatly to his credit, that he did not allow himself to be borne away by these feelings of animosity, even when the gratification of them appeared so perfectly within his power.

It was only on the day following that on which the capitulation had been signed, that a large fleet was descried on the horizon, bearing down upon Rhodes. The idea prevalent in both armies was, that this was the long-expected succour arriving from the west. The feelings of the Grand-Master and his fraternity may be conceived, as they reflected that, had they maintained the struggle but for two days longer, they would have been enabled to save their beloved city. With the Turks, of course, the feeling was one of unmingled satisfaction that they had succeeded in securing their object before it was too late. As, however, the fleet drew near, and the Turkish flag became visible, these feelings underwent a rapid change. It was now remembered, that upon the failure of his last general assault, Solyman had summoned a fresh body of troops from the frontiers of Persia to his assistance. This reinforcement, amounting to 15,000 men, had now arrived ; and it reflects the highest honour upon the Infidel sultan, that he took no advantage of their presence to alter the terms of that capitulation of which the ink was as yet scarce dry. It was not without some show of reason that he earned for himself the title of Solyman the Magnificent.

A few days after, L'Isle Adam received a notification through Achmet Pasha that he was expected to pay his respects to the sultan in person. Unwilling as he was

to submit to this act of degradation, the Grand-Master felt that, at a time when he and his fraternity were so completely in the power of the Turk, it would be highly impolitic to allow any feelings of pride on his part to create an irritation in the mind of the sultan. On Christmas-eve, therefore, he presented himself in the Ottoman camp, and demanded an audience of his conqueror. Turkish pride kept the poor old man waiting at the entrance of the sultan's pavilion through many weary hours, during that inclement winter's day ; and it required all the noble fortitude which graced L'Isle Adam's character, to bear with composure the unworthy slight thus cast upon him. Towards evening, the vanity of Solyman having been amply gratified, he was admitted, and the courteousness of his reception in some measure made atonement for the neglect with which he had previously been treated. An eye-witness of the interview states that, upon their first introduction, each gazed in silence upon the man who had so long been his opponent in the desperate strife just ended. The sultan was the first to speak. After offering some sentences of condolence for the loss which he had sustained, and having yielded to him the well-merited meed of praise which his protracted resistance demanded, Solyman proceeded to make the most brilliant offers, and to hold out the most dazzling inducements to L'Isle Adam to abandon his religion, and to take service under himself. Against such a proffer, the mind of the Grand-Master revolted with all the horror of a Christian soldier. "After," replied he, "a life spent, not ingloriously, in combating for his faith, and maintaining the cause of his religion, he could not consent to cast so foul a slur upon his latter days, as to abandon that religion for any

worldly prospects whatever. Even the sultan himself must feel that he would be no longer worthy of that esteem which he had so graciously been pleased to express towards him, and he only craved of his magnanimity that the terms of the capitulation might be maintained inviolate, and that he and his followers might be freely permitted to seek their fortunes in a new home." On this head, Solyman assured him that he need have no uneasiness, and the Grand-Master left the imperial presence with every mark of respect which the sultan was enabled to show him.

Two days afterwards, Solyman returned the visit at the Grand-Master's palace; and, on this occasion, he renewed the expressions of his consideration, and his desire to extend his clemency as far as possible to the fraternity, and, as the venerable L'Isle Adam left the imperial presence, bowed down with the sorrow so natural upon abandoning the cherished home of his Order, the sultan could not forbear exclaiming to his vizier, "It is not without some feelings of compunction that I compel this venerable warrior, at his age, to seek a new home."

It having become known that the sultan was about to quit the island, L'Isle Adam hurried his preparations for departure; feeling, that after Solyman's back was turned, there would be but little further security for himself or his followers. On the night of the 1st January 1523, this melancholy event took place. Four thousand of the Christian inhabitants of Rhodes preferred to follow the fortunes of the Order into exile, rather than remain under the sway of the Turk. Amidst the moans and lamentations of those who were now about to abandon for ever the homes of their fathers,

and who had lost in that fatal struggle all their worldly possessions, save only the small remnant which they were enabled to bear away, the fleet sailed and made its course for Candia. Misfortune appeared to follow the wanderers on their road; a severe hurricane overtook them in the course of their passage, and several of the smaller craft were lost. Others were saved by throwing overboard the little property which the unfortunate refugees had been enabled to rescue from the general loss; so that when the scattered fleet re-assembled at Spinalonga, there were many on board reduced to a state of actual beggary. The governor of Candia welcomed the fugitives with every mark of hospitality, and urged upon them the advisability of wintering in the island; but L'Isle Adam felt that he had much before him requiring immediate action and prompt decision. He therefore only remained in the island a sufficient length of time to enable him to refit and to repair, as far as practicable, the damages his fleet had sustained.

Whilst waiting for this purpose, he was joined by the garrisons of St. Peter's and Lango; and he also heard of the miserable fate of his protégée Amurath, son of Zizim. This young prince had been unable to elude the vigilance of Solyman, and to make his escape with his protectors. Having been discovered in a state of disguise, he was captured and brought before Solyman, when he boldly avowed himself a member of the Christian religion. Upon this the sultan, glad of an excuse to destroy him, caused him to be publicly strangled in the presence of the whole army. The incident of Amurath's fate has been but lightly touched upon by the historians of the siege of Rhodes, probably because it cast no little slur upon the otherwise fair fame of L'Isle Adam.

Amurath had, many years before, thrown himself upon the protection of the Order ; he had become converted to the Christian faith, and had ever since lived peaceably beneath their banner. It was well known in Rhodes that his residence there was a source of constant disquietude and anxiety to the Ottoman sultan, and the Grand-Master could not have been ignorant of the risk the young prince ran, in case of his falling into that monarch's power. Yet we find the capitulation of Rhodes agreed upon, without any mention of his name. No precautions whatever were taken to shield the illustrious convert from the vengeance of his implacable foe. The city was transferred to the sultan, and with it the unfortunate victim, who had intrusted his all to the protection of the Order of St. John. The result was only what might have been foreseen, and the feelings of L'Isle Adam, as he listened to the tale of the sacrifice which he himself had so weakly permitted, could have been of no enviable character.

True, he had many excuses for his conduct upon the occasion. Not only the lives of his own fraternity, but those of thousands of the citizens also, hung upon the terms which he could obtain from his foe. It is possible, nay more than possible, although the fact has not been recorded, that he did endeavour to include Amurath in the terms of the general amnesty, and that the proposal was peremptorily rejected on the part of the sultan. If this were the case, L'Isle Adam would have had a very difficult point of conscience to decide. Either he must have sacrificed the lives of all within the city, to maintain his honour inviolate towards his guest, or, on the other hand, he must have sacrificed that guest, whom he stood pledged to protect, for the general weal. It was

indeed a puzzling question, and, in deciding as he did, the Grand-Master can at least claim the excuse, that he acted for the best according to his judgment.

Anxious to place himself immediately in close proximity to the papal chair, L'Isle Adam prepared to leave Candia as rapidly as possible, and selected the port of Messina as the next point of rendezvous. The larger vessels proceeded thither direct, under the command of an English Knight named Austin, whilst he himself, with the great mass of his followers, pursued his course more leisurely. In token of the loss which the Order had sustained, he no longer suffered the white-cross banner to be displayed at the mast-head of his ship, but, in its stead, a flag bearing the image of the Virgin Mary, with her dead son in her arms, and the motto "*Afflictis spes mea rebus*" beneath. By the Sicilian authorities L'Isle Adam was welcomed with the same hospitality as had been shown him in Candia, and the viceroy informed him that he was directed by the emperor to request him to make his home in that island for as long a time as he thought proper.

L'Isle Adam's greatest fear, upon abandoning Rhodes, had been that his Knights, finding themselves no longer possessed of a convent, might disperse themselves into the various European commanderies, and cease to maintain the position which, during their residence in Rhodes, they had established for themselves. One of his first steps, after that event, had therefore been to despatch an embassy to the Pope, requesting such special authority from him, as might prevent the dispersion of his homeless Knights. Adrian, who was doubtless afflicted with some qualms of conscience, in having permitted the siege of Rhodes to be

prosecuted with such impunity, whilst he himself had stood supinely looking on, hastened as far as possible to redeem his error; and when L'Isle Adam entered the port of Messina, he found awaiting him a bull, in which the Pope, under the severest penalties, enjoined the members of the Order to remain with the Grand-Master, wherever he might lead them.

Having established a Hospital, and taken such steps as were in his power to provide for the comfort of his followers, L'Isle Adam caused a rigid investigation to be instituted into the circumstances which had prevented the arrival of reinforcements, during the many months through which the siege of Rhodes had been protracted. He had himself, upon several occasions, despatched Knights from the island, to urge forward these much required succours, but none ever returned; and now that he found them all re-assembled at Messina, he called for a full explanation of their conduct. The cause alleged by the accused was the unprecedentedly tempestuous state of the weather. From numerous points efforts had been made to bring up the necessary reinforcements, but the violent and contrary winds which uniformly prevailed, had entirely prevented their departure. One English Knight, indeed, named Newport, had endeavoured, in spite of every obstacle, to force his way to Rhodes, but only fell a victim to the temerity of his conduct, the vessel, with all on board, having been lost. The explanation appeared so perfectly satisfactory, that L'Isle Adam, at the head of his council, pronounced a full acquittal upon all the accused.

The plague having at this period broken out amongst the refugees, the authorities of Messina ordered L'Isle

Adam to re-embark promptly, and they were, with the permission of the viceroy, transferred to the gulf of Baia, where they remained a month. At the expiration of that period, the plague having disappeared, they proceeded to Civita Vecchia, where the Grand-Master prepared to pay a personal visit to the Pope. He was received at Rome with the greatest distinction, and Adrian pledged himself to use every possible exertion to obtain for the Order a new home, where they might establish themselves on a footing as advantageous as that which they had lost at Rhodes. These promises were, however, rendered futile by the death of the pontiff, which occurred shortly afterwards; on which occasion the honour of guarding the conclave, assembled for the election of a successor, once again devolved upon the Order of St. John. Giulio di Medici ascended the papal throne, under the title of Clement VII., and the brightest hopes were raised that he would prove a powerful support to the enfeebled fraternity, from the fact that he had himself been a Knight of St. John, and was the first of that Order who had ever attained to the tiara of St. Peter. These hopes were not without foundation. Clement had no sooner assumed the dignities of his station, than he reiterated all the promises of his predecessor, and pledged himself to exert his influence with the sovereigns of Europe to obtain a suitable retreat for the convent. The islands of Elba, Cerigo, and Candia, were severally named, but the objections to each appeared insurmountable, and at last Malta, with the adjacent island of Gozo, appeared the most likely to meet their views.

A request was consequently made by the Grand-Master, supported by the authority of the Pope, to



Charles V., emperor of Germany, in whose possession these islands then rested, as an appanage of the kingdom of Sicily, for their transfer to the Order of St. John. In reply to this application, the emperor, by no means unwilling to witness a new and formidable barrier spring up against the aggressions of the Turk, who, now that Rhodes had fallen, appeared to threaten the kingdom of Sicily, returned an answer, offering to the Order the islands of Malta and Gozo, accompanied by the city of Tripoli on the adjacent coast of Africa, provided he was thereby assured of the fealty of the Order. Terms such as these it was not either the policy or the wish of L'Isle Adam to accept. One of the main principles in the foundation of the Order was its general European character, and embodying within its limits members of every nation in Europe, it was impossible that fealty could be rendered to any one sovereign without outraging the national feelings of the others. Still the emperor's gift was not to be rejected hastily, and L'Isle Adam trusted that, with a little patience, he might be enabled to soften the severity of the conditions upon which it had been offered.

Meanwhile, a body of commissioners, eight in number, being one for each language, were nominated personally to visit and inspect the islands in question, and to report upon their capabilities to the general council at Viterbo. L'Isle Adam was the more readily induced to let matters take their course slowly and quietly upon this subject, since a prospect had suddenly reopened itself of his being enabled once again to regain possession of the lost city of Rhodes. Achmet Pasha, to whom, as we have already seen, the command of the

Turkish army had been entrusted, upon the degradation of Mustapha, had, after the conquest of Rhodes, been despatched into Egypt to quell an insurrection in that province. Having succeeded in this object, his ambition prompted him to renounce his allegiance to the sultan, and to establish himself as a sovereign prince over the kingdom of Egypt. As a support in this new and insecure position, he sought the assistance of such European states as he conceived would be ready to lend their aid to any movement likely to enfeeble the Ottoman power. To L'Isle Adam he addressed himself more particularly, informing him that he had it within his power to restore to the Order their lost stronghold of Rhodes. The new commander of the tower of St. Nicholas was a renegade Christian, a creature of his own, who, if an adequate force were landed upon the island, would at once surrender his post and join the invaders. L'Isle Adam was so much struck with the plausibility of this scheme, that he despatched the commander Bosio, in the disguise of a merchant, to Rhodes, to inquire into the general state of the island, the spirit of its Christian inhabitants, and to enter, if possible, into a negociation with the commandant of St. Nicholas.

This Knight performed his mission with the most admirable tact, and on his return to Viterbo, gave a promising picture of the feasibility of the enterprise to the Grand-Master. The fortifications had been left unrepaired since the siege, and were in a ruinous condition. The Christian inhabitants of the island had found the Turkish yoke very different from the mild and beneficent government of the Knights, and were eager to enter into any project for the recovery of the island. The commandant of St. Nicholas had also

pledged himself to join the movement, provided it were supported by an adequate force ; and it therefore only remained for L'Isle Adam to assemble an army, and at once take possession of his old home. Unfortunately, however, this was a matter involving no little delay, since the Order did not possess the means of raising such a force themselves, and would be compelled to seek the assistance of the monarchs of Europe. This there was but little present hope of obtaining, owing to the distracted state of European politics. The king of France was, at that moment, a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, having been captured at the close of the disastrous fight of Pavia, and a league was then forming between the Pope and the rulers of France and England, to check, if possible, the overpowering advance of Charles.

At this juncture, L'Isle Adam was requested by the regent of France to act as an escort to the beautiful duchess of Alençon, sister to the captive monarch, who trusted by her charms and wit to obtain terms for the liberation of her brother less rigorous than those which the emperor seemed determined to extort. As this proposal would enable him to obtain a personal interview with both monarchs, an object he had much in view, L'Isle Adam at once proceeded to Marseilles, whence he conveyed the lovely princess to her destination. This movement gave so great umbrage to the emperor's ministers in Italy, who imagined that they perceived in the act a declaration of support to the French cause, that they at once sequestered the whole of the Order's property in that country. L'Isle Adam was not prevented by this circumstance from pursuing the course he had previously intended ; he accompanied

the duchess of Alençon to Madrid, and aided her with all the keenness of his political sagacity in treating for the liberation of her brother. In this matter he was in fact far more successful than herself, for it was not until after she had been compelled to return to France, the period of her safe conduct having expired, that he succeeded in concluding a treaty between the rival monarchs whereby the French king regained his liberty. The successful issue of this negotiation, which had in vain been attempted by the leading politicians of Europe, reflected the highest credit on the sagacity of L'Isle Adam, who from that moment earned for himself the title of the first diplomatist, as he was already considered the leading captain, of Europe.\*

A heavy ransom having been one of the conditions upon which the liberty of the French monarch depended, a general levy was made throughout his dominions to raise the necessary funds. The privileges of the Order of St. John exempted their property in France from any share in this contribution; still the fraternity were anxious to join in the good work of releasing her monarch, who had always proved himself most favourable to their interests. They therefore waived the privilege

\* On the occasion of the first interview which took place between the rival sovereigns after the conclusion of this treaty, L'Isle Adam being present, both monarchs having to pass through a door, the emperor offered the precedence to the king, which the latter declined. Charles immediately appealed to the Grand-Master to decide this subtle point of etiquette, and he extricated himself from the difficulty by the following ingenious answer, addressed to the king of France: —“No one, sire, can dispute that the emperor is the mightiest prince in Christendom; but as you are not only in his dominions but within his palace, it becomes you to accept the courtesy, by which he acknowledges you as the first of European kings.”

of exemption, and joined in the general levy upon the same terms as the other ecclesiastical bodies in the realm, merely requiring from the king letters patent, declaratory of the fact that this contribution was perfectly voluntary on their part, and was under no circumstances to be drawn into a precedent. A deed to this effect was therefore signed by the king at St. Germain, on the 19th of March 1527.

This weighty matter having been settled, L'Isle Adam availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the presence of the two sovereigns to submit his project for the re-capture of Rhodes. The emperor entered warmly into the views of the Grand-Master, and offered him a contribution of 25,000 crowns; at the same time asserting that, should this design fail, he might still accept the island of Malta as a home. Gladdened by the success of this mission, L'Isle Adam left Spain in 1526 and proceeded to France, where he trusted to obtain additional assistance to carry out his undertaking. Whilst there he was informed that Henry VIII., king of England, piqued at the fact of the Grand-Master having neglected to pay him a personal visit, as he had done to the other two great sovereigns of Europe, was seizing upon the revenues of the Order, and demanding from the Knights military service in his garrison of Calais. Undaunted by the severity of the winter and his own great age, L'Isle Adam determined on proceeding at once to London to mollify the offended potentate. He therefore despatched the commander Bosio to Cardinal Wolsey, to inform him of his intended visit. Henry, softened by this mark of deference, directed that he should be received with all possible honour, and every preparation was made to pay due respect to the hero of

Rhodes. After having reposed for some days at the priory of Clerkenwell, he proceeded to the palace, where he was received by the king with the most gracious cordiality. To assist him in his design upon Rhodes, Henry promised him the sum of 20,000 crowns, which he afterwards paid in artillery, and at the same time withdrew all his obnoxious proceedings against the fraternity.

L'Isle Adam now returned to Italy, trusting to be enabled at length to organise his expeditionary force. Here he found everything in a state of the utmost confusion. The Pope had drawn down upon himself the vengeance of the emperor by joining in the league against him, and the Constable Bourbon, who was that monarch's commander in Italy, led his troops to the gates of Rome, and had the audacity to storm the sacred city and hand it over to pillage. After holding out for a month in the castle of St. Angelo, Clement was captured and carried away a prisoner to Naples. These political storms completely destroyed the prospects of the fraternity; nor was it until after a peace had been signed between the emperor and the Pope, nearly two years afterwards, that L'Isle Adam was enabled to gain any further hearing on behalf of his own interests. During that interval the favourable moment had been lost. Achmet Pasha had been assassinated; the plots of the Rhodians had been discovered, and all hopes of success in that quarter were over. It only remained, therefore, to revert to the original project of the occupation of Malta; and Clement, who had lately become reconciled to the emperor, exerted all his influence for the abatement of the obnoxious conditions upon which the island had been originally offered.

The result of his interposition was, that an act of donation received the imperial signature at Syracuse, on the 24th March, 1530, by which deed Charles vested in the Order of St. John the complete and perpetual sovereignty of the islands of Malta and Gozo, and the city of Tripoli, together with all their castles and fortresses; the only conditions attached to the gift being, that the Order should never make war upon the kingdom of Sicily; that they should present an annual acknowledgment of a falcon to the viceroy; that the emperor should have the selection of the bishop of Malta from amongst three candidates to be nominated for that purpose by the Grand-Master; that this dignity should have a seat in the council, where he should rank next to the Grand-Master; together with several other minor clauses touching the extradition of Sicilian criminal refugees and the selection of the commanders of the Order's galleys in the Mediterranean. The whole concluded with a proviso, that, should the fraternity at any time desire to abandon these islands, they were not to transfer them to any other power without the previous knowledge and consent of the emperor. Such were the terms upon which, after much negotiation, Charles was at length induced to surrender the comparatively valueless rocks of Malta and Gozo to a fraternity whose indefatigable perseverance and practised skill were destined to raise thereon one of the most powerful fortresses in the world.\*

The above-mentioned deed was presented to the commander Bosio by the emperor in person, and that Knight instantly hurried off to place the precious docu-

\* Vide Appendix, No. 16.

ment in the hands of the Grand-Master. During the journey he met with an accident from the overturning of his carriage, and the awkwardness of an unskilful surgeon caused a comparatively trivial injury to prove fatal. Feeling his end close at hand, and knowing the anxiety of his chief upon the subject of the Maltese question, he sent the deed forward under charge of a Rhodian gentleman by whom he had been accompanied.

The donation of the emperor was promptly confirmed by a papal bull, upon the receipt of which L'Isle Adam sent two Grand-Crosses to Sicily to receive a formal investiture of the territory from the viceroy. After this ceremony had been completed they proceeded to take possession of their new acquisition, and to place members of the fraternity in command of the various posts surrendered to them. A dispute, which arose with the viceroy upon the subject of the free exportation of corn, and the privilege of coining money within the new territory, impeded the Grand-Master for some months from proceeding to Malta; but these difficulties having been adjusted, he at length set sail from Syracuse and landed safely in his new home.

The first aspect which greeted the wanderers was certainly not reassuring. Accustomed as they had been to the verdure and luxuriance of Rhodes, the richness and fertility of whose climate had procured for it the title of the garden of the Levant, they were but ill prepared for the rocky and arid waste which first met their view in Malta. Few persons who now behold the island, thronged as it is with the commerce of Europe and Asia, presenting a busy scene of wealth and prosperity, with its masses of fortification rising in frowning tiers



around its harbours, can picture to themselves the desolate and unprotected rock which fell into the possession of the Order of St. John in the year 1530.

The antecedent history of Malta is not important, and may be dismissed in a few words. Originally colonised by the Phœnicians, it was torn from their grasp by the Greeks in the eighth century before Christ, and remained in their possession for 200 years. At the expiration of that period the Carthaginians disputed the sovereignty of the island with them, and eventually succeeded in wresting it from their hands. In the second Punic war Sempronius finally established the dominion of Rome in Malta, and drove out its Carthaginian inhabitants. The Greeks, however, were allowed to remain, nor were their laws and customs interfered with. The island was attached to the government of Sicily, and was ruled by a pro-prætor or deputy governor, dependent on that province. Whilst under their sway, Malta attained a very high pitch of civilisation and refinement. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, within a few days' sail from the shores of three continents, it speedily became a thriving mart for much of the commerce of Rome. Its manufactures of cotton and linen, and its public buildings—principally temples erected in honour of its favourite deities—were justly celebrated throughout the Mediterranean. On the division of the Roman empire, the island of Malta fell to the lot of Constantine, and from that period its decadence may be first dated. In the fifth century it was seized upon successively by the Vandals and Goths; and although, in the sixth century, Belisarius, the general of Justinian, drove out the barbarians, and once more

established the Roman dominion, the island never re-attained its former prosperity. In the ninth century the Arabs made their appearance, and exterminating the Greek portion of the population, established a government dependent upon the emir of Sicily.

At the close of the 11th century, Count Roger, the Norman, expelled the Saracens, and established a principality in Sicily and Malta, which was subsequently converted into a monarchy under his grandson. From that time the island followed the fortunes of the kingdom of Sicily through many changes of dominion, until at length they both fell into the possession of Spain, after the tragedy of the Sicilian Vespers.

Its decadence during these successive stages had been uninterrupted; and at the time when the emperor transferred its governance to L'Isle Adam there was little left to tempt the cupidity or aggression of neighbouring powers. It contained neither river nor lake, and was very deficient in springs. Its surface was a bare rock, almost destitute of earth, and its vegetation poor and insignificant. Scarce a tree was to be seen throughout the whole extent of the island, and the wretched villages in which the inhabitants dwelt partook of the general air of poverty which prevailed everywhere. Its western side was rugged and inhospitable, offering no shelter for maritime purposes; but the east and north were broken up into numberless creeks and harbours, several of which were of sufficient capacity to afford anchorage to the largest fleet.

This was the great, indeed, the only point of attraction which the island possessed for the Order of St. John. They had been for so many years accustomed to look to maritime enterprise as the source from

whence their wealth and prosperity was to be derived : they had made their name so widely known and so highly esteemed in the waters of the Mediterranean, that they would not willingly resign the position which their naval superiority had given them, by the establishment of a new home in any locality which did not give them the means of pursuing their favourite calling. This, and this only, was the motive which induced them to accept the desert rock of Malta, and to establish on it their convent home. Nature had done everything, both as regards general position and the natural configuration of its shores, to render it suitable for naval enterprise, and L'Isle Adam determined to strain every power of his Order to remedy, by adventitious aid, the numberless other disadvantages under which the island laboured.

It would have appeared a sufficiently desolate prospect for the Order of St. John had they received these islands without any further addition ; but the emperor Charles, who well knew how to make the best of a bargain, had attached the possession of the city of Tripoli, as an absolute condition to the transfer of the other islands. The report of the commissioners, despatched to inspect this new acquisition, was sufficiently discouraging. Situated at a distance of more than two hundred miles from Malta, and surrounded on all sides by a piratical foe, it was not only scantily fortified, but at the same time there appeared no facilities for increasing its strength. The sandy nature of the soil, and the treacherous foundation which it presented, would render the erection of ramparts and the sinking of ditches a matter of the most extreme difficulty, if not absolutely impossible ; and it

was to be dreaded that any garrison which the fraternity might despatch for the protection of the town, would in all probability fall victims to the aggression of their neighbours, before assistance could be despatched from Malta. They felt, however, that they were not now in a position to make any selection for themselves, and that the only course for them to pursue was to endeavour, by the exercise of every possible energy, to counterbalance the natural disadvantages of their new acquisition.

The day on which L'Isle Adam arrived at Malta was the 26th October, 1530, and he at once assumed monarchical power over the islands, of which he now became supreme sovereign. At the entrance of the Città Notabile,—an insignificant assemblage of houses upon the summit of a hill in the centre of the island, and surrounded by a feeble fortification,—he was stopped by the closed gates until he had sworn upon the holy cross, the symbol of his religion, that he would preserve the privileges of the inhabitants and govern them in accordance with their ancient laws. The keys of the town were then presented to him, and he made his entry amidst the acclamations of the people, who trusted, and not without reason, that a new era was about to dawn upon them under the gentle sway of the Hospital.

The first care which occupied L'Isle Adam upon his arrival at Malta, was the selection of a suitable and defensible position for his convent. The fortifications of Malta at this period were of the most paltry kind. The Città Notabile, the capital of the island, was surrounded by a rampart, but of so miserable a character

as to be almost utterly useless for purposes of defence. The only other attempt at a bulwark which the island possessed was the fort of St. Angelo, which, although considered the main keep of Malta, and the only protection to its principal harbours, was of the most feeble description, and only armed by two or three small pieces of artillery.

In order the better to comprehend the locality here referred to, and the alterations which were carried into effect under the directions of the Grand-Master, it will be well to enter into a short description of this part of the island. The main harbour of Malta is divided into two parts by an elevated and rugged promontory, jutting out from the mainland in a north-easterly direction, and called Mount Sceberras. The height of this tongue of land is such as to give it domination over all the surrounding points. The eastern of the two ports thus formed, is in its turn divided into three creeks by two minor promontories, of which the one nearest to the entrance of the harbour was that whereon the fort of St. Angelo stood. Behind the fort, and extending back into the mainland, was a small town, or rather village, known by the name of the Bourg. The other promontory was called Point St. Michael. The western harbour, which did not present such facilities for safe anchorage as the main port, contained within it a small island, and was also much subdivided by the sinuosities of the coast line. On this side there were no works of defence of any description, nor any attempts at habitation.

The practised eye of L'Isle Adam was not long in perceiving the advantages of the position of Mount

Sceberras, dominating as it did over both harbours, and, owing to its formation, secure from attack, except on its land side. Here, therefore, he thought of establishing his convent, and of erecting works of sufficient magnitude for its protection ; but, unfortunately, the funds necessary for such an undertaking were not forthcoming. The migratory life which the Order had led for the preceding eight years, accompanied by a large colony of Rhodians to the number of nearly four thousand, all of whom subsisted mainly, if not entirely, upon the charity of the Order (which was distributed to them under the name of the bread of Rhodes), had gone far towards exhausting the public treasury ; and he now found himself absolutely unable to undertake any work of magnitude, even though it might clearly prove of the most vital necessity. He therefore decided, as a temporary measure, upon establishing himself in the fort of St. Angelo, and upon fixing the convent of the Order in the surrounding Bourg. Such additions to the defences of the fort as his means permitted were at once constructed, and a line of intrenchment was drawn across the head of the promontory to enclose the Bourg, and to cover it, as far as practicable, from the surrounding dominating eminences.

The Grand-Master was at this moment the less disposed to undertake any work of magnitude in Malta, because he still maintained hopes of being enabled to establish his convent in a more advantageous position elsewhere. When the commander Bosio had visited Rhodes with a view to ascertaining the feeling of the inhabitants of that island, he had at the same time opened negotiations in the town of Modon, a port in the Morea, which had been captured by the Turks some

few years prior to Rhodes. The position of this city rendered it well adapted for maritime enterprise, and L'Isle Adam was the more anxious to obtain possession of it since its proximity to Rhodes would enable him to seize upon the first favourable opportunity for repossessing himself of his old home. Two renegades, one the commandant of the port, the other the chief of the custom-house, had notified to Bosio their willingness to enter into the views of the Christians and to assist them in seizing upon the town, provided a sufficient force were despatched to ensure success.

On the 17th of August, 1531, L'Isle Adam sent forth a fleet of eight galleys, under the command of Salviati, prior of Rome, to attempt the enterprise. On arriving near Modon, Salviati hid his fleet in a retired creek in the island of Sapienza, which lies off the mouth of the harbour, and smuggled into the port two brigantines ostensibly laden with timber, beneath which, however, lay concealed a body of soldiers. The renegades, faithful to their promise, admitted these vessels; and the commandant of the port, in order to facilitate the seizure of the town, plied the janissaries under his command with wine, till they were all reduced to the most helpless state of intoxication. At break of day the troops landed from their concealment in the brigantine, massacred the inebriated and helpless guard, and obtained possession of the principal gate of the city. A gun was then fired as a signal to the rest of the fleet to enter the port and follow up the advantage which had been gained, but a contrary wind prevented Salviati from hearing it, so that many hours were lost before any support arrived. Meanwhile the governor of the city, recovering from his first panic, and perceiving the

paucity of the numbers by whom he was attacked, collected the townspeople together, and a desperate encounter followed. The Knights were well nigh overpowered, when Salviati at length, having been summoned from his hiding-place, by a boat sent to him for that purpose, made his appearance, and once more turned the fortune of the day. The Infidels were driven into the citadel, and the remainder of the town fell into the undisputed possession of the Christians. Unfortunately, however, a body of six thousand Turks lay encamped within a few miles of Modon, and a summons having been forwarded to them for assistance by the beleaguered governor, the Knights were again forced to abandon their enterprise, and to re-embark on board their galleys; not, however, before they had completed the sack of the town, and carried away a vast amount of booty. The fleet returned to Malta, bearing with it eight hundred Turkish prisoners, principally women and children, and a prodigious quantity of plunder, which latter, however, falling to the share of the individual adventurers, constituted no reimbursement to the exhausted treasury for the outlay caused by the expedition.

The failure of this enterprise destroyed the last hopes which L'Isle Adam could have entertained of removing his convent to a more favourable situation than Malta. Nothing, therefore, remained, but to take such measures as should best insure the security of his fraternity in their new and precarious home. Many additions were made both to the fortifications and armament of the castle of St. Angelo. The ramparts which surrounded the Bourg, now rapidly rising from the position of a village into that of a town, were strengthened by de-



tached works wherever the nature of the ground admitted of their construction. The fortifications of the Città Notabile were renewed and strengthened, and its protection intrusted to an ample garrison. At Tripoli similar precautions were taken, and a vessel having arrived from England laden with artillery, the present of Henry VIII. to the Order already alluded to, this seasonable acquisition was at once despatched thither to add to the armament of that exposed point.

A general chapter was about this time convened in Malta, at which many reforms were decreed, rendered highly necessary by the degeneracy of the Order. It would be vain to deny that a material change had of late years been wrought in the feelings and aspirations of those who sought to assume the White Cross of the Hospital. The religious element which had originally predominated in the constitution of the Order, and in the lives of its fraternity, had gradually died out. True, there was the same outward observance of the ceremonies of their religion. Each postulant still took the three oaths of chastity, poverty, and obedience. He was still told to consider himself a poor soldier of Jesus Christ, whose life was to be dedicated to the defence of His holy faith, and the relief of the poor; but these exhortations had gradually come to be considered in the light of a mere form. The Order of St. John had, upon so many a gloriously won battle-field, and behind so many a well-defended rampart, earned for itself a name of such dazzling pre-eminence upon the proud roll of chivalry, that the badge of its founder, the White Cross of Peter Gerard, originally assumed as a mark of Christian humility and devotion, was now

coveted as a decoration, which enrolled its wearer a member of one of the proudest and most noble institutions of the age. Worldly aspirations and worldly dignities had long since taken the place of those celestial rewards which, in the earlier ages of the institution, had been the object of the Knights' ambition. It is true that whenever an assault was made, either upon their religion or upon their home, the Knights of St. John were still found ready and willing to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of either, invariably scorning to purchase a dishonoured life by the abandonment of their faith; still the religious enthusiasm which had nerved so many of their predecessors during the desperate struggles of the 12th and 13th centuries, had vanished from the world, or, at most, showed itself in very feeble and fitful flashes. In its place the haughty bearing and the arrogant assumption of a prosperous military fraternity, renowned as highly for its wealth and its territorial power as for its warlike achievements, gradually appeared, and eventually became the distinguishing characteristic of the Order.

L'Isle Adam had watched with sorrow the rapid advance of this decadence on the part of his Knights,—a degeneracy which the events of late years had materially expedited. The close of his life was, from this cause, doomed to be spent amidst scenes of domestic strife and political discord. Well would it have been for him had he fallen gloriously during the memorable siege so imperishably connected with his name; but it had been otherwise decreed, and he was fated to pass his last hours in a scene of turmoil most distressing to his benevolent heart. The first subject of dispute which

arose to embitter his remaining days, sprang from the succession to the bishopric of Malta.

By the act of donation, Charles had reserved to himself and his successors the power of nomination to this post, by a selection from amongst three candidates, to be named by the Order. When the first vacancy occurred, the Grand-Master was most anxious that the dignity, which involved a very high position in the Order, should be conferred upon Thomas Bosio, the brother of the commander, whose diplomatic services have been so frequently mentioned. Bosio was already vice-chancellor of the Order; but L'Isle Adam conceived that his brother's services should be repaid by a still higher dignity. He therefore named him as one of the three candidates for the vacant post, and at the same time wrote a pressing letter to the Pope, entreating him to use his influence with the emperor to obtain the appointment for Bosio. This the Pope promptly did, and received a reply from the emperor, assuring him that his request should be complied with. A considerable delay, however, took place, before the nomination was made public; but eventually, the act appointing Bosio to the vacant bishopric was deposited in the hands of the ambassador of the Order, then resident at the emperor's court. All appeared now smooth and satisfactory. The Grand-Master despatched Bosio to Rome with the emperor's deed of nomination, and with his own thanks to his eminence for the share he had taken in the matter. What was the surprise of the expectant bishop, when the Pope announced to him that he had already nominated another person to the post!

The object the Pope had in view, in thus nullifying

his own request, does not appear very clear. It probably arose partly from a pique on his part, at the delay of the emperor in acceding to his request, and partly from a desire to retain so valuable a piece of patronage within his own hands. All remonstrance, on the part both of the emperor and Grand-Master, proved unavailing, and the dispute remained unsettled until the death of the pontiff, three years later, when his successor, anxious to conciliate the emperor, confirmed the appointment to Bosio.

This solution to the affair did not take place till after the death of L'Isle Adam, and the disappointment which he had experienced in his attempts to provide for the meritorious Bosio embittered his latest hours. Another dark cloud which gathered over his declining moments was the blow which the Order received in England at this period, from the religious revolution which was taking place in that country. The history of this reformation is too well known to need any recapitulation here. The unworthy cause which cast a slur upon otherwise so beneficial a measure, has always afforded a handle to the enemies of the Protestant religion, whereby to direct their efforts to its overthrow. But, however advantageous to the people of this country that reformation may have been, it most undoubtedly proved a very serious blow to the prosperity of the Hospital.

Long before Henry had renounced his allegiance to the Church of Rome, he had displayed symptoms of his grasping temperament towards the Order of St. John. The haughty monarch could ill brook that so many broad acres, and so many a fair domain, should be possessed by a power which yielded him no allegiance; and he had more than once availed himself of the slightest

pretext to encroach upon the property of the Knights of St. John. Now, however, when he had thrown away the mask, and had placed himself at the head of the religious movement which had been fermenting for years within his realm, his measures with regard to the property of the Hospital, and the Knights themselves, were as prompt and decisive as, from his arbitrary nature, might have been anticipated. Those measures, however, did not receive their development during the life of L'Isle Adam. The cloud which he perceived to be gathering on the political horizon of England, did not burst over the unfortunate members of his Order, in that country, till after his death ; still enough was apparent to sadden his last hours, and to leave him full of anxious forebodings for the future.

He was moreover fated, before his death, to become the witness of an internal disorder within the limits of his own convent, of a nature so serious as almost to endanger the existence of the community. The quarrel originated in a dispute between one of the secular retainers of the prior of Rome and a young Knight of the language of Provence. A duel ensued, in which the Knight was killed, not without grave suspicion of treachery on the part of his opponent. Several of the Provençal Knights, under this impression, sought out the offending party, and, finding him surrounded by his friends, a struggle ensued, in which some of the Italians were wounded, and the whole body driven to seek refuge in the palace of the prior. The remainder of that dignitary's household, who were very numerous, enraged at this attack upon their comrades, armed themselves, and sallied forth for vengeance. Without distinguishing the offending Provençal Knights from those of the other

French languages, they assaulted them all indiscriminately, and thus a civil war broke out between the French languages on the one side, and that of Italy, to which the Spaniards and Portuguese joined themselves, on the other. The prior of Rome placed under arrest those of his suite who had been guilty of a breach of the peace, but this step was not considered a sufficient reparation by the French Knights. They attacked the galley of the prior, where the offending individuals had been confined, and murdered four of them in cold blood. This lawless proceeding brought about a general collision between the antagonistic languages, and a regular engagement ensued in the streets. In vain the Grand-Master despatched messages to the combatants, directing them to disperse, under pain of the severest penalties. His menaces were unheeded, and the remainder of the day was passed in strife and confusion. Towards night, however, the bailiff of Manosque, who was possessed of great influence with both the rival factions, succeeded by personal intervention in quelling the disorder, and dispersing the combatants.

Severe measures were necessary for the punishment of so serious an outbreak, and L'Isle Adam, aged and feeble as he was, proved himself equal to the occasion. After a rigid examination, the ringleaders in the outrage were condemned to expulsion from the Order, which sentence was rigidly carried into execution. Bosio asserts that several of the most guilty were condemned to death, and thrown alive into the sea, but this statement has not been corroborated by any other historian, nor do the records existing in the archives of the Order substantiate the fact.\* It is very clear that, in this

\* This affair will be found included in the catalogue of crimes ex-

point, the generally truthful Italian has been led into error.

It was amidst scenes such as these, that L'Isle Adam brought his long and glorious life to a close; and at length a violent fever induced that end which he had so often braved, and always escaped, at the hand of the Infidel. On the 22nd August 1534, he expired, aged upwards of seventy years, to the great grief of the whole fraternity. Never had the Order sustained so signal a loss, as that it was now called upon to mourn. The heroism and grandeur of L'Isle Adam's character were such, that the clouds of adversity only set it forth with greater lustre. The loss of Rhodes, the greatest disaster which had ever befallen the Order, since that of Jerusalem, has connected itself so imperishably with his name, that he has gained a higher renown for his conduct in that calamity, than other men have achieved by the most brilliant victories. As the establisher of his fraternity in the island of Malta, and the agent of its resuscitation after its late desperate losses, he may be looked upon as its third parent and founder. Raymond du Puy has associated his name inseparably with the original foundation of the Institution. It was to Fulk de Villaret that the Order was indebted for their establishment in their lovely island-home at Rhodes, and it is to L'Isle Adam that the merit is due, of having guided their fortunes to that rocky island in the centre of the Mediterranean, where, for upwards of two centuries and a half, waved the banner of St. John, an honour to Christianity, and a terror to the Infidel of the East.

tracted from the manuscript records of the Order, and given at the close of Chap. XXI. It will there be seen that no further punishment was awarded beyond deprivation of the habit.

## CHAP. XVI.

ELECTION OF PETER DUPONT.—EXPEDITION AGAINST TUNIS.—DIDIER DE ST. GILLES.—JOHN D'OMEDES.—EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS.—ITS COMPLETE FAILURE.—TURKISH DESCENT ON MALTA.—LOSS OF TRIPOLI.—UNJUST PERSECUTION OF THE MARSHAL LA VALLIER.—DESTRUCTION OF THE ORDER IN ENGLAND.—LEO STROZZI.—ADDITIONS TO THE FORTIFICATIONS OF MALTA.—ATTACK ON ZOARA.—DEATH OF D'OMEDES, AND ELECTION OF LA SANGLE.—TEMPORARY RESTORATION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.—HURRICANE AT MALTA.—GENEROSITY OF NUMEROUS FRIENDS TO THE ORDER.—ACCESSION OF LA VALETTE.—RESTORATION OF THE BOHEMIAN AND VENETIAN PRIORIES.—EXPEDITION TO GALVES.—ITS DISASTROUS ISSUE.—SIEGE OF MAZARQUIVER BY THE TURKS.—CAPTURE OF A TURKISH GALLEON, AND CONSEQUENT ANGER OF SOLYMAN.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE ATTACK OF MALTA.

THE council, assembled for the election of a successor to their deceased chief, ended by nominating Peter Dupont, a member of a Piedmontese family, to that post. At the time of his election, Dupont was residing at his priory in Calabria; and it was with extreme reluctance that he accepted the dignity, his great age rendering him unwilling to undertake the onerous duties of a Grand-Master, at the perilous crisis in which the affairs of the Order then stood. Eventually, however, these scruples were overcome, and Dupont set out for Malta to assume the duties of his new office.

The dangerous position in which the garrison of Tripoli was placed rendered the maintenance of this



post a subject of anxious consideration to the new Grand-Master ; and he turned his eyes towards Charles V., then by far the most powerful potentate in Europe, for assistance in its protection. Charles had originally bestowed this thankless gift upon the Order, partly to escape the expense of its maintenance himself, and partly in the hope that the establishment of the Order of St. John in that spot might act as a check to the piratical enterprises of the surrounding princes. He was, therefore, well disposed to render every assistance in his power towards the support of this fortress ; and the request for aid, which was despatched by Peter Dupont, reached Madrid at a moment when Charles V. was already contemplating a descent upon Africa from other motives.

The northern coasts of that continent, abutting upon the Mediterranean, had first been occupied by the Arabians during the latter part of the seventh century. The country had gradually become subdivided into several kingdoms, of which Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis were the most important. These principalities were inhabited by a mixed race, comprised of the original Arabian conquerors, the negroes, who had spread themselves over that country from the more southern provinces, and the Moors, who had been driven thither from Spain during the preceding two centuries. Until the commencement of the sixteenth century, these petty kingdoms interfered but seldom in the politics of Europe ; and their very existence was but little known, and as little cared for.

At that time, however, a revolution took place, which materially altered their position. Two of the four sons of a Turkish inhabitant of Mitylene, named Horuc

and Hayradin, prompted by a spirit of restlessness, abandoned their father's island, and joined a crew of pirates. Their daring and skill in this their new calling soon raised them to the command of the band; and they gradually augmented their forces until they had assembled a fleet of twelve galleys, besides many smaller vessels. Calling themselves the Friends of the Sea, and the enemies of all who sailed thereon, they scoured the Mediterranean from end to end, and rendered their names terrible in every part of its waters. These brothers were both known by the surname of Barbarossa, from the red colour of their beards; and whilst Horuc Barbarossa was recognised as the supreme chief, the authority of Hayradin Barbarossa was but little inferior. Increasing in ambition as their power and fame extended, they at length sought the acquisition of a port, from whence they might carry on their buccaneering expeditions in security.

An opportunity was not long in presenting itself. Called in by the king of Algiers, to support him in a war with a neighbouring chief, Horuc succeeded in dethroning and murdering that monarch, and in establishing himself in his place as king of Algiers. To render himself the more secure, he placed his new acquisition under the protection of the Turkish sultan, to whom he tendered the homage of a tributary prince. That monarch, with whose ambitious views it well accorded to add these extensive provinces to his empire, accepted the proffered homage, and promised his support to the self-elected monarch.

In the year 1518, Horuc fell in an action against the Marquis de Comares, the Spanish governor of Oran; and his brother Hayradin assumed the sceptre vacant by

his death. The fame of his naval exploits, in this new dignity, having reached Constantinople, the sultan appointed him to the supreme command of the entire Turkish fleet; and Barbarossa repaired thither full of a new project of aggrandisement, which had just then presented itself to his ambition. The late king of Tunis had died leaving a progeny of no less than thirty-four sons; the youngest of these, named Muley Hassan, had been appointed his successor by the late king, over whom the mother of Muley Hassan had obtained a great influence. This nomination having been secured, Muley Hassan at once poisoned his father; and assuming the sceptre, promptly put to death as many of his brothers as he could get into his power.

Al Raschid, one of the eldest, succeeded, however, in making his escape, and fled to Algiers to implore the protection of Barbarossa. This wily potentate at once promised his support, and took the fugitive to Constantinople, where he trusted to obtain means from the sultan for the prosecution of his enterprise. He there laid open to Solyman his project for the acquisition of Tunis, by means of the claims of Al Raschid. A powerful fleet and a numerous army were, for this purpose, entrusted to his command by the sultan, with which he set sail for Tunis, the unfortunate Al Raschid being retained a prisoner in the seraglio at Constantinople. Arrived off Tunis, Barbarossa succeeded in obtaining possession of the fort of Goletta through the treachery of its commander. This fort commands the bay of Tunis, and on it the protection of the town entirely depends. Possessed of this important point, Barbarossa soon effected an entrance into Tunis; still maintaining the pretence that his object was the restoration

of Al Raschid. Once established in the town, he relinquished this subterfuge, and proclaimed himself king of Tunis. Muley Hassan, who had fled at his approach, proceeded direct to Madrid, and there implored Charles to assist him in regaining his kingdom.

This application, arriving at the same time as that of the Grand-Master Dupont, induced Charles V. to undertake such an expedition into Africa as should establish a friendly power in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, in lieu of that of the redoubtable Barbarossa. This expedition he determined on commanding in person, and the whole power of his extended dominions was called into play for its successful prosecution. The army was composed of Italians, Germans, and Spaniards; whilst the fleet, commanded by Andrew Doria, the greatest naval hero of the age, was numerous and well equipped. The Knights of Malta contributed to the force a contingent of four large galleys, eighteen armed brigantines, and the great carrack of the Order.

The army, consisting of 30,000 men, landed without impediment on the shores of Tunis, in close proximity to the fort of Goletta. This fort was garrisoned by 6,000 Turks, under the command of a renegade Jew, named Sinan, the most able and daring of Barbarossa's lieutenants. The siege was opened in form, and after its ramparts had been duly breached, it was carried by assault; the Knights of St. John occupying, as usual, the van upon this occasion, and rivalling their ancient fame by the desperate valour with which they carried the obstinately defended breach.

Barbarossa was both surprised and dismayed at the loss of this protecting bulwark. Garrisoned as it had been by the flower of his army, and defended by so

daring a spirit as his lieutenant Sinan, he had esteemed it impregnable, and now that it had fallen the road to Tunis lay open to the conqueror. The whole of Barbarossa's fleet, together with an enormous accumulation of military stores, fell, by this success, into the hands of the emperor, who, as he entered the breached rampart, turned to Muley Hassan, then in attendance on him, and said, "Here is the gate open for you by which you shall return to take possession of your kingdom."

Barbarossa had assembled a large force, principally composed of the Moors and Arabs of the neighbouring tribes; but he soon found that but little confidence was to be placed either in their valour or their fidelity. With such an army he considered that it would be unwise to attempt a defence of Tunis, or to await the emperor's arrival before its walls. He determined, therefore, upon advancing boldly to meet the Christians, and to encounter them upon the open plain, where his wild horsemen might be made more available than they could have been behind the ramparts of Tunis. He had, however, one great source of uneasiness in the number of Christian slaves who were at that moment in captivity within the town. These numbered no less than 10,000, and Barbarossa feared that, should he leave them without an adequate guard, they would avail themselves of the opportunity to rise and assert their freedom. With the ruthless barbarity which had marked every step in his career, he proposed a general massacre of the whole body, as the most certain method of ensuring the town against their attempts. Fortunately, however, he encountered a warm opposition to this sanguinary suggestion from all his own immediate partisans. The atrocious and cowardly

brutality of the proposition was too great, even for the piratical horde whom Barbarossa had assembled beneath his banner; added to which their interests were as far opposed to the measure as their inclinations. The Jew Sinan was the possessor of a large number of these slaves, and many of the other leaders were likewise considerable proprietors. They therefore resisted this proposition for the wholesale destruction of their property so strenuously, that Barbarossa was forced to abandon the idea and to sally forth to meet the emperor, leaving the slaves as well guarded as his limited means would permit.

The action which ensued was hardly worthy of the name: although the forces of Barbarossa far exceeded those of the emperor in point of numbers, they were not to be compared to them in discipline or steadiness. The very first shock decided the day, nor could the utmost efforts of Barbarossa's valour rally his retreating battalions. The flight towards Tunis became general, and Barbarossa hastened to re-enter the city in order to take proper measures for its defence. Here, however, he found that his fears with regard to the Christian captives had proved well founded. As soon as they had learnt the departure of the army, they had risen upon their guards, recovered their liberty, and seized upon the citadel, which they now held against the retreating Barbarossa. Amongst these captives was a Knight of St. John, named Simeoni, the same who had in early youth greatly distinguished himself in the defence of the island of Lero against a Turkish force. This Knight immediately placed himself at the head of his brethren in misfortune, and took such prompt and energetic steps, that the whole city speedily fell into his

possession. Barbarossa was compelled to fly, and his troops rapidly dispersed.

Simeoni advanced to meet the emperor, and announced to him the steps he had taken to secure the town. Charles, who was overjoyed at this unlooked-for assistance, embraced the Knight warmly and lauded him in the most emphatic terms for the intrepidity and discretion with which he had acted. Muley Hassan was restored to his throne as a tributary to Spain, and the expedition being thus happily ended, the Knights returned to Malta laden with substantial marks of the emperor's satisfaction. They arrived there in time to witness the last hours of their Grand-Master, who died shortly afterwards, having wielded the baton of the Order little more than a year.

He was succeeded by Didier de St. Gilles, whose short reign was undistinguished by any act of importance, if we except the destruction of a fort called Alcade, which the Algerines had constructed in immediate proximity to Tripoli. Botigella, to whom had been confided the command of the galleys of the Order in the late expedition, was entrusted with this enterprise also; and the complete success which crowned his efforts marked the wisdom of the choice. The tower was completely razed, in spite of every effort on the part of the Algerines to save it; and the expedition returned triumphantly to Malta. St. Gilles did not live long enough even to reach the head-quarters of his Order, but died at Montpellier, at which town he was residing for the benefit of his health.

The vacancy which thus occurred gave rise to a warm contention in the election of a successor. The two commanders, Botigella and De Grolée, the latter of

whom had led the land forces of the Order in the attack on Tunis, were both considered to have the highest claim upon the vacant dignity ; but the Spanish Knights, whose influence in the Order had of late wonderfully increased, in virtue of the power of their emperor, were determined upon the election of a member of their own language, and John d'Omedes, a Knight of the language of Aragon, was nominated to the post. Although his claims were by no means equal to those either of Botigella or De Grolée, he had nevertheless much distinguished himself during the siege of Rhodes, where he had lost an eye in defending the Spanish post.

The memory of D'Omedes has been most undeservedly vilified by the historians of the Order. These writers, who are almost all French, have evidently imbibed warm feelings of partisanship in the struggle between the emperor Charles and their own king, Francis. Everything Spanish has been, therefore, looked upon by them with a jaundiced eye ; and D'Omedes, whose election had in it much calculated in itself to awaken the jealousies of the rival languages, has borne the brunt of this unfavourable bias. It cannot, however, be denied, that many of the acts of his rule were unjustifiable ; and that he was too often guided by a blind partiality for his own nation.

A feeling of jealousy against the commander Botigella, who had rivalled him in the election for the Grand-Mastership, prompted him to remove that Knight from the command of the galleys, which post he conferred upon a young Florentine, named Strozzi, whose name subsequently became celebrated as one of the most adventurous and daring corsairs of the Mediterranean. At the time of his appointment, however, he had done but



little to signalise himself; nor could his claims for the post have stood, for one moment, a comparison with those of Botigella. It appears most probable, that D'Omedes did not consider it safe to continue so important a trust in the hands of a man who he suspected of being violently inimical to himself, and that the change was made as a matter of self-defence.

A feeling of anxiety had constantly existed amongst the Order, respecting the position of the city of Tripoli. Though everything had been done which their limited means permitted, the place was still but very feebly fortified; and each successive governor, as he returned to the convent, urged upon the council the necessity for some further measures being taken to increase the security of the town. These representations became at length so urgent, that the Grand-Master appealed to the emperor Charles, pointing out the insecure position of the post, and the total inability of the Order, in the then exhausted condition of its treasury, to provide the funds necessary for strengthening its defences; and urging upon him the necessity of either undertaking that service himself, or of permitting the Knights to abandon the town. The reply of Charles to this petition, was a demand upon the Order to join him in an expedition which he was contemplating against the town of Algiers, still the stronghold of Barbarossa, and the chief haunt of those piratical hordes, whose incessant depredations kept the coasts of the Mediterranean in a continual state of alarm. He trusted by crushing this nest of piracy to ensure the security of Tripoli without further outlay, at the same time that he would be relieving his maritime subjects from an incubus which had long weighed them down.

Four hundred Knights, each accompanied by two

armed attendants, formed the contingent which the Order contributed to the army of the emperor. Charles, inflated by the success of his late expedition against Tunis, his first personal military exploit, determined once again to lead his forces himself, and directed a general rendezvous in the island of Majorca. In vain his veteran admiral Doria remonstrated with him upon the imprudence of attempting a maritime expedition so late in the year, when the storms, which at that season usually scourge the Mediterranean, might at any moment utterly destroy his fleet. Charles was not to be diverted from his purpose by any such prudential considerations, and he persisted in at once prosecuting the enterprise. The result proved the sagacity of Doria, and the foolhardiness of Charles. The army landed before Algiers, and commenced operations against it; but two days after they had broken ground, a fearful storm arose, which not only deluged the camp, and prostrated the army, but caused the far more irreparable loss of almost the entire fleet, which had been lying off the coast, and the great bulk of which was driven on shore. Fifteen of his galleys, and a hundred and forty transports and store-ships, were lost during this fearful tempest.

Doria, who by the exercise of superior seamanship, had succeeded in rescuing a small remnant of his fleet from the dangers of the sea, took shelter under Cape Matabas, whence he despatched messengers to the emperor, announcing his whereabouts; and a most harassing march of three days brought the retreating army to the spot. During this movement, the Knights of St. John had ample opportunity for distinction, in repelling the incessant attacks of the Moorish cavalry, who hovered round the retiring army. Their losses,

while performing this service, were very severe, and but few survived to bear the tale of their disaster to their brethren in Malta.

The failure of this expedition rendered the position of Tripoli still more precarious ; and in this crisis, the Grand-Master and council selected for the onerous post of governor, a Provençal Knight, called John de la Valette ; a name which subsequent events rendered one of the most illustrious in the annals of his Order. Even at this time La Valette had distinguished himself by his bravery and zeal in numerous cruising excursions against the Turks. He had never quitted Malta from the day of his admission into the Order, except upon the occasions of these cruises ; and had risen from post to post within its ranks, until he had attained a very high position.

The fate of Tripoli was destined, however, to be postponed for yet a little while ; and ere its fall was accomplished, Malta itself had a very narrow escape of a similar misfortune. Barbarossa having died at Constantinople, was succeeded in the command of the Turkish fleet by his lieutenant Dragut. This man had attained a notoriety in the Mediterranean, second only to that of his chief ; and his assumption of the command of the naval power of Solyman was followed by prompt and decisive measures on his part. He possessed himself of the town of Mehedia, a port situated midway between Tunis and Tripoli, and here he established a naval dépôt in the most dangerous contiguity to the latter stronghold. D'Omedes viewed with a very natural alarm the new danger which menaced his already too feeble outpost ; and he persuaded the emperor to direct an expedition against this additional foe.

Charles was the more readily induced to accede to

this request, partly because he was desirous of wiping out the remembrance of his late failure in the attack of Algiers, and partly because the proximity of the Turkish corsair menaced the coasts of Naples and Sicily. The Order of St. John despatched a contingent to join the main force under the command of the emperor's celebrated admiral Doria, consisting of one hundred and forty Knights, and about five hundred soldiers in the pay of the Order; the whole being under the command of the bailiff De la Sangle. The siege of Mehedia commenced at the end of June 1550, and after a desperate resistance, ended in the success of the Christians. As it was not contemplated that the place should be retained, the fortifications were razed, and the post abandoned, as soon as it had been rendered untenable to the Turks.

This success, in which the Knights had the principal share, brought down upon them the fierce anger of the Turkish sultan; and he at once commenced preparations for a gigantic armament, with which he purposed utterly to destroy the Order in their new home. Neither time nor means were available for D'Omedes to place his island in a proper state of defence; and when, on the 16th July 1551, the Turkish fleet, under command of Dragut, anchored off the Marsa Musceit, but few additions had been made to the feeble fortifications with which the Bourg and the castle of St. Angelo were protected. The commanders of the Turkish armament landed upon Mount Sceberras, and from that elevated point surveyed the castle of St. Angelo. Fortunately for the prospects of the Order, the great natural strength of the fort daunted the ardour of the Turkish leaders, and they abandoned the idea of an assault at that point, preferring to commence operations against

the Città Notabile. The troops were, therefore, disembarked, and marched directly into the interior of the island; taking with them a sufficient power of artillery to enable them to prosecute the siege of the town. Feeble as its defences were, and powerful the force which appeared against it, the garrison stoutly maintained their resistance; and, fortunately for them, intimation reached the Turkish commander, that Doria had set sail for the relief of Malta with a large fleet. This intelligence, which was completely false, so far terrified Dragut that he decided upon abandoning his attempts on Malta, and re-embarked his troops with the utmost expedition. As a last effort, he made a descent upon the defenceless island of Gozo, which he ravaged without resistance; the governor, De Lessa, having behaved upon the occasion with the most abject cowardice.

The attempt upon Malta having thus signally failed, Dragut directed his course towards the city of Tripoli, with a firm determination of accomplishing its utter destruction. At this time, the governor of Tripoli was Gaspard La Vallier, a French Knight, and the Marshal of the Order. To the summons of the Turk he replied with the most disdainful pride; and the siege was commenced in due form. D'Aramont, the French ambassador at Constantinople, vainly endeavoured to divert the efforts of the besiegers; and the works were pushed forward with the most portentous rapidity. Treachery within the town aided the efforts of those in its front, and eventually La Vallier was forced to treat for a capitulation. The most honourable terms were granted; but when the time arrived for their execution, they were basely violated; and the garrison, together with

a considerable number of the citizens, were made prisoners. D'Aramont, who had been compulsorily detained with the Turkish army throughout the siege, now exerted himself to the utmost; and partly by his influence, and partly by the expenditure of a considerable sum of money, he caused them all to be ransomed, and set sail with them for Malta, where he doubtless anticipated being received with the gratitude he so well deserved.

The general feeling in Malta, at the news of the loss of Tripoli, was very bitter; and D'Aramont, on landing there, felt that he was looked upon rather with feelings of distrust and antipathy, than with the regard which he had expected. He set sail, therefore, for Constantinople, embittered with the conviction that the acts of kindness which he had performed for the miserable garrison had been sadly misconstrued. D'Omedes, feeling that he himself was not without blame, in having neglected to provide assistance to the menaced city, and anxious to divert the popular wrath into another channel, caused the Marshal la Vallier to be arrested, with three of his companions in arms. Never was innocent man more basely sacrificed to popular clamour than upon this occasion; and La Vallier, than whom a braver man or a more skilful captain, did not exist within the ranks of the fraternity, was stripped of his habit and imprisoned; and, but for the bold and indignant remonstrances of a Knight named Villigagnon, he would have suffered a still worse fate.

Whilst these events were taking place, the course of the religious revolution in England had gradually been reaching its climax. The commencement of the quarrel between that country and the Pope of Rome had already

assumed the most threatening aspect prior to the decease of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam; and his fears for the security and permanence of the English language had embittered the last moments of that venerable chief. Since then matters had rapidly reached their culminating point; and the reformation in England soon developed itself in its full proportions. An institution like that of the Order of St. John, still maintaining fealty to that pontiff whose ecclesiastical authority was no longer recognised within the realm, was not likely to remain long undisturbed under the new régime. Henry VIII. had, previously to his renunciation of papal domination, displayed an anxious desire to interfere in the affairs of the Order in England, and to possess himself of much of their wealth; and now the moment had arrived when a plausible pretext was afforded him for carrying that design into execution.

There exists in the archives of Malta a document addressed to the Grand-Master by this monarch, which very clearly demonstrates the rapacity that characterised his conduct towards the Order. This document, which until lately has been totally unnoticed, is dated on the 7th of July 1538, at Westminster; and assumes the form of letters patent, commencing by entitling Henry the supreme head of the Anglican Church, and the protector of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. It then declares: First, That for himself and his successors, he gives licence to brother William West, Grand-Prior of the priory of England, to confer the habit, and receive the profession requisite to admit such English subjects as may desire to enter the Order under the usual conditions, provided always that such postulant shall have been previously required to take an oath of

allegiance to the said monarch, as his supreme lord, in accordance with the form duly instituted for the purpose, which oath the king exacts from all his subjects, both lay and clerical. Secondly, That any person nominated by the Grand-Master in council to a commandery situated within the limits of the kingdom of England, shall be required to obtain a confirmation of his appointment from the king. Such newly-appointed commander will be required to pay the revenues of the first year, accruing from his commandery, into the king's treasury; nor will he be permitted to receive his nomination to the commandery until he shall have previously taken the oath of allegiance, and have paid the said year's revenue, or at all events have given due security for its subsequent payment. Thirdly, It shall not be lawful for the Order of St. John to make eleemosynary collections\* within the realm of England, unless in virtue of a royal warrant; which warrant shall contain the express clause that such collection was not made in virtue of any bull from the Roman pontiff, but under letters patent emanating from the king of England. Fourthly, Those brethren holding, or hereafter promoted to commanderies within the realm of England, shall not recognise, support, or promote the jurisdiction, authority, rank, or title of the bishop of Rome. Fifthly, Those brethren holding, or hereafter promoted to commanderies within the realm of England, shall, after payment of the first year's revenues into the king's treasury, transfer those of the second year to the treasury of the Order, for the general maintenance and support of the convent; with the reservation of such

\* Alluded to in chap. ix., under the title of confraria.



annual tithes as the king retains to himself from all the commanderies within his kingdom. Sixthly, That every year a chapter of the priory shall be held, in which all crimes committed by the fraternity within the realm of England shall be examined into and duly punished; and if any of the offending brethren shall consider himself aggrieved by the sentence of the chapter, he shall appeal either to the vicar of the king, or to the conservator of the privileges of the Order of St. John, duly appointed by the king.

A very cursory glance at the clauses contained in this document will mark both the subtlety and the rapacity of those by whom it was framed. The fourth clause was, of itself, amply sufficient to prevent any member of the Roman Catholic religion from holding office or emolument within the kingdom of England; but, as though the monarch feared lest the members of the Order might be possessed of consciences sufficiently elastic to enable them to take the oath there demanded, he secures for himself an ample provision out of the revenues of the unfortunate commanderies, payment of which would be enforced even from the most compliant and obedient of the fraternity. Had the Order of St. John been in the habit of paying to the See of Rome any annual tithes or other contributions, it would have appeared only natural that the king of England, in assuming to himself the papal functions within his realm, should also have transferred to his own treasury all such tithes and contributions; but this had never been the case. From the earliest ages of its institution, the Order of St. John had been exempted by papal grants from the payment of all ecclesiastical tithes and contributions; and this exemption had been continued

and confirmed from time to time, ever since that date. Henry, therefore, in reserving to himself the payment of tithes from the revenues of the English commanderies, was arrogating a privilege such as had never been assumed by the pontiffs of Rome, even in their days of most dictatorial authority. One of the great sources of the revenue of the treasury had always been the payment of the first year's income by the successor to a vacant commandery. It was this revenue of which Henry contemplated the confiscation to himself; and in order to prevent the spoliation from pressing too hardly upon the conventual establishment at Malta, he substituted for their behoof the payment of a second year's revenues, to the manifest loss of the newly-appointed commanders.

It is much to the credit of the Order generally, and of the English language in particular, that they did not permit the natural desire of retaining their large possessions in England to outweigh their sense of religious duty. Hard as were the terms imposed by Henry, they were such as many men would have deemed far preferable to absolute confiscation; but the Order of St. John was not prepared to admit of such a compromise between its duty and its interests. It had been reared in the bosom of the Church of Rome, it had been nurtured by the beneficence and protection of each successive pontiff, and now that a storm had burst over the head of the father of their church, such as bid fair to deprive him of the spiritual allegiance of a vast proportion of his flock, the Knights of the Hospital were not prepared to abandon his cause in this hour of his weakness, even for the sake of retaining their worldly advantages. The terms offered by Henry were steadily

declined, and the language of England, which for many years had been considered one of the brightest adjuncts of the Order, and of whom the historian Bosio, himself an Italian, and, therefore, an unprejudiced witness, has recorded, "*così ricco, nobile e principal membro come sempre era stata la venerabile lingua d' Inghilterra,*" was lost for ever to the Order of the Hospital. A general sequestration of their property in England took place, accompanied by much persecution of the members of the fraternity. Some perished on the scaffold, others lingered in prison, and the remainder, homeless, destitute, and penniless, found their way to Malta, where they were received with all brotherly kindness, and with all Christian consideration.

It has already been stated, that at the commencement of his rule, D'Omedes had appointed as admiral of the galleys, in place of the commander Botigella, a young Florentine Knight, named Leo Strozzi, who had attained the dignity of prior of Capua. The father of this Knight, having opposed the emperor Charles V., had been by him taken prisoner and cast into a dungeon, where he ended his life by committing suicide; prior to which act he had invoked his descendants to avenge his fall. In answer to this appeal, his son Leo had abandoned the service of the Order, and entered that of the king of France, under whose banner, as the avowed and constant enemy of Charles, he trusted to obtain an opportunity of accomplishing his father's denunciations. For many years he had served in the navy of this monarch with the greatest possible distinction, and had been by him appointed the admiral of his fleet. Being naturally of an imperious and fiery temper, he had in this capacity made for himself many powerful enemies in the French

court, and was at length compelled to resign his command and leave the kingdom. In this dilemma he applied for re-admission into the ranks of the fraternity at Malta, but D'Omedes, who, as a Spaniard, was a warm partisan of the emperor Charles, at once peremptorily refused to admit this virulent enemy of his into the island.

Strozzi was therefore compelled to depart unassisted and unrecognised. His abandonment of his post in the French service had closed to him all the ports of that power. His bitter and unceasing antagonism to the emperor prevented his finding refuge within any of his maritime ports ; and now that his last hope of a shelter in Malta had been frustrated, he was driven to cruise in the Mediterranean, without any means of refitting his galleys. Under these circumstances he was, in a measure, driven to acts of piracy in self-support ; and for some time he became the scourge of the Mediterranean, under the peculiar title, assumed by himself, of the Friend of God alone. Charles, who was too crafty and consummate a politician ever to permit his private resentments to interfere with his interests, now that he beheld this able captain at enmity with his former protector, the king of France, at once opened negotiations with him, in the hopes of inducing him to enter his own service. It is doubtful whether Strozzi, whose resentment against the emperor for the incarceration of his father appears never to have subsided, seriously contemplated the acceptance of this offer ; but he nevertheless permitted the negotiation to be carried on, as during its progress he was freed from all inimical efforts on the part of the emperor.

His gallant conduct during a series of the most

brilliant exploits, had raised for him a host of influential friends amongst the fiery spirits who composed the ranks of the fraternity at Malta. From some of these he received an invitation, whilst his negotiations with the emperor were pending, to present himself once more in their island, pledging themselves that he should not again receive such an inhospitable rebuff as that which he had experienced on a former occasion. Strozzi, whose great desire at this time was to enter once more the ranks of the fraternity, in which he trusted, from his high renown and great interest, one day to attain the supreme dignity, immediately accepted this invitation, and presented himself off the harbour of Malta without delay. The Grand-Master, who had been made acquainted with the overtures of Charles to the Florentine, and who also knew how warmly the latter was respected by the majority of his Order, no longer refused him an admission into the fraternity, but welcomed him to its ranks with every possible honour. Strozzi now brought those vast talents with which nature had endowed him to the benefit of the Order which had once again received him, and by his judicious counsels and suggestions rendered them the greatest possible assistance.

In conjunction with two other Knights, he was appointed to inspect and report upon the state of the fortifications of Malta, and to suggest such additions as might be considered necessary for the complete security of the island. These commissioners reported that although the Bourg was inclosed by a rampart and ditch, and was, moreover, protected by Fort St. Angelo, it was nevertheless commanded by the rocky eminence called Mount St. Julian, at the extremity of the point of land

which ran parallel to that on which Fort St. Angelo was placed. They, therefore, strongly urged the necessity of establishing a fort upon this promontory, of sufficient capacity to hold a garrison whose numbers should enable them to maintain the post with vigour and resolution. Mount Sceberras also required occupation, in order to protect the Marsa Musceit, and to prevent an enemy from making use of that commodious harbour, in case he laid formal siege to the Bourg. Their recommendations on this head extended to the occupation of the entire peninsula ; but the funds of the Order did not admit of so extensive a work. Forts were, however, erected ; one on the extremity of this promontory, and the other on that of Mount St. Julian. These forts received the names of St. Elmo and St. Michael, in memory of those formerly erected by the Order at Rhodes. These works were prosecuted with the most exemplary vigour ; many of the more wealthy members of the fraternity contributing largely from their private means, to promote the rapid carrying on of the works. Strozzi and his brother commissioners were constantly on the ground, directing and encouraging the workmen ; so that in an incredibly short space of time the inhabitants were gladdened at perceiving two powerful fortresses arising on sites which had hitherto been totally unprotected, and which would have afforded the greatest possible facilities to an enemy whilst besieging the Bourg.

The last event of importance which marked the rule of D'Omedes, was the unsuccessful attack upon Zoara, made by the Knights under the command of Strozzi. This ill-fated expedition ended in the loss of almost the entire force composing it : Strozzi himself,

through the valour of a Majorcan Knight, named Torcillas, having narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by the enemy.

D'Omedes died upon the 6th September 1553, at the advanced age of ninety years. It has already been stated that the French historians have omitted nothing calculated to blacken the memory of this Grand-Master. The vices of avarice and favouritism are those which they principally bring to bear against him, and to these they likewise add that of general incapacity. That the French languages, long accustomed to finding the supreme ruler elected from amongst their ranks, had felt it a grievance that this monopoly should be broken through, was but natural. It was also to be expected, that the Spanish language, suddenly brought into pre-eminence, and supported by the influence which the power of the emperor Charles naturally gave them, should assume somewhat upon their new position, and should arrogate to themselves many of those good things which they had never before had the power of obtaining. Parsimony was doubtless a vice of D'Omedes, nor can he be acquitted of nepotism; still he was in neither particular worse than many of his predecessors, nor would he, under any other circumstances than those in which he chanced to be placed, have become the victim of that opprobrium with which his name has been noted. It was a fact, of which his enemies have made the most, that his rule was very disastrous for the fortunes of his Order; in most instances, however, from circumstances over which he had no control. It was under him that the futile and disastrous attacks were made upon Algiers and Zoara; that the city of Tripoli was lost to the Order; and that the island of Gozo was ravaged by the Turks.

The loss of the English language also occurred in his time; and for one and all of these mischances he has been virulently and unjustly blamed by his enemies. During his later years, his extreme age rendered him personally almost irresponsible for the acts of his government, and the Grand-Master, who sank into the tomb a dotard of ninety years of age, was a very different man from the hero who had so bravely held the post of Spain against the utmost efforts of the Infidel at the siege of Rhodes, and who had lost an eye during that struggle.

The general feeling at the death of D'Omedes was that Strozzi, the prior of Capua, should be his successor; but it having been pointed out to the council that he would in all probability use the power thus intrusted to him in furtherance of his private quarrel with the family of Medici, against whom he bore an undying hatred worthy of a Corsican *vendetta*, the choice ultimately fell upon the grand-hospitaller Claude de la Sangle, who was at that time acting as ambassador at Rome. This nomination, so contrary to his anticipations and wishes, gave dire offence to Strozzi, who thereupon resigned his command over the galleys of the Order, and set sail upon a private adventure of his own, followed by many youthful Knights who were anxious to earn renown under so distinguished a leader. These anticipations were, however, never realised, since Strozzi lost his life almost immediately afterwards, before an insignificant fort on the coast of Tuscany. His successor in the command of the galleys was La Valette, under whose able generalship they attained a renown far surpassing what had been previously achieved by them on the waters of the Mediterranean.

During the first year of La Sangle's rule, an evanes-



cent prospect sprang up of the restoration of the English language to its former status. The death of the youthful Edward VI. having placed his sister Mary upon the throne of England, that princess, who was a zealous and rigid Roman Catholic, had no sooner assumed the sway of the realm, than she despatched ambassadors to Malta, to treat for the re-establishment of the English language, and the restoration of the sequestered lands of the Hospital. To this proposition the council of La Sangle gave a prompt and joyful assent, and for a few brief years it appeared as though that venerable language was about to resume its former rank. But this was not to be the case, for, upon the death of Mary, her sister Elizabeth once more destroyed its organisation, and not content with sequestrating its property, as her father Henry had done, she confiscated it entirely, and thus annihilated the language for ever.

The successful forays which the Maltese galleys succeeded in executing under the able command of La Valette, so far enriched the public coffers, that La Sangle determined to increase the fortifications erected by his predecessor. Both at St. Elmo and at the Bourg considerable additions were made, but his main efforts were directed to the strengthening of the peninsula of St. Julian. D'Omedes had, it is true, erected at its extremity a fort which had received the name of St. Michael, but this was of no great strength, and the entire peninsula was much exposed from the neighbouring height of Corradino. Along the whole extent of the promontory facing these heights he constructed a rampart, strengthened by bastions, and also enclosed its neck in a similar manner. These works were carried out principally at his own expense, and the fraternity, in grate-

ful commemoration of the fact, named the entire enceinte thus formed after their public-spirited chief; and from that time the promontory has always been known by the name of Isle de la Sangle, since Italianised into Senglea.

The prospects of the island were every day improving: their maritime successes not only enriched their treasury, but added so considerably to their already widely-spread renown, that their ranks became rapidly recruited by scions of many of the noblest families in Europe. In the midst of this prosperity, however, a calamity occurred which, but for the promptitude of the fraternity, and the generous assistance of its friends, might have proved irreparable. The island of Malta was visited by a furious tornado on the 23rd September 1555: the violence of this hurricane was such, that vast numbers of the houses were overthrown, almost all the vessels in the harbour were sunk at their anchorage, and most of the galley-slaves who formed their crews were drowned. The utmost efforts were necessary promptly to restore the lost fleet; and, fortunately for the Order, it found friends both within and without the pale of its own ranks to aid it in this emergency. Philip the Second instantly despatched two galleys, well armed, and fully manned and equipped, as a present to his protégés. The Grand-Master, at his own expense, caused another to be constructed at Messina, and the Pope, not to be behind-hand in the good work, furnished its crew from amongst his own galley-slaves. The prior of St. Gilles forwarded a galleon, laden with ammunition and troops, to the aid of the impoverished island; and the grand-prior of France proceeded thither in person, with two galleys, to tender his services to the Grand-Master.

The result of these patriotic efforts proved that they had not been unnecessary, for the corsair Dragut, trusting to find the island in a defenceless state after its recent calamity, made a descent upon it, and even attempted a landing. He was, however, repelled with the utmost promptitude, and with great loss, and the prior of France, in command of the newly-restored fleet, carried the war into the enemy's country by ravaging the coasts of Barbary, in which operation he accumulated a vast quantity of spoil, and returned in triumph to Malta.

La Sangle died on the 17th August 1557, and was succeeded by John Parisot de la Valette, who during the last year of his predecessor's rule had filled the post of lieutenant of the Grand-Master, holding at the same time the office of prior of St. Gilles. His name of Parisot was derived from his father's fief, which was so called, but he has become far better known to posterity by the family name of Valette, which his noble deeds have rendered so illustrious; he was born in the year 1494, of a noble family of Quercy, and had entered the Order at the early age of twenty. He had been present at the siege of Rhodes, and had followed the fortunes of his Order through their various wanderings after the loss of that island, until they became permanently settled in Malta. Indeed, it is recorded of this hero, that from the day of his first profession to that of his attaining the highest dignity, he never once left his convent, except when cruising against the Infidel. His successes as a naval captain had soon raised him above his compeers, and he had, by his own unaided merits, elevated himself step by step to the post he was now called upon so worthily to fill.

He had, upon one occasion, in an encounter with a Turkish corsair named Abda Racman, been made prisoner, and during his captivity had suffered great hardships, and many indignities, at the hands of his victor; he had, however, been speedily ransomed from durance vile, and was shortly afterwards appointed, as we have already seen, governor of Tripoli, at a time when no one else would accept the post. After his recall from thence, he attained successively to the dignities of bailiff of Lango, grand-cross of the Order, grand-prior of St. Gilles, and chief admiral of the fleet. It was whilst in this latter capacity that he succeeded in capturing the galley commanded by Abda Racman, who thus in his turn became the prisoner of his former captive. On the arrival of the grand-prior of France, after the hurricane of 1555, La Valette resigned to him the post of admiral of the fleet, and the Grand-Master, La Sangle, touched by this disinterested act on his part, nominated him his lieutenant, an office which he held until he attained the dignity, vacant by the death of his chief, on the 1st August 1557.

His first efforts on assuming the magisterial baton were directed towards recalling the commanders of the Bohemian and Venetian priories to that allegiance which for many years they had abandoned. In this he was so successful, that a deputation was despatched to Malta from the recusant priories, praying to be once more received into the bosom of the fraternity, and pledging themselves to the faithful payment of their annual responsions for the future. By this wise and politic measure the influence and stability of the Order were greatly increased, and its revenues considerably augmented, at a time when the pressure of events

appeared to forebode a great drain upon both. La Valette also reversed the sentence which had been passed upon the Marshal La Vallier for the loss of Tripoli. His discriminating judgment had from the first perceived that this unfortunate Knight had been sacrificed as a victim to still the popular clamour, excited by the loss of that fortress, and to divert it from a still higher point. The Grand-Master, La Sangle, had so far recognised the injustice of the original sentence as to release the unfortunate prisoner from the close confinement in which he had been kept by D'Omedes, but it was left for La Valette completely to wipe away the stain upon his honour, and by restoring to him the habit of which he had been stripped, publicly to proclaim his total innocence of the crime laid to his charge, and the injustice of the sentence which had been inflicted on him.

The viceroy of Sicily, acting under the directions of Philip II., who had lately succeeded to the imperial throne, vacant by the abdication of his father Charles V., was preparing an expedition for the recovery of Tripoli, the importance of which for the protection of Sicily and Spain had become more than ever apparent since its capture by the Turks. A strong contingent from the Order of Malta joined this force, numbering upwards of 2000 fighting men, of whom 400 were Knights, under the command of De Tessieres, the new admiral of the fleet. The viceroy of Sicily, who commanded the expedition, caused its utter failure through his own presumptuous obstinacy and inordinate vanity. Instead of directing his first attack against the fortress of Tripoli, as had been originally agreed upon, he captured the little island of Galves, upon which he commenced the construction of a fortress to

bear his own name. The delay thus created proved utterly fatal. Disease spread rapidly amongst his forces, and the Knights perceiving the futility of the entire operation, by the direction of La Valette, separated themselves from the viceroy and returned to Malta. Heedless of all warnings, the duke persisted in remaining within his new acquisition, where he was surprised by a powerful Turkish squadron, and with difficulty escaped the capture which awaited the remnants of his force. No less than fourteen large ships and twenty-eight galleys, the flower of the Spanish fleet, were captured upon this occasion and carried away by Dragut to Constantinople, and it is computed that 14,000 men perished in this unfortunate enterprise.

The exultation of the Barbary Moors at their success knew no bounds; indeed, it seemed as though of late years the Cross had been fated always to suffer humiliation at the hands of the Crescent; but the tide of fortune was about to turn, and the Turks were doomed on their side soon to suffer defeat from their hitherto unsuccessful antagonists. Encouraged by the losses the Spaniards had sustained in their late expedition against Tripoli, as also in a fearful storm which, in 1562, overtook a squadron of twenty-four galleys whilst bearing supplies to the Spanish colonies in Africa, and in which nearly the whole fleet and 4,000 men were lost, the Algerines determined on making a bold effort to sweep the Christians entirely from the coast of Africa. Since the loss of Tripoli the principal possessions of the latter in that quarter were the fortresses of Oran and Mazarquiver, and it was against these strongholds that the first efforts of the Infidels were

directed. On the 15th March 1563, Hassan, the Algerine chief, commenced his march against Mazarquiver, detaching a small portion of his army for the investment of the neighbouring fortress of Oran. For nearly three months the siege was maintained with the utmost vigour, and the assaults delivered by the Algerines were both frequent and desperate. The governor of Mazarquiver, Don Martin de Cordova, was a man equal to the emergency in which he was placed, and the resistance offered by him to his assailants was so successful, that when, on the 8th June, a relieving force despatched by Philip II. hove in sight, the place was still in his possession. Great were the rejoicings of the Christians at this success, and the tidings of the repulse which the Moslems had experienced spread a feeling of exultation throughout the maritime provinces of Southern Europe to which they had long been strangers.

Philip was not slow in following up this success and carrying the war into the enemy's country. He wrested several important acquisitions from the hands of his discomfited antagonist. Under these adverse circumstances the Moors appealed loudly to the Turkish sultan for assistance, and as the Knights of St. John had, according to their wont, taken a foremost part in every attack against the Infidel, they were pointed out as the most fit objects against whom that monarch should wreak his vengeance. At this crisis an event occurred which, though apparently insignificant in itself, sufficed to fill to overflowing the sultan's cup of wrath. The Maltese galleys, after a desperate struggle, succeeded in capturing in the waters of the Levant a Turkish galleon, armed with twenty guns and manned by 200 janissaries. This galleon was the property of the chief eunuch of

the imperial harem, and several of its fair inmates possessed shares in the valuable cargo, which Spanish historians have estimated at more than 80,000 ducats. A cry of vengeance speedily arose within the walls of the harem, and all the influence of the imperial odalisques was exerted to obtain reparation for the injury they had sustained.

The ire of Solyman was now fairly roused, and he determined, as a fitting close to that long and glorious reign which had earned for him the title of the Magnificent, to drive the Knights of St. John from the island of Malta, as he had marked its commencement by their expulsion from that of Rhodes. His preparations for this purpose were made upon a most formidable scale, and the attention of Europe was speedily drawn to the vast armament assembling in the port and arsenal of Constantinople. The uncertainty as to its ultimate destination filled the maritime provinces of the Mediterranean with alarm, and on every side preparations were made for defence in case of need.

La Valette, who, in accordance with the practice of his predecessors, always maintained spies within the imperial city of Constantinople, was not long in learning that Malta was the point of attack for which all these preparations had been made. He instantly despatched emissaries to the leading potentates of Europe to crave assistance; but, with the exception of the Pope, who contributed 10,000 crowns, and Philip, who despatched a small body of troops, these appeals were unavailing. La Valette soon perceived that it was to his own Order alone that he would have to trust for the defence of his island; still, undeterred by the lukewarmness of his friends, he promptly set himself to



resist the storm as best he might. His call to the members of the fraternity resident in their European commanderies was responded to with the most noble enthusiasm. Knights from every quarter flocked to Malta ; contributions poured in from all sides ; and those who from age and infirmity were unable personally to take part in the struggle which was impending, freely lavished their wealth in support of the good cause.

Every device which the exigency of the case and the shortness of the time permitted was adopted to strengthen the defences of the island. The militia was organised and drilled, and soon afforded a very effective body of Maltese soldiery amounting to upwards of 3000 men. Five hundred galley-slaves were released from their thralldom under the pledge of faithful service during the coming siege ; and the Spanish and Italian troops which had been taken into the pay of the Order completed the strength of the garrison. The Sicilian viceroy, Don Garcia de Toledo, was despatched to Malta by Philip to concert with La Valette a project of mutual defence and assistance, and from this dignitary the Grand-Master received the most faithful pledges of assistance so soon as his forces had been collected. He left his natural son in the island, under the charge of La Valette, that he might flesh his maiden sword in the coming war and gain his earliest renown under the white-cross banner.

The chivalric heart of the Grand-Master glowed with satisfaction at the enthusiastic eagerness with which the flower of his knighthood flocked to his banner in the hour of danger ; and assembling them all in solemn conclave, he called upon them in that fervent language with which true earnestness ever clothes itself, to stand

firm by the good cause they had adopted, and to maintain the battle of the Cross against the Crescent to the last drop of their blood. They had voluntarily devoted themselves to the defence of their religion, and if Heaven now called for the sacrifice of their lives it was equally their duty and their privilege cheerfully to lay them down in its sacred cause. At the close of his harangue he led the way to the chapel of the convent, where, after confessing themselves of their sins, they solemnly partook of the holy sacrament, and once more pledged themselves to defend their church and their convent-home against the aggressions of the Infidel.

Although the lapse of upwards of four centuries had done much towards weakening the high tone of devotion which had characterised the first founders of their Order, and though, in the ordinary current of their existence, they now displayed but little of that religious fervour which had carried them through so many desperate struggles on the burning sands of Palestine, still it needed but a call like this once more to awaken within their bosoms the slumbering spirit of their predecessors. As the band of noble warriors stood around their aged and venerable chief, shriven of their sins, and their hearts glowing with Christian zeal, it needed scarcely any stretch of imagination to have pictured them part of that gallant fraternity who, through two centuries, had maintained the cause of Christianity against overpowering odds, and every possible disadvantage, on the shores of Syria. The remembrance of many a deadly struggle was warm within their hearts. The battle was once more to be renewed which had been so often fought

before. The spectacle which had been witnessed at Jerusalem, at Acre, and at Rhodes, was again about to be enacted; and the warrior, as he grasped his trusty falchion, remembered that many a hard-fought field, and many a slaughtered brother, called to him for revenge.

## CHAP. XVII.

THE SIEGE OF MALTA. — ENUMERATION OF THE GARRISON OF MALTA.  
— DESCRIPTION OF ITS DEFENCES. — DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKISH  
ARMY AND FLEET. — ARRIVAL AT MALTA. — DISEMBARKATION, AND  
COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE. — ARRIVAL OF DRAGUT. — THE  
SIEGE AND FALL OF ST. ELMO.

A GENERAL review of the forces with which La Valette was preparing to resist the attack of the Turks, showed them to amount to rather better than 9000 men; of whom 474 were Knights, and sixty-seven servants-at-arms. At a subsequent period, however, this number was augmented by nearly a hundred, from the arrival of such Knights as had been unable to reach Malta before the commencement of the siege, and who had, consequently, rendezvoused at Messina, until opportunities presented themselves for obtaining an ingress into the beleaguered fortress.

A general description of the configuration of the ground, forming the two great ports of Malta, has been already given; but it would be well, before entering into a detail of the memorable siege now impending, to describe more particularly the means of defence with which the Knights had, during a period of thirty-five years, found means to provide themselves. The castle of St. Angelo, situated on the most northerly of the promontories which subdivide the great harbour on its eastern side, occupied only its extremity, and was cut

off from the mainland, upon which the Bourg was situated, by means of a wet ditch. In addition to the castle itself, which rose to a considerable height, and presented two tiers of batteries to the entrance of the harbour, the fort was surrounded by an enceinte of an irregular form, containing four bastions connected by curtains; in two cases, these latter being broken by flanks into an indented form. The Bourg itself, which occupied the greater portion of the remainder of the peninsula, was protected on the land side by a line of ramparts, broken into two complete bastions near the centre, and forming two demi-bastions at the extremities. This work had been strengthened by a ditch of considerable breadth and depth, but was not protected by any ravelin, or other outwork. On its northern side, facing the entrance to the harbour, it was enclosed by a bastioned rampart, extending the whole way to the ditch of St. Angelo; but on the western side, which looked towards Senglea, its rampart was a mere curtain, without any flank protection whatever. The three French languages undertook the defence of that portion of the Bourg which faced the land, then considered by far the most vulnerable. The Germans garrisoned the sea face from St. Angelo to the corner where it joined the land front, at which point the Knights of Castile were stationed. This post of Castile became, during the latter portion of the siege, one of the main points of attack. The Spanish language was distributed over the curtain facing Senglea, at the base of which the wharves extended which were used as points of debarkation for the inhabitants of the Bourg. Five hundred men, and fifty Knights, constituted the garrison of Fort St.

Angelo ; and here, as the most vital point, and the citadel of the whole position, La Valette took up his abode.

The promontory, commonly, but erroneously called the island of Senglea, was protected by a very respectable sea front at its extremity, broken into four bastions. The remainder of its enceinte was an irregular figure, little more than an indented parapet. It was garrisoned on its land side by the language of Aragon, the remainder being occupied by that of Italy, under the command of its chief, the Admiral de Monte. The extremity of Mount Sceberras, which protected the entrance of both harbours, was occupied by a star fort of four angles ; to the seaward of which was a cavalier, dominating over the work ; and covering the left angle of the enclosure was a ravelin, a small outwork connected with the main fort by a bridge. The usual garrison for this post, the dimensions of which were very contracted, only amounted to sixty soldiers, who had hitherto been under the command of a Knight named De Broglio. The Grand-Master in this crisis augmented their numbers by two companies of his foreign troops, under the command of a Spanish Knight named La Cerda, and also by sixty Knights, under the bailiff of Negropont, whose name was Eguaras. Broglio, the original governor of St. Elmo, was a man whose great age rendered him unsuited for the post at a time of such extreme emergency. Still, it would have appeared an ungracious act on the part of La Valette, and one which the distinguished and lengthened services of De Broglio rendered him unwilling to adopt, to supersede him from his command, the bailiff of Negropont had therefore been selected, as a more active, and though himself by no means youthful, a less aged commander ; who, under the ambiguous title

of captain of succours, would be enabled to supply to the garrison those qualifications in which the Grand-Master feared that the governor might prove deficient.

Such was the distribution which La Valette adopted in order to make the most of the slender force at his disposal; and whilst thus careful for the protection of his convent, he did not neglect the Città Notabile, or the island of Gozo. He had been strenuously advised to abandon every outpost, and to concentrate all his efforts on the defence of the two harbours; but his own views were very different. Trusting, as he did, for ultimate success almost entirely to the arrival of supports from Sicily, he desired to prolong his means of defence as far as possible. If, therefore, the enemy commenced operations by an attack upon either of these points, the delay which a spirited defence would produce, might be of inestimable advantage; and he decided, therefore, instead of abandoning them, to reinforce their garrisons, and place them under the command of men whom he could trust to hold them to the last extremity.

The Commander Romegas, then one of the most daring naval captains whom the Order possessed, undertook the defence of the entrance to the port of the galleys. This harbour was the portion of water enclosed between the two promontories of the Bourg and of Senglea; and here all the galleys in the possession of the Order were drawn up at anchor. Its entrance was further protected by a huge chain, which extended from the foot of the castle of St. Angelo to the extremity of the island of Senglea.

These preparations having all been made, La Valette calmly awaited the approach of his antagonists, which his perfect system of espial had led him to know was

not far distant. At length, on the morning of the 18th May 1565, a signal gun, booming from the castle of St. Angelo, and answered from the cavalier of St. Elmo, and the fort of St. Michael, announced to the inhabitants of Malta that the foe was in sight. At this signal, the realisation of all their worst fears, those who had not previously abandoned their homesteads flocked either into the Bourg or into the Città Notabile, well aware that if they were surprised in the open country by the relentless enemy their doom would be slavery if not death.

The Turkish fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty galleys, fifty vessels of smaller size, together with a number of transports, laden with the battering train and military stores of the army. The military force embarked on board this fleet consisted of 30,000 men, of whom about five thousand were janissaries.\* It may

\* Le sérasker passa la revue de ses troupes à Modon. Elles se composaient de sept mille sipahis de l'Asie Mineure, commandés par un sandjak et deux alaibegs, de cinq cents sipahis de Karamanie et de cinq cents autres de Mitylène, de quatre mille cinq cents janissaires, de treize mille hommes de troupes irrégulières, et de douze cents sipahis et trois mille cinq cents hommes de troupes irrégulières de la Roumilie, sous les ordres de deux sandjaks et d'un alaibeg. La flotte était forte de cent quatre-vingt une voiles, savoir : cent trente galères, huit mahones, trois kara-moursals onze grands vaisseaux, dont l'un avait à bord six cents sipahis, six mille barils de poudre, treize mille boulets, et périt corps et biens à Modon ; dix galères sous les ordres du septuagénaire Ali-Portouk commandant de la station de Rhodes ; deux galères de Mitylène conduites par Salih fils du dernier beglerbeg d'Alger, et dix-sept galères de moindre grandeur appelées fastes. Selaniki donne l'état suivant de l'artillerie que la flotte amena avec elle ; vingt pièces du calibre de 50, cent vingt faucons, fauconneaux et couleuvrines, cinq mortiers (hawayi top), vingt mille quintaux de poudre, quarante mille boulets, dix mille pelles et pioches, et cinquante



be well, before going further, to say a few words upon the subject of this redoubtable force, for so many years the chief bulwark of the Turkish empire. Once in every five years a general conscription was levied upon the children of all Christians resident within the empire who had attained the age of seven years. Such as displayed any pre-eminence, either in mind or body, were carried away to Constantinople, and from that moment might be considered as lost to their parents. Those amongst this troop of children who presented the greatest prospect of athletic power, and ample bodily development in after life, were chosen for the corps of janisseries, and were trained most carefully for that purpose. Every effort was made, from the moment of their selection, to endue them with the martial and determined spirit which their profession required. Marriage was strictly forbidden in their ranks; they had, therefore, no family ties to divide their affections with the regiment to which they belonged. The *esprit de corps* which was thus nourished increased in intensity with their age; and all their thoughts being concentrated upon their own order, they formed a body of troops upon which the strictest reliance could be placed in the most desperate emergency, and whose dense battalions had rarely been poured upon the foe without the certainty of victory waiting upon their arms. Such were the men who composed a considerable portion of the force which the emperor Solyman had despatched against Malta.

The command of the fleet was intrusted to Piali;

chaloupes canonnières. (*Hammer, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, traduite par Hellert.*)

the same admiral who had succeeded in overcoming and capturing so many Spanish galleys in the late unfortunate expedition of the Sicilian viceroy. The army was placed under the command of Mustapha, a veteran general, in whose skill and judgment Solyman justly placed the utmost reliance, but who mingled with his warlike qualities much natural ferocity and cruelty of disposition.

After some little cruising backwards and forwards, the Turks eventually disembarked, partly in the Marsa Sirocco, and partly in St. Thomas's bay. A small body of Knights had been despatched, under Marshal Coppier, to watch the proceedings of the enemy and to intercept any stragglers who might separate themselves from the main body. One of these Knights, named De la Rivière, fell into the hands of the Turks, and was taken before Mustapha, who questioned him closely as to the resources of the place. La Rivière's account was not such as to reassure the Ottoman general, since he detailed with fond minuteness every preparation which had been made for defence, and assured the pasha that the garrison was determined to resist his aggressions to the utmost, and that they were in daily expectation of relief from Europe. Upon this Mustapha directed that he should be submitted to torture, which for some time he bore with the utmost constancy; at length, feigning to be overcome by the torments, he declared to the pasha that the post of Castile, which was on that side of the Bourg facing the land, was by far the most feeble point in the fortifications. Relying upon this information, Mustapha advanced towards the town, firmly resolved to commence operations by an attack on that post; but, on reaching the summit of

Mount Calcara, a considerable eminence to the south-east of the Bourg, his practised eye perceived at a glance that his prisoner had deceived him and, that the point indicated, so far from being the most vulnerable spot in the fortifications, was in reality the most impregnable. The unfortunate Knight fell a victim to his constancy and courage; for Mustapha, irritated beyond measure at the deception which had been practised on him, directed him to be put to death, which cruel sentence was promptly carried into execution.

The appearance of the Turkish army in the vicinity of the town was the signal for a number of skirmishes, which were continually being carried on between their advanced posts and small parties of the garrison; in which the latter uniformly gained the advantage, and succeeded in inflicting considerable loss upon the enemy. La Valette permitted these desultory combats to be carried on for a certain length of time, with the view of accustoming his troops to the appearance and weapons of the foe; but when this end had been accomplished, he directed them to retire within their ramparts, and there patiently to await the onset, well knowing that he could but ill spare any of his slender force in combats which could lead to no decisive result.

Counsels were divided in the Turkish camp as to the course which should now be pursued. Before leaving Constantinople Solyman had enjoined both Mustapha and Piali to pay the utmost attention and to give the greatest possible weight to the opinions of Dragut, who had pledged himself to join the expedition at Malta with such resources as were at his command. The corsair had not yet arrived; and in his absence Piali was

of opinion that no steps should be taken beyond intrenching themselves within their camp. Mustapha, on the other hand, dreading to lose much valuable time, and fearing lest by delaying their operations they might give time to a Christian fleet of succour to arrive, urged proceeding with the siege at once. He pointed out that the fleet lay at present in a very exposed situation, and that it would be of the greatest possible advantage if they could obtain possession of the Marsa Musceit, within which commodious harbour they would find the most complete shelter from the easterly winds at that time prevalent. For this purpose it would be necessary for them to become the masters of Fort St. Elmo, by which the entrance to that harbour was commanded, and this operation he proposed at once commencing, leaving to Dragut the responsibility of deciding, after his arrival, as to their future proceedings. These views ultimately predominated, and the siege of St. Elmo commenced in due form.

Mount Sceberras being throughout its whole extent but a mere rock, covered in many places with but a few inches of earth, the Turkish engineers found it impossible to open their trenches in the ordinary manner. Gabions, fascines, and even earth, had all to be brought from a distance, with which a parapet was constructed, and behind which that shelter was obtained which in ordinary cases would have been gained by excavation. This was a task of no little labour; but by dint of perseverance, and at the cost of a great sacrifice of life, from the galling and incessant fire of the defenders of St. Elmo, it was at length accomplished. The siege operations at this period appear to have been guided by men totally unskilled in the science of war. In order to shelter

themselves as far as possible from the fire of St. Angelo, they kept their trenches on the opposite side of the mount, and thereby left the communication between that fortress and St. Elmo totally unrestricted. This error on their part led to a protracted and bloody siege before a fort which should have been captured in a few days.

The trenches having at length been completed, a battery was constructed to bear against the point of attack, and in this several guns of the very largest calibre were placed. The line of this battery ran in a north-easterly direction, and its range was one hundred and eighty yards from the fort. It was armed with ten cannon, carrying shot of 80 lbs. each, three columbrines for shot of 60 lbs., and a huge basilisk for balls of the stupendous weight of 160 lbs. The guns and columbrines were mounted on wheels, but the basilisk required a far more complicated machinery to enable it to move with sufficient facility for practical purposes, and to check its recoil.

The opening of their fire speedily demonstrated the inability of the fort to resist its intensity. The Turks in those days made greater use of artillery, and had attained a higher proficiency in that branch of warfare, than any other nation ; and the guns they used were of the most stupendous calibre. Modern science has taught us that the unwieldiness of these huge pieces of artillery is, except under certain conditions, more than a counter-balance for their power ; and there can be but little doubt that the bringing up and placing in position guns of such enormous calibre as those used by the Turks in this siege, must have been terrific. Still, when once placed in battery, and firing at such short range,

their power against the masonry of the fort must have been very great. The result was not long in showing itself. Huge breaches speedily gaped within the walls of the ravelin, cavalier, and fort itself; and each successive discharge added still further to the crumbling mass of ruin with which the ditch was rapidly becoming choked.

The slender force which garrisoned the fort, and which La Valette had trusted would have sufficed for its maintenance, became clearly too few, now that its ramparts were so rapidly melting away beneath the thunders of the Turkish artillery. Under these circumstances Eguaras despatched an envoy across to the Bourg to inform the Grand-Master that he would no longer be able to maintain the fort with his present garrison. Its numbers, which had been barely sufficient for the security of the post even while its ramparts were as yet intact, were manifestly insufficient now that huge breaches were gaping throughout its enceinte. Further reinforcements were, therefore, absolutely necessary, or the breaches could not be maintained against the assaults of the foe, and it was to demand this assistance that the Chevalier de la Cerda was despatched to La Valette.

A worse selection could scarcely have been made. In a garrison where nearly every man was a hero the smallest taint of cowardice became doubly apparent; and unfortunately for his reputation, La Cerda displayed that weakness during the siege of St. Elmo in a manner which contrasted his conduct most unfavourably with that of his comrades. Exaggerating the injuries which the fort had sustained, he pressed most strenuously for immediate assistance; and announced in open council, that even under the most favourable circumstances the

fort could not hold out more than a few days. La Valette was justly irritated at this open and unreserved exhibition of weakness; for although in his own mind he had felt the most grave misgivings as to the power of St. Elmo to maintain itself, he was by no means willing to allow such an opinion to be openly promulgated. Turning, therefore, with a frown of displeasure towards La Cerda, he demanded in an ironical tone how great had been their loss that they had thus soon been brought into so desperate a condition. This was a difficult question for the unfortunate Knight. He had been despatched for succour, not on account of the casualties which had befallen the garrison, for these indeed had been as yet but few, but because the exposed state of the breaches rendered a larger force absolutely necessary for their defence. His exaggerated account of the desperate and hopeless condition of the fort had been a purely voluntary statement on his own part, trusting thereby to induce La Valette to withdraw the garrison into the Bourg, and so release him from a position of peril to which his courage was unequal. Unable, therefore, to reply satisfactorily to the query of the Grand-Master, he contented himself with renewing his request for aid. La Valette then sternly replied, "I will myself bring you aid, and if I am not able to remove your terrors, at least I trust to succeed in saving the fort." It required the most urgent and strenuous entreaties on the part of his council, to prevent the gallant old chief from making good his statement, and leading a body of reinforcements into St. Elmo in person. He was at length, though with great difficulty, dissuaded from this intention, and contented himself with sending two hundred Spanish troops under a Knight of that

language, named Gonzalis de Medrano, in whose intrepidity and constancy La Valette felt that he could place implicit reliance. With these reinforcements, La Cerda was once more compelled, sorely against his will, to return into the beleaguered fort.

It was whilst matters were in this position, that the corsair Dragut made his appearance at Malta with a body of fifteen hundred men, and thirteen galleys. Much to Mustapha's mortification, he at once condemned the line of proceedings which that general had adopted. In his opinion, and it was that of a man whose lengthened experience in war rendered it most valuable, the island of Gozo should have been occupied in the first instance. The army should then have advanced upon Città Notabile, which town should either have been retained in their possession, or, if abandoned, utterly destroyed. They would then have been enabled to advance upon the main point of attack with their rear well protected, whilst, on the other hand, the Knights would have been cut off from all succour, and have been unable to draw in any reinforcements, either of men or provisions, from the rest of the island. Now, however, that the siege of St. Elmo had been actually commenced, he was of opinion that it should be prosecuted with vigour, since it would produce a most dispiriting effect upon the Turkish army to abandon an attack which they had once taken in hand. Under his directions, a second battery, still more formidable than the first, was erected upon one of the most elevated points of Mount Sceberras, which could play either upon St. Elmo or St. Angelo. He also caused a small battery of four guns to be constructed on the point of land directly opposite to St. Elmo, and forming with it the



entrance to the Marsa Musceit. This battery played with great effect upon both ravelin and cavalier, and the point has in consequence received the name of Point Dragut, although the corsair did not, as has very generally been supposed, receive his death wound upon that spot. Modern science has pointed out the necessity for the occupation of this point of land, and during the rule of a Grand-Master in the last century\*, a fort with outworks was constructed thereon, which has received the name of the Knight who superintended its erection, and from whose designs it was traced, and is now known as fort Tigné. The point of land itself, however, still retains the name which it took from the Turkish corsair, whose deeds are so indissolubly connected with the siege of Malta.

Medrano had not long occupied his new post in the besieged fort, when he decided on making a sortie, in the hope, if possible, of destroying the batteries which were playing with so destructive an energy upon the walls of the fort. The sortie was in the outset successful; the Turks were driven from their trenches, and a considerable number were slain; but returning to the fight in much greater numbers, they, in their turn, once more cleared their trenches of the Knights, who were compelled to retire within the fort. The smoke arising from this combat blew in the direction of St. Elmo, and for some time completely obscured the rival forces from each other. What was the dismay of the garrison, when it cleared away, to perceive that the Turks had, under its cover, advanced into and taken possession of the covert way at the edge of the counter-scarp. Every gun

\* Emmanuel de Rohan, 1793.

which could be brought to bear upon the spot instantly opened its fire; but the Turks could not be driven from the advantage which they had gained. In an incredibly short space of time they raised a parapet, behind which they obtained cover from the missiles of the garrison, and before long this new acquisition was connected by a covered communication with the remainder of their trenches, and thus became an integral portion of their attack.

On the night of the 3rd of June, some Turkish engineers were reconnoitring in the ditch, to which from their new lodgment they had easy access, when they discovered that an entry could, without difficulty, be obtained into the ravelin through some of the embrasures. Stealthily clambering into the opening, they dauntlessly prosecuted their examination into the interior of the work itself, and to their astonishment, discovered that it was totally unguarded, and apparently abandoned. It has never been clearly ascertained to what cause this culpable remissness on the part of the garrison can be attributed. The idea of treachery seems never for a moment to have been mooted. The garrison of St. Elmo has, by its protracted and stubborn defence, gained for itself a reputation such as must for ever preclude the possibility that the stigma of treachery could attach to one of its number. Some assert that the sentries, being compelled, owing to the close proximity of the foe and the incessant and deadly fire which they constantly maintained, to remain in a recumbent posture, and being, moreover, utterly exhausted by the struggles of the day, fell asleep, and were, in that situation, surprised and massacred; others again state that the sentry in the angle, where the besiegers pene-

trated, had been killed whilst on his post by a musket-ball, and that the casualty had been unperceived by the remainder of the guard. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that the most culpable negligence existed somewhere, and dearly was that heroic but unfortunate garrison made to pay for this want of vigilance on their part.

Mustapha had no sooner been made acquainted with the position of affairs within the ravelin, than he told off a storming party, consisting of a selected body of janissaries, picked from the flower of that redoubted corps, and a rush was instantly made into the unprotected work. The guard, taken by surprise, offered but little resistance, and their leader being slain, fled indiscriminately across the drawbridge into the fort. But for the heroic efforts of one of the Spanish officers of a junior grade, who, standing at the entrance of the bridge, withstood almost singly for some moments the onset of the foe, and maintained his post like Horatius in the Roman story, until support was brought him from within, St. Elmo would on that day have fallen into the possession of the Moslem. The most powerful efforts were made on both sides; the Knights to retake the ravelin, and the Turks to push their advantage yet farther. Both were equally unsuccessful: in spite of the most desperate sallies made by the garrison, aided by the fire of two guns which were brought to bear upon the outwork, the Turks maintained their post with pertinacious gallantry, and speedily found means to cover themselves with a substantial parapet.

Whilst one body of the assailants was thus, at a fearful cost of life, securing the advantage which had been obtained, another body, stimulated by the success

which had hitherto attended their efforts, rushed into the ditch, and made a most determined effort to carry the fort itself by escalade. This was an operation, which, however it might have succeeded against meaner enemies, was mere madness when attempted against a garrison, such as that which still maintained fort St. Elmo. Their ladders, moreover, were too short to reach to the top of the parapet, yet still they struggled on with the most pertinacious obstinacy and the most invincible resolution to obtain an entrance. Ever and anon a Moslem, more daring and more agile than his fellows, would obtain a momentary footing upon the parapet; but ere he had time to assist his comrades, or obtain support, he was hurled headlong into the ditch, and paid with his life the penalty of his rashness. Boiling pitch and wildfire streamed upon the struggling foe congregated within the ditch. Huge rocks were hurled upon their devoted ranks, and all the savage ferocity of warfare found an unrestrained development on that eventful morning. The castle of St. Angelo was thronged with anxious spectators, eagerly straining their eyes to discover the issue of the deadly strife. Amid the roar of artillery, the volleys of arquebuses, the screams, shouts, and yells in different languages, and all the fearful din and clamour of the assault, little could be distinguished to mark how turned the tide of battle. A dense canopy of smoke hung over the devoted fortress, rent at intervals by the flash of artillery or the sharp intermittent crash of musketry, and it was not until the sun had commenced to decline towards the west that they discovered how matters had fared with their comrades within the fort. The Turkish banner was then perceived waving upon the captured

ravelin; whilst, on the other hand, the white cross banner of their Order still floated in proud defiance upon the fort and cavalier.

Finding all their efforts at accomplishing the capture of the fort unavailing, a retreat was sounded, and the Turks sullenly returned to their intrenchments. The gain of the ravelin, however, was an immense advantage to the besiegers; and though the success of the day was purchased at the cost of 2000 men, still Mustapha had good cause to congratulate himself upon its issue, in the advantages which he had achieved. The loss of the garrison did not amount to 100; but of these, twenty were Knights, whose scanty numbers could ill afford so large a sacrifice. A touching incident of devotion is related in connection with this day's struggle. During the heat of the fight, a French Knight was struck by a bullet in his chest and mortally wounded: one of the brethren turned to assist him in leaving the scene of strife, but the Knight, over whose dim vision the shades of death were fast stealing, refused to receive the proffered aid, and alleging that he was no longer to be considered as among the living, crawled unaided from the spot. At the close of the fight his body was discovered in front of the altar in the chapel of St. Elmo, whither he had dragged himself, to breathe his last before the image of the Virgin.

As soon as the shades of evening admitted of such an operation, La Valette despatched his boats from the Bourg to remove the wounded, with whom the little garrison were hampered, and to replace them by a reinforcement from St. Angelo. Amongst those who were thus despatched to share the fortunes of their heroic brethren at St. Elmo, was the Chevalier de

Miranda, who had recently arrived at the Bourg from Sicily.

During one of the first days of the siege, whilst the trenches were in course of formation, the Turkish admiral, Piali, had been struck by a fragment of rock splintered by a shot from the fort. The wound, though not mortal, was sufficiently severe to spread consternation amongst the besiegers, and La Valette, taking advantage of the confusion which ensued when the intelligence of this calamity was spread abroad, succeeded in despatching an envoy to Sicily to urge the viceroy to forward instant succours. The envoy returned with a pledge from the viceroy that he would arrive at Malta in the middle of June, provided La Valette would send him such of the Order's galleys as were then cooped up in compulsory idleness within the great harbour. It was with the bearer of this message that Miranda arrived at Malta, and instantly volunteered his services to proceed into the beleaguered fort. La Valette felt deeply disappointed at the condition upon which the viceroy based his proffers of aid. In order to despatch the galleys which were thus demanded it would be necessary not only to man them with galley slaves, whose services at that moment were most urgently required within the fortress, but also to accompany them by a guard from his garrison, to prevent a mutiny on board, which the proximity of the Turkish fleet would otherwise have rendered inevitable. This diminution of his already too feeble garrison could not for one moment be thought of; and La Valette once again appealed to the viceroy for unconditional assistance.

Meanwhile he spared no effort to prolong the defence of St. Elmo; fresh troops were every night forwarded

thither to replace those whose wounds had rendered them incapable of aiding further in the defence, and who were, therefore, withdrawn into the Bourg for medical treatment at the hospital. D'Eguaras and De Broglio had both been severely wounded in the last assault, and La Valette had directed their immediate return to the convent, but these brave knights both sturdily refused to abandon their posts. D'Eguaras, indeed, sent a message to the Grand-Master stating that he was perfectly willing to resign his command into the hands of any Knight who might be considered better qualified for the post, but he craved permission to remain where he was, even though in the humblest capacity, and to share the fate of those gallant comrades over whom he had been placed. Far different was the conduct of the Spanish Knight, La Cerda, who, to the intense indignation of La Valette, presented himself amongst the wounded, though suffering only from a trivial scar, such as should in no way have incapacitated him from remaining at St. Elmo. The Grand-Master was so irritated against him for this second exhibition of cowardice, that he caused him to be imprisoned. His was, indeed, the solitary instance of a want of bravery on the part of that devoted garrison.\*

Now that both the counter-scarp and ravelin had fallen into the hands of the besiegers, on the latter of which two guns had been mounted that completely

\* Before the close of the siege, even this Knight had, by an honourable death in face of the enemy, succeeded in wiping out the stain which his previous exhibition of cowardice had cast on his fair fame. Being released from his confinement in the castle of St. Angelo, he joined valiantly in the defence of the Bourg, and fell during one of the numerous assaults delivered against that point.

swept the ramparts, it was impossible for the garrison to find shelter on any portion of the works from the pitiless storm of missiles that constantly rained upon them. Had it not been for the promptitude with which the Grand-Master poured his reinforcements into the fort, its garrison must have completely melted away before the murderous fire of the besiegers. In this emergency the Chevalier Miranda proved himself a most valuable acquisition, and his ingenuity displayed itself in countless devices, with which he endeavoured to create a temporary shelter from the artillery of the foe.

Whilst such was the exposed position of the garrison, their ramparts soon fell into a still more perilous condition. The large batteries which played constantly on their exposed escarps, from the summit of Mount Sceberras, aided by the fire from that on Point Dragut, as well as from some Turkish galleys, which poured their missiles at a long range from the entrance of the harbour, speedily reduced the entire place into one stupendous mass of ruin. It was less a breach of any one part of the ramparts than a demolition of its entire extent; and the bravest heart amongst those begirt within this circle of fire felt that all had now been done which human ingenuity and mortal bravery could accomplish, to retard the capture of the fort, and that the time had arrived when, unless the garrison were to be buried within the ruins of their post, they should be at once withdrawn and the fort abandoned as no longer tenable.

The Chevalier de Medrano, a Knight whose established reputation for bravery would render his report free from all taint or suspicion of pusillanimity, was selected by his brethren to proceed at once to the convent, and in



a personal interview with La Valette, explain to him the desperate straits to which they were reduced, and to urge their immediate recall into the Bourg. La Valette was deeply affected at the moving picture which this heroic Knight drew of the utter exhaustion of the garrison, and the ruined condition of the defences. He could not, in his own heart, deny that all had been done which human endurance could devise to protract the defence; and that the fort had been maintained against the most overwhelming odds and a fearful battery of artillery, with a constancy and devotion worthy of the highest praise, and that, if the lives of these gallant warriors were not to be deliberately sacrificed and doomed to inevitable destruction, they should at once be recalled from the desperate post they occupied. Still he could not bring himself to direct the abandonment of the fort; whilst, by its maintenance, the siege of the Bourg itself was being deferred, and the time protracted during which the succours expected from the viceroy of Sicily might arrive. Toledo had indeed, in his last communication to La Valette, insisted on the retention of St. Elmo as an essential condition of his support. Unless, he said, that point were maintained, he should not feel justified in hazarding the emperor's fleet in any attempt to raise the siege of Malta. La Valette felt, therefore, that so much hung upon the issue of this struggle that he was compelled to drown those feelings of compassion, which would otherwise have prompted him to rescue his brethren from their fate; and he determined, at every sacrifice, and at all costs, to maintain St. Elmo until it should be wrested from him by sheer force.

He therefore directed Medrano to return to his post, and point out to his brethren within the fort the abso-

lute necessity which existed for their still continuing firm in their posture of defence. When this stern decree became known, the garrison perceived that they were doomed to be sacrificed for the general safety. Many amongst them, particularly those who, having grown grey in the service of the Order, felt perhaps the more ready to lay down their lives at the will of their chief, prepared at once to obey, and to prolong to the latest possible moment the duration of their resistance. Others there were, however, of the young members of the fraternity, who were by no means equally ready to await in calm obedience the fate to which the decree of the Grand-Master had doomed them. Their young and ardent spirits rebelled against the policy by which they were to be sacrificed for the weal of their more fortunate brethren. They were indeed ready and willing to brave an honourable death in the face of the foe, with the prospect of striking one last blow in the good cause before they fell; and if the adverse fate of war had doomed the entire convent to extinction, they would have met their end with the same lofty resignation as their comrades. But the present was a very different case; they conceived that they were being needlessly sacrificed merely for the purpose of prolonging the resistance of the fort for a few days, and loud murmurs of astonishment and indignation arose amongst their ranks when the message of La Valette was communicated to them by Medrano.

This insubordination did not content itself with finding vent in mere idle murmurs; that same evening, a petition was forwarded to the Grand-Master, signed by fifty-three of the garrison, urging him to relieve them instantly from their untenable post; and threatening, in

case he neglected to accede to their request, to sally forth from their intrenchments, and meet an honourable death in open combat, rather than suffer themselves to be buried like dogs beneath the ruins of the fort. La Valette was highly incensed at the insubordinate and mutinous tone of this despatch, and he informed the bearer that he considered that the vows of the Order imposed upon its members the obligation, not only of laying down their lives when necessary for its defence, but further, of doing so in such a manner, and at such a time as he, their Grand-Master, might choose to appoint. Fearful, however, lest the garrison, driven to desperation, might in reality execute the threat which they had held forth in their letter, and, anxious to prolong, if even only for a few hours, the retention of the post, he despatched three commissioners thither, to inspect and report upon its general condition and powers of resistance. The arrival of these Knights was hailed by the garrison with most lively satisfaction, as they considered it a preliminary step to their being relieved, and withdrawn into the Bourg. Indeed they had already commenced making preparations for that purpose, and were engaged, at the moment when the commissioners arrived, in throwing their shot into the wells to avoid their becoming useful to the foe. They eagerly pointed out the shattered and desperate condition of the fortifications, and appealed with confidence to the judgment of the inspectors for a justification of the course which they had pursued.

Two of the commissioners, struck with the general aspect of ruin and destruction which met the eye on every side, the yawning chasms which gaped in all directions, and the numerous inlets which lay open to

the attack of the besiegers, decided unhesitatingly that the place was no longer tenable. The third, however, an Italian, named De Castriot, was of a different opinion; he averred that, ruined though the fortifications were, and exposed as was the whole interior to the murderous fire of the assailants, still it was feasible, by means of further intrenchments, to retain the place in safety. This unsupported opinion appeared to the garrison little better than an insult, and high words and a fierce altercation ensued. De Castriot asserted that he was prepared instantly to back his opinion by personally undertaking to conduct the defence of the fort; and this offer on his part, which was construed into an idle boast, and a taunting bravado, raised their feelings of indignation so strongly against him, that a general tumult seemed about to break forth. De Broglio, however, with great presence of mind, caused the alarm to be sounded, when every Knight instantly rushed to his post, and the irritating conference was thus brought to a close.

The commissioners then returned to the Bourg, and made their report to La Valette in full council. De Castriot still stoutly maintained the opinion he had already put forward, and requested the permission of the Grand-Master to raise a body of volunteers, with whom he undertook to maintain the post against all assaults, and against any odds. This offer on his part met the views of La Valette precisely, and his sagacity instantly foresaw the result that would inevitably happen. Permission was given to De Castriot to raise his corps of volunteers, and there were so many applications for the post of honour, that a considerable number were of necessity rejected. Meanwhile, a most

cold and sarcastic epistle was forwarded by the Grand-Master to the garrison of St. Elmo, informing them of the steps which were being taken, and stating that they would shortly be relieved from their post of peril. "Return then, my brethren," he concluded, in terms of most bitter and cutting irony, "to the convent, where you will be in greater security, and I, for my part, shall feel less uneasiness, when I know that the safety of so important a post is entrusted to those in whom I can place more implicit confidence."

The consternation which this epistle spread around was inconceivable; each one felt that it would be impossible for him to accept of the offer of safety thus ignominiously tendered, and that they would become objects of general scorn did they surrender the post of honour into other hands. They had, it was true, requested permission to abandon the fort altogether; but they were not prepared to yield to others their place in so honourable a struggle, which, if it was to be maintained at all, should, they felt, be continued by themselves. An earnest letter was, therefore, instantly forwarded to the Bourg, imploring forgiveness for their previous rebellious conduct, and beseeching that they might be permitted still to retain the post of honour which they occupied. This was the result which La Valette had foreseen, but he deemed it prudent not to accept of their submission too promptly: he therefore coldly declined their offer, and once more directed them to prepare for a return to the Bourg. This refusal increased the general dismay, and a still more pressing request was forwarded, once more beseeching permission that they might have an opportunity of wiping out the memory of what had passed in their blood; and they pledged themselves,

should they be allowed to continue in their posts, to maintain the fort with the most unflinching heroism and constancy to the very last.

This was all that La Valette had desired; the garrison had now been worked up to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that he felt the defence of the fort might with safety be entrusted to them. Contenting himself, therefore, with despatching such reinforcements into the place as the constantly occurring casualties demanded, he prepared to await the issue of the desperate struggle. That issue was not long in arriving. The incessant cannonade of the besiegers had destroyed nearly every vestige of defence on the side where their batteries played, and at length instructions were issued by Mustapha for a general assault. On the whole of the 15th of June, their artillery was worked with still greater vivacity than usual, so that the garrison were unable in any way to repair the damage that had been effected. This furious cannonade was towards evening increased by the fire which was opened from the ships. Mustapha had, in the firm confidence of carrying the fort on the following day, directed the fleet to hold itself in readiness to force the entrance into the Marsa Musceit as soon as the assault had commenced; and it was for this purpose that they arrived from Marsa Sirocco on that evening.

These, and many other unmistakeable symptoms, warned the garrison of the attack which was awaiting them, and they, on their side, took every precaution which their limited means permitted to resist it to the death. Huge piles of rock were placed around on the parapets to be hurled upon the storming columns. The Knights were so told off that one of them stood

between every three men for guidance and encouragement. Three small bodies were kept in reserve to render assistance at any point which might become hardly pressed; and a few of those who, from wounds or age were considered the least valuable as fighting men, were appointed to convey ammunition and refreshment to the combatants, so that they might on no account be called upon to leave their posts.

Various descriptions of fire-works were provided in great profusion, and some of these were of so curious a nature as to well merit a description. Pots of wild-fire were made of earthenware, so baked as to break with great facility. They were of a size which admitted of their being thrown by the hand a distance of some five-and-twenty or thirty yards, and had a narrow orifice, which, after the charge had been inserted, was closed with linen or thick paper, secured by cords dipped in sulphur. At the moment of throwing the missile these cords were lighted, and as, on reaching its destination, the earthenware broke into fragments, the wild-fire was by their means ignited with facility. This wild-fire was composed of saltpetre, ammoniacal salt, pounded sulphur, camphor, varnish, and pitch; and when once ignited, it burnt with the utmost fury, clinging to the persons of those with whom it came in contact, and in most cases causing a death of the most agonising torture. The same material was also placed in hollow cylinders of wood, called trumps, which, when lighted, poured forth a stream of the most vivid and unquenchable flame; these trumps, attached to the ends of halberts or partisans, formed a most formidable obstacle to the advance of a storming party. Another missile, used with great effect at this siege, was a circle

of fire, which, being of considerable diameter, when hurled from above into the midst of a body of men, often enclosed several in its fiery embrace, and easily succeeded in igniting their clothes, which, after the manner of Moslem nations, were of light materials, and flowing. The invention of this missile has been commonly attributed to La Valette, but wrongfully, as it had been used with good effect many years prior by the imperial troops in their Hungarian campaigns.

Before the dawn, on the morning of the 16th, the vigilant garrison distinguished the sounds of a religious ceremonial which was at that moment being performed in the ranks of the enemy, and which they rightly judged was the precursor to the assault. Mustapha's first step was to line his trenches at every available spot with arquebussiers, to the number of 4000. These men had already, greatly to the annoyance of the garrison, displayed their marvellous skill as marksmen; and during this day's struggle they were of the greatest possible use in checking the garrison from showing themselves upon the parapets. At the appointed signal, given by Mustapha himself, a chosen and numerous body of janissaries, the leaders of the assault, rushed into the ditch at a point where a yawning breach promised the greatest facilities for ascent. During the interval, brief as it was, whilst they were crossing the open ground, the guns of St. Angelo, directed by the watchful La Valette himself, opened with great steadiness and accurate range upon their dense columns. Indeed, throughout the day the artillery of St. Angelo rendered the most efficient assistance to the garrison of St. Elmo, by raking the flank and rear of the Turkish forces, which, in advancing to the attack, became much



exposed to their galling fire, and suffered in consequence considerably. Nor was that of St. Elmo less efficiently served; from the instant that the enemy first showed himself, its guns opened with the utmost possible vehemence upon the advancing battalions, and ere the foot of the breach had been attained, many a turbaned head had been laid prostrate on that arid rock which he was now watering with his life's blood.

The janissaries, however, were not troops who could be diverted from their attack even by this deadly fire. With yells of defiance, and shouting the fierce war-cry of their religion, they still dashed forward with the most reckless intrepidity, and as the iron hail ploughed deep furrows in their ranks they closed up the yawning chasms with the most invincible obstinacy, and still pushed their way forward towards the fated breach. Here, however, they were doomed to meet with fresh obstacles and a new foe; the summit of that breach was crowned by men who had long since despaired of saving their lives, and who stood there prepared to resist to the latest gasp, and to sell their existence as dearly as possible. Against this impenetrable phalanx, to which the force of mere desperation had added yet greater strength, it was in vain, even for the redoubted janissaries, to attempt an entrance. Though they hurled themselves again and again upon that barrier, feeble as it was in number, they were as often forced to recoil, and the unsightly mass of mangled and gory slain with which the ruined entrance lay strewn, marked at once the vigour of the attack and the desperate gallantry of the defence.

Whilst this main attack was going forward at the principal breach, two other minor attempts were being

made by the Turks to carry the fort by escalade; one on the side of the Marsa Musceit, the second, and most formidable, on that of the Great Harbour. The first was repulsed without much difficulty by the unaided efforts of the besieged. The huge fragments of rock which they hurled from the parapet broke in pieces the scaling ladders by which the foe were mounting to the assault, whilst those who had already ascended the ladders were thrown back into the ditch, and most of them crushed to death. On the other side, the attack was led by a forlorn hope of thirty men, who, with a fanaticism not unusual to their nation and their religion, had bound themselves by a solemn oath either to carry the fort or to perish in the attempt, in which latter case they felt assured of an immediate entrance into Paradise, and a blissful futurity amid the dark-eyed houris with whom their heaven was peopled. Their efforts were directed against the corner of the cavalier facing St. Angelo; and La Valette, who from his post of observation had been anxiously watching the progress of the fight, soon perceived the desperate attempt and the fanatical bravery with which it was being persisted in. Finding that the garrison were hard pressed, he directed a gun to be opened upon the assailants from St. Angelo. Its first discharge was most unfortunate; for being directed too much to the right it raked the rampart itself instead of the ditch in its front, and killed or wounded eight of the defenders. The second shot, however, was more effectual; for falling into the midst of the band of fanatics, it swept away no less than twenty of them, and the remainder, panic-stricken at the blow, abandoned their attack and fled.

Still the main attack continued to rage with unabated

virulence. Fresh battalions were constantly hurried to the foot of the breach by the determined Mustapha, and as often driven back with great slaughter by the garrison. Ever and anon were borne across the water shouts of encouragement and admiration from the anxious spectators who crowded the ramparts of St. Angelo; and as these cheering sounds reached the harassed combatants at St. Elmo it nerved them to redouble their efforts, and to continue firm in their resistance to the constantly renewed assaults of the foe. They felt that their recent insubordination had, to a certain extent, lowered them in the eyes of their comrades; and they rejoiced in thus having the opportunity of restoring themselves to their good opinion. For six hours was the combat maintained; and still the assailants had succeeded in penetrating into no one point of the enceinte. At length the heat of the midday sun rendered further efforts impossible; and Mustapha, with disappointment in his countenance and rage at his heart, ordered a general retreat to be sounded. One loud shout of victory and exultation rose from the midst of that heroic band, who had thus, for a short time longer, so nobly averted the fate which was impending over them; and a responsive echo came floating on the wings of the wind from their comrades in the Bourg.

Great, however, as had been their success, it had not been purchased without a sacrifice which the slender force at the disposal of La Valette could ill have spared; seventeen Knights, and three hundred of the soldiery, having fallen in the defence. Chief among these was the gallant Medrano, who received a mortal wound whilst in the act of wrenching a standard from the grasp of a Turkish officer. His corpse was removed with all

due honour into the Bourg, where it was interred in a vault of St. Leonard's church set apart for the dignitaries of the Order. From the day when he first entered St. Elmo, Medrano had been the life and soul of the defence. The chivalric gallantry of his bearing, and the frankness of his manners, had raised him high in the esteem of all who knew him; and his death was bitterly mourned by those who felt that his services could, at that critical moment, be but ill replaced. The loss of the Turks upon this occasion must remain a matter of conjecture; still there can be no doubt that it reached a very high figure. Raked as they had been throughout the day by the artillery from St. Angelo, as well as exposed to an incessant and galling fire from St. Elmo itself, it is impossible that the struggle could have been maintained during so many hours without swelling the number of their casualties to an enormous extent.

Night had no sooner set in than boats were despatched from the Bourg to bring in the wounded, who could no longer be serviceable in the defence of the fort. Again was the gallant D'Eguaras amongst the severely wounded; and once more did he refuse to leave his post, although strongly urged to do so by La Valette. Meanwhile, a most generous rivalry sprung up in the garrison of the Bourg, each one striving to be of the number of those who were to reinforce the gallant defenders of St. Elmo. Although it was clear to the meanest comprehension that the post they sought was that of almost certain death, these brave volunteers crowded forward, and La Valette's only difficulty was whom to select where all displayed so noble a spirit. The choice was, however, made, and the fort once more placed in as favour-

able a position for defence as its desperate condition permitted.

In the Turkish camp anxious consultations were held as to the steps necessary to be taken to bring this protracted siege to a conclusion. Dragut, who appears to have been the only commander in the Turkish army competent to conduct a siege, pointed out that, so long as the garrison of the Bourg were permitted to keep up a communication with that of St. Elmo, and to pour in fresh bodies of troops after every assault, they would never succeed in carrying the place. Under his advice, therefore, the headland opposite Point Dragut, and which, with it, constitutes the first entrance into the harbour\*, was occupied by the Turks, and a battery constructed upon it. He also extended the trenches in front of St. Elmo down to the water's edge opposite St. Angelo; and here, also, he constructed a small battery which effectually precluded the possibility of any boat landing at the fort from the Bourg. Whilst superintending the construction of these works he was struck in the head by a splinter, dislodged from the rock by a cannon ball from St. Angelo, and conveyed mortally wounded to his tent. This event, however, did not occur until after he had, by his prudent counsel, ensured the downfall of the doomed fortress. These operations were not carried on without the most vehement efforts on the part of the besieged to prevent their successful consummation. But on the 19th of the month the investment was completed; and from that moment the garrison was cut off from all assistance, and forced

\* On this point Fort Ricasoli now stands.

to rely on their own unaided exertions for further resistance.

For three days a ceaseless fire was kept up from thirty-six guns in the Turkish trenches, and with the first grey dawn of the morning of the 22nd, a new assault burst upon St. Elmo. Exhausted as they were from the constant strife and ceaseless cannonade of the previous three days; short of ammunition, and exposed on their ruined ramparts to the deadly fire of the Turkish arquebussiers, they still met their foe with the same indomitable resolution as before. Three times was the assault renewed, and three times was it successfully repulsed; but on each occasion that gallant little band became more and more thinned, and the prospect of further resistance more and more hopeless. In agonised suspense did La Valette, from his post of observation, watch the raging strife, and high beat his heart with proud and admiring exultation when once again he heard the sound of retreat issuing from the Turkish host. Again had the Moslem recoiled in disgrace from the blood-stained rock. Still was the white cross banner waving from that ruined fort, and the slender relics of its noble band of defenders once more raised a feeble shout of victory. It was, however, the last expiring effort of heroism and endurance. Encircled by foes on every side; cut off from all assistance on the part of their friends in the Bourg; and reduced to little more than half their original number by the desperate struggles of the day, they felt that their last moment of triumph had indeed arrived, and that, with the first dawn of the morrow's sun, the abhorred banner of the Infidel would wave over their ruined fortalice.

In this desperate emergency, an expert swimmer con-

trived to carry a message to La Valette, conveying intelligence, of the truth of which he was, alas! too well assured. All that human bravery could devise had been accomplished to save that vital point from falling into the hands of the foe. Its defence had been protracted far beyond the period which even the most sanguine could have anticipated, and now there remained not the shadow of a doubt that it wanted but the light of another day to ensure its destruction.

La Valette, therefore, felt that the moment had now arrived when, if it could still be accomplished, the remnant of the garrison should be withdrawn into the Bourg, and the ruins of St. Elmo abandoned to the enemy. For this purpose he despatched five large boats, conveying a body of volunteers, who were even yet willing to share the fate of their comrades; and with this succour he forwarded a message to the bailiff D'Eguaras, leaving to him the option of abandoning the fort, and retiring with his whole garrison into the Bourg by means of the boats he had sent, should he deem the place at length utterly untenable. The permission, alas! came too late. La Valette had steadily and sternly refused all suggestions of surrender whilst the road for a retreat still lay open, and now, when at length he had brought himself to yield to the pressure of circumstances, that road was closed for ever against those heroic martyrs thus deliberately sacrificed for the weal of their Order and the safety of their brethren. In vain did they attempt to approach the rocky point where the ruined fort still loomed indistinctly in the darkness of the night. The wary Turk knew too well how surely a last effort would be made to save the handful of noble victims whom he had at last securely

enclosed within his grasp, and his watchful sentinels gave speedy notification of the approach of the succouring convoy. The alarm was instantly given, and the battery which Dragut had constructed for that purpose opened with deadly precision. Thus discovered, it was useless to persevere in the attempt, and, with heavy hearts and clouded brows, these gallant spirits who had hoped to rescue their brethren from destruction, were forced to return once more to the Bourg.

Anxiously had the attempt been watched by the garrison of the fort, and when the reverberating echoes of the Turkish artillery told them that it had been discovered and foiled, they felt that their doom was indeed sealed, and their last hour arrived. Abandoning all hope, either of rescue or escape, they assembled solemnly in the little chapel, and there mutually confessed one another, and received the last sacrament of their religion in holy communion. It was a sad, touching, and solemn sight, that midnight gathering round the little altar of St. Elmo's chapel: deeply scarred with many a ghastly wound, exhausted with days of strife and nights of vigil, with every hope of rescue driven to the winds, that band of heroes stood once again, and for the last time, consecrating themselves, their swords and their lives, to that holy cause which they had espoused. History has told, and as years roll on in their revolving cycle, will continue to tell, of deeds of gallantry and chivalric heroism, such as will make the heart throb with quickened action, as its record is perused by succeeding generations; but never has tale been recorded upon that lustrous page which can exceed in the sublime devotion of its heroes, that which was exhibited upon the occasion which we are now narrating.



The religious ceremony concluded, and their peace with Heaven made, they proceeded to take such measures as were still in their power, to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and to retain their post to the last moment. Such of their number, and they were by no means a small proportion, as were too severely wounded to be able to stand unsupported, caused themselves to be conveyed in chairs to the breach which was so soon to be the scene of their last struggle, and there, sword in hand, and with their face to the foe, calmly prepared to meet that fate which they knew but too well was awaiting them.

With the first blush of dawn, the Turks, who had been anxiously awaiting its appearance to pounce upon their now defenceless prey, rushed fiercely at the gaping breach with frantic shouts of hatred and exultation. Baffled in so many previous attempts, their rage had increased with each new disaster, and now that they felt secure that their destined victims could not elude their grasp, every passion in their hearts was aroused to avenge in the best blood of the Order of St. John, the fearful losses which had been inflicted upon themselves. For four hours the strife raged wildly around that fated spot, and though each moment lessened the number of the defenders, the dauntless remnant still stood firm at their post. Incredible as it may seem, at the close of that period, the Turkish force, exhausted by its own efforts, once more suspended the assault. No shout of triumph at this unexpected respite arose from amidst the ranks of the defenders, nor did any encouraging voice find its way across the waters from St. Angelo. Only sixty wounded and enfeebled warriors remained to dispute the entrance of the foe ; and to their imperish-

able renown be it told, that it was from the almost exhausted efforts of these sixty men that the Turkish army had recoiled.

That suspension was, however, but the preliminary to a last and still more impetuous attempt: as the tiger draws back only to ensure the more fatal accuracy of his spring, so had Mustapha recalled his battalions, only that they might dash upon their expected victims with the more unerring certainty. The garrison took advantage of the interval to bind their wounds and refresh themselves for a renewal of the combat. D'Eguaras, who perceived that the handful who still remained within the fort must be overwhelmed by the first rush of the foe, recalled the defenders of the cavalier, to reinforce the slender remnant. He trusted that his abandonment of that dominating point might, for some time at least, be unperceived by the Turks; but he under estimated the vigilance of Mustapha. That chief had been too long detained, and too often worsted in his attempts upon St. Elmo, not to maintain a keen and watchful eye upon all that was passing among its ruins, now that its possession had become ensured to him. He at once detected the movement that was taking place among the garrison, and despatching a body of janissaries to secure the abandoned post, he proceeded to avail himself of its dominant position to command the whole interior of the work.

At the same moment he gave the signal for a renewal of the assault, and the Turkish battalions, secure at length in their victory, rushed with shouts of triumph to the breach. The defenders were taken by surprise from the suddenness of the move, and ere they could rally themselves the fort was lost. This fact mattered

but little, however, for the summit of the cavalier being crowded with the best marksmen in Mustapha's army, it would have been impossible for one of the defenders to have shown himself upon the breach, without becoming the mark of a hundred bullets. All combined action was now over; the place was lost and won; and it only remained for the last scene of that sad tragedy to be enacted, which has cast such melancholy interest over the name of St. Elmo.

No quarter was asked or given, and desultory combats, in various parts of the enclosure ensued, until the last of that heroic, but forlorn garrison, had bitten the dust. A few of the Maltese soldiery, then as now, most expert in the art of swimming, dashed headlong into the water, and succeeded, amidst a storm of missiles, in making good their escape to the castle of St. Angelo. Another body of nine men, but whether members of the Order or hired soldiers is not very clear, were saved from death by falling into the hands of a body of Dragut's corsairs, these pirates realising the fact that a live Christian was a more valuable article of merchandise than a dead one, and being more actuated by a love of gain than by such fiery fanaticism as stimulated the Turks to a wholesale slaughter, saved the lives of the nine prisoners whom they had captured, for the purpose of making them galley-slaves. The tattered banner of St. John, which still fluttered in the wind, was torn ignominiously from its post; and on the 23rd June, the eve of its patron saint's day, the imperial flag of the Moslem was reared in its place.

Mustapha had himself entered in triumph through that breach which had been so long and so warmly contested, and which had been watered by the heart's

blood of so many a noble and daring spirit, and gazing around on the mangled corpses of his now prostrate foe, the heart of the Infidel was aroused to such a pitch of savage atrocity, that even those senseless and bleeding relics were not sacred from his revengeful malice. The heads of D'Eguaras, Miranda, and two others, were by his orders struck off, and erected upon poles looking towards the Bourg, whence they told the sad tale of their fate to their sorrowing comrades. Not content with this act of desecration, Mustapha proceeded to others still more brutal; he caused the bodies of such of the Knights as he could discover to be securely fastened to spars in the form of a cross, and he likewise directed a deep gash in the form of a cross to be cut upon each of their breasts. Thus mutilated, and with their heads struck off, they were sent floating into the harbour, and the action of the stream carrying them across to St. Angelo, the garrison of that post were aroused to feelings of indignation yet bitterer than before, at the mangled and unsightly spectacle thus presented to their eyes. By La Valette's order the bodies were gently and reverently raised from their floating bed, and as it was impossible, in their then condition, that they could be recognised, they were all solemnly buried together in the conventual church at the Bourg.

It would have been well for the reputation of La Valette, had he restrained the feelings of indignation which this disgraceful event had most naturally evoked within reasonable bounds; but unfortunately the chronicler is compelled to record that his retaliation was as savage, and as unworthy a Christian soldier, as was the original deed; nay even more so, for Mustapha had contented himself with mangling the insensible corpses of

his foe, whilst La Valette, in the angry excitement of the moment, caused all his Turkish prisoners to be decapitated, and their heads to be fired from the guns of St. Angelo into the Ottoman camp. Brutal as was this act, and repulsive as it seems to the notions of the modern warrior, it was, alas! too much in accordance with the practice of the age to have been regarded with feelings of disapprobation, or even wonderment, by the chroniclers of those times. Still the event casts a shadow over the fair fame of otherwise so illustrious a hero, which history regrets to record.

The intelligence of the loss of St. Elmo was promptly conveyed to the wounded Dragut, who lay in the last agonies of death beneath his pavilion in the Turkish camp. A gleam of satisfaction shone across the wan and ghastly countenance of the dying chief, as the news was imparted to him of the success to which his genius had so materially contributed; and as though he had lingered upon this earth solely for the purpose of assuring himself of the completion of his design, he no sooner received that assurance than he breathed his last. His loss, which in itself was a great blow to the Turkish cause, was by no means the only price which Mustapha had had to pay for the ultimate success of his project. No less than 8000 Turks are reported to have fallen in the trenches before St. Elmo between the date of the commencement of the siege and its ultimate fall: the loss of the Christians amounted to 1500, of whom 130 were members of the Order.

Thus, after a siege of upwards of a month, fell that ruined bulwark; shedding, even in its loss, a glory over the military renown of the Order of St. John greater

than many a more successful defence could have reflected. Though Mustapha had ultimately succeeded in his designs, yet much precious time had been sacrificed in the attempt, and there can be no doubt that the protracted and obstinate defence of St. Elmo was the main cause of the ultimate failure of his enterprise, as it gave ample time to the dilatory viceroy of Sicily to organise and despatch those reinforcements, by means of which the siege was eventually raised.

The losses which the Turkish army sustained during the operation, severe as they were, counted but little in the eyes of Mustapha when compared with this great and unexpected sacrifice of time. He had been taught the resistance he might expect in every stage of his undertaking; and even his bold mind quailed at the difficulties with which his path was still beset. Well might the aged chief, standing upon the ruins of that fort he had with so great difficulty gained, and gazing at the lofty ramparts of St. Angelo, whose rising tiers of batteries were still crowned at their summit with the white cross banner of the Order, exclaim in an agony of doubt and perplexity, which the issue of the struggle proved to be almost prophetic: "What will not the parent cost us, when the child has been gained at so fearful a price?"

## CHAP. XVIII.

## CONCLUSION OF THE SIEGE OF MALTA.

THE festival of St. John the Baptist, on the 24th of June 1565, was celebrated in Malta with very different feelings, by the beleaguered inhabitants, and by their Moslem foe. A cry of anguish had arisen throughout the Bourg whilst the sad tragedy was being perpetrated at St. Elmo; and the horrifying spectacle of the headless and mutilated trunks, which greeted their sight on the first dawn of their patron saint's day, increased the general feeling of gloom and despondency which overspread the garrison.

Against this feeling, La Valette exerted all his eloquence; and in a public address, which he on that day delivered to the garrison and inhabitants of the Bourg, he aroused them rather to emulate the deeds of the heroic garrison of St. Elmo, than to mourn their untimely fate. "What," said he, "could a true Knight desire more ardently than to die in arms; and what could be a more fitting fate for a member of the Order of St. John, than to lay down his life for his religion? and yet, both these precious boons have been vouchsafed to our brethren. Why, then, should we mourn for them?—rather should we rejoice at the prospect of a glorious futurity, which they have gained for them-

selves. They have earned a martyr's crown, and they will reap a martyr's reward. Why, too, should we be dismayed because the Moslem has at length succeeded in implanting his accursed standard on the ruined battlements of St. Elmo? have we not taught him a lesson which must strike dismay throughout his whole army? If poor, weak, insignificant St. Elmo was able, by the bravery of its garrison, to maintain itself for upwards of a month against his most powerful efforts, how can he expect to succeed against the stronger fortifications, and the more numerous garrison of the Bourg? With us must be the victory, and with divine aid, most certain victory: let us then, before the altar of our God, on this sacred day, once more renew those vows of constancy which our slaughtered brethren have so nobly accomplished." After this stimulating harangue, a procession was formed to the conventual church of St. Lawrence; and there the same solemn scene of consecration was re-enacted, which has once already been described.

Whilst these ceremonies marked the occasion on the part of the Christians, the Turkish camp was, on its side, filled with the sounds of rejoicing at their victory. The Marsa Musceit was now open to their fleet, and with early morning, a long line of galleys, gaily decorated with flags and pennons, and with martial music resounding from their poops, rounded the Point Dragut triumphantly, and came streaming successively into their newly acquired haven. The works of St. Elmo were, by Mustapha's order, dismantled; and the guns captured on its ramparts at once despatched to Constantinople, as a token of the success which he had achieved.



He then turned his attention towards the new and far more formidable undertaking which still awaited him. The two peninsulas, which jutted into the main harbour, were, as has already been described, fortified as strongly as time and means would permit. The month which had been expended by the Turks before St. Elmo, had not been spent in idleness by La Valette. Wherever new works could be rapidly thrown up, to impart additional security to his enceinte, he had caused them to be executed; and men and women, high and low, the noble and the peasant, the Knight and the private soldier, all laboured with equal energy and good will in the important work. A floating bridge was constructed across the inlet, contained between the two peninsulas, which connected the Bourg with Senglea, and thus permitted a free communication between the two garrisons. The strength of the Città Notabile was reduced by five companies of soldiers, who were called in to aid in the defence of the far more important post of the Bourg; and all private stores and provisions were seized for the public use, the owners receiving due compensation from the treasury.

The prisoners in La Valette's hands had, as has been already narrated, been foully murdered by his orders, under the guise of a reprisaille, after the fall of St. Elmo, and he wisely enough determined that none should again be made. A war *à l'outrance* was declared, and as the garrison could not with safety encumber themselves with prisoners, no quarter was to be either asked or given. When these instructions reached Città Notabile, where the garrison, from their position in the rear of the besiegers, had constant facilities for cutting off stragglers, the practice was established of hanging a

prisoner every day, and this was maintained, without a single omission, until the close of the siege.

Having thus prepared himself in every possible way to meet the attack which he felt sure must commence, as soon as St. Elmo had fallen, La Valette calmly awaited the issue. Strong as was his confidence in the devotion and constancy of his garrison, he felt that his only hope of ultimate success lay in the succour which he was daily expecting from Sicily. As day after day glided by, and the position of St. Elmo became more and more hopeless, so did his anxiety for the viceroy's promised assistance increase; and when, on the 23rd of June, he wrote to the commandant of Città Notabile an account of the loss of that fort, he could not refrain from appending a bitter reproach against the dilatoriness which had ensured its downfall.

Mustapha, now that Mount Scerberras was in his possession, at once moved the greater portion of his army round, so as to enclose the two peninsulas. The outline of the great harbour of Malta shows two bold promontories of very high land, which jut out one on either side. The one on the south was then called, and has still retained the name of Mount Corradin, and the other, that of Bighi. From the foot of the Corradin, completely round to Mount Salvator, did Mustapha construct his trenches; and as soon as the work was completed, La Valette and his little garrison were entirely isolated from succour.

Before, however, this could be accomplished, four galleys, under the command of Don Juan de Cardona, had reached Malta, and landed their force on the opposite side of the island. This reinforcement, under the command of the Chevalier de Robles, consisted of forty-two

Knights of the Order, twenty gentlemen from Spain, eleven from Italy, three from Germany, two from England (whose names have been recorded as John Smith and Edward Stanley), fifty-six hired gunners, and a corps of 600 imperial foot, making a total of 734. Taking advantage of a thick fog, which most fortunately overspread the island, Robles succeeded in passing the Turkish lines in safety with his little force, and in joining his brethren in the Bourg on the 29th of June. This reinforcement, slender as it was, greatly raised the spirits of the garrison; the more so, as they brought the intelligence that a far more efficient succour was being collected in Sicily, and would shortly make its appearance for their rescue. In proportion as the spirits of the garrison were raised by this cheering incident, were those of the Turkish army depressed. They soon learnt that fresh troops had entered the town, and their fears greatly exaggerated the number. Rumours also reached them of the large preparations going forward in Sicily for more effectual aid, so that Mustapha himself, dreading an interruption, and but ill secure in the staunchness of his troops, deemed it advisable to try whether he could not obtain by negotiation that which it appeared so possible he might fail to acquire by force of arms. For this purpose he despatched as an envoy, under the protection of a flag of truce, a Greek slave, who was the bearer of an offer of the most liberal terms, should the Grand-Master consent to capitulate. These terms included everything which had been granted by Solymán to L'Isle Adam at the siege of Rhodes, and the Knights were guaranteed the security both of life and property, provided they surrendered the island to the Ottoman power.

To La Valette this mission was most unacceptable. He had from the very first determined either to rescue his island home by a determined and successful resistance, or to bury himself and his fraternity beneath the ruins of its bulwarks. His eloquent exhortations, and the example of his own energetic bravery, had roused a similar feeling in the minds of all his garrison, and he was most unwilling that this determination on their part should be shaken by the offer of such alluring terms as those which the pasha was disposed to hold out. He was in the constant hope of a succour from Sicily, and he was determined that no step on his part should annul the benefits of that rescue when it arrived. In order, therefore, to prevent the recurrence of any such proffers, he at once, with a voice of the most commanding sternness, directed that the miserable envoy should be hanged. The unfortunate Greek, on hearing this cruel sentence, threw himself at the Grand-Master's feet and implored mercy, averring, with great truth, that he was not the master of his own actions, but had been compelled to undertake the office. It is probable that La Valette had never seriously contemplated taking so cruel a step; his object had been merely to terrify the envoy to such a degree as to prevent him from ever again undertaking a similar embassy. His life was therefore spared, and La Valette, pointing to the deep ditches which surrounded the castle of St. Angelo, bade him inform his master that there lay the only ground within the island of Malta which he was prepared to surrender, and that its depth was sufficiently great to be a grave for the whole Turkish army.

This haughty and defiant reply showed Mustapha

that he had nothing to hope for from negotiation, and that if Malta was to be won by the Turk, it must be by force of arms alone. He therefore pushed forward his siege works with redoubled vigour, and early in July had completely surrounded both the Bourg and Senglea. The latter, surmounted at its extremity by the fort of St. Michael, was the point of his first attack, and he opened batteries upon it from every available point. From Mount Sceberras, the Corradin, and all the other neighbouring points, a pitiless storm of missiles was brought to bear upon that portion of fort St. Michael which it had been determined to breach. The point selected was that called the Spur Bastion, which formed the extremity of the fort touching the harbour, and was therefore open to attack by sea as well as by land.

As it was impossible for Mustapha to bring his galleys to the attack of this quarter by the ordinary channel, without subjecting them to a most terrific fire from the castle of St. Angelo, he determined upon attaining his end by the adoption of a novel expedient. From the upper extremity of the Marsa Musceit to that of the great harbour, the distance across the isthmus of Mount Sceberras was not great, and Mustapha caused a number of galleys to be bodily transported across the land and re-launched under Mount Corradin. This service was performed by the Christian slaves, of whom considerable numbers were retained in the Turkish camp for duties of this nature; and in a few days La Valette beheld no less than eighty boats floating upon the upper extremity of that harbour, whose entrance he had so sedulously guarded.

It was at this period that an acquisition was made

by the garrison in the form of a deserter of high rank in the Turkish army. This man, whose name was Lascaris, was a Greek of very high family, who had in early youth been captured by the Turks, and being brought up in the Mahometan faith, had attained to a high grade in their army. Reminiscences of the religion of his fathers, and a sense of the shame which overshadowed the career of even the most brilliant renegade, had long haunted Lascaris, and had rendered him dissatisfied with the position which he occupied; and now, when he beheld the members of that religion, of which he himself should have been a disciple, so steadfastly performing their devoir, he felt the shame of his position to increase tenfold, and imminently dangerous though the step was, and utterly ruinous to his worldly prospects, he nobly determined upon risking all, and joining his fortunes with those of the heroic garrison. One evening, therefore, towards dusk, he descended the eminence of Mount Sceberras, opposite the castle of St. Angelo, and made signals by waving his turban of his desire to be taken into the fort. Before his signals could be answered, he had been discovered by the Turkish sentries, and a body of men were sent down to the water's edge to capture him. In this dangerous juncture Lascaris, though no swimmer, plunged into the water, and contrived to maintain himself afloat until he was picked up by the boat which the Grand-Master had despatched to his assistance.

On his arrival at St. Angelo, he informed La Valette of the motives which had induced him to desert his colours, and alleged that his only desire was to be admitted into the Christian religion, and to be permitted the privilege of combating in the cause of his

new faith. He also gave notification of the attack which was impending upon the spur of St. Michael's, and urged the Grand-Master to take further measures for its protection. La Valette was so struck with the noble sacrifice which Lascaris had made, that fearless of treachery, which beneath so frank and open a brow as that of the young neophyte could never have lurked, he appointed him a pension from the public treasury, in amends for the position which he had abandoned; nor had he ever cause to regret his confidence, for throughout the remainder of the siege Lascaris proved himself not only a valiant captain in the field, but also a most able adviser in the council.

Following out the suggestions thus offered to him, La Valette took every precaution to avert the impending storm. The seaward ramparts of St. Michael's were all strengthened; additional cannon were planted at every point where they could be brought to bear upon the approaching foe; and, as a last and still more important step, a huge stockade was constructed across the head of the harbour, from the Spur Point to the foot of Mount Corradin. This stockade was formed of huge piles, driven into the bed of the harbour, and connected together by means of chains, which passed through iron rings, fixed into the head of each pile. In addition to this, large spars and masts were fastened from pile to pile, and a barrier was thus constructed which effectually protected the point of St. Michael's from a water attack on the side of the Corradin. As the other side was open to the guns of St. Angelo, it was not considered necessary to protect it in a similar manner; as it was deemed that the batteries which swept that side were amply sufficient for its security.

Similar barriers were also erected in front of the posts of England, Germany, and Castile. The operation was performed entirely by night, as the constant and unerring musketry fire of the enemy would have rendered it an utter impossibility to continue the work throughout the day.

As the Maltese have been, since a very early period, celebrated both as swimmers and divers, they contrived to complete the task in an incredibly short space of time; and Mustapha was dismayed at perceiving so novel and formidable an obstacle daily growing up to impede his projected boat attack. He was not, however, the man to allow such a work to be carried through without making a strenuous attempt at its destruction; and he selected a body of the most expert swimmers in his army, whom he provided with axes, and despatched against the obtrusive barrier. The Admiral del Monte, who commanded in the fort of St. Michael, met this attempt by a similar sally on the side of the garrison. His Maltese divers, with swords between their teeth, dashed eagerly into the water, and their superior activity in that element yielding them a great advantage over their opponents, they speedily succeeded in overcoming them, and only a few half-drowned wretches regained the shore of all those whom Mustapha had despatched.

At this period, and whilst the assault was still impending, the viceroy of Algiers, named Hassan, the son of the redoubtable Barbarossa, and son-in-law to the corsair Dragut, who had so recently met his death in the trenches before St. Elmo, arrived with a reinforcement of 2500 men; an auxiliary force, rendered less important on account of its numbers than by the class



of which it was composed. They were all men who had served a long apprenticeship in the desperate and piratical warfare of the Mediterranean. Hassan, whose great success as a general had rendered him not a little inflated and vain-glorious, sneered at the numerous failures which had hitherto overtaken the Turkish army. A survey of the ruins of St. Elmo led him to express his amazement that Mustapha should have allowed himself to be baffled for such a length of time by so insignificant a fort; and, following up the taunt, he volunteered, at the head of his brave troops, to lead the assault which was to be made against St. Michael. The Turkish general was only too glad to give the young braggadocio an opportunity of making good his words, and he was appointed to head the assault upon the land side, whilst his lieutenant, Candelissa, led the attack by water.

At an appointed signal, on the morning of the 15th of July, the assault commenced by the advance of the Turkish flotilla, which had been previously conveyed across the land from the Marsa Musceit. The progress of this miniature fleet was marked by the strains of martial music, which arose on every side; and the sun on that summer's morn was reflected back from many a glittering spear, and lighted up many a gay and fluttering pennon. It was a beautiful sight, and one which, but for the fearful stake which hung at issue upon the result of the day, must have been gazed upon with feelings of admiration from the thickly-crowded bastions around. The war had, however, been hitherto carried on with so bitter a venom on either side, that nought but a sense of the most rancorous hatred was elicited by this display. Men called to mind, at that moment, the

barbarous outrages which had been perpetrated on the mangled bodies of their brethren at St. Elmo ; and each one, as he gazed upon the proudly advancing foe, grasped his falchion with a firmer grip, and registered a mental vow, that he would avenge that fatal day in the heart's blood of those who were thus daring his wrath.

In advance of the squadron was a boat, containing two priests, who continued reciting from the Koran such texts as appeared most likely to arouse the fanatical ardour of their followers ; but as they approached the scene of strife, these men of peace cared no longer to lead their flock to the post of danger, but resigning their position to Candelissa, they wisely returned to their camp, and watched the issue of the conflict from a safer distance.

Candelissa's first attempt was upon the palisades, through which he endeavoured to force a passage ; and he had also provided himself with a quantity of planks, with which, he proposed to bridge over the space between the palisade and the point. Both attempts proved, however, a complete failure. The barrier was far too strong to enable him to push a passage through it ; and his planks were not sufficiently long for the bridge which he had proposed to make. Galled by a fearful fire from the ramparts, which was momentarily prostrating numbers of his bravest men, Candelissa felt that it would be impossible for him to remain where he was, without speedily inducing a panic amongst his followers. Drawing his sword, therefore, he plunged into the water, which reached nearly to his neck, and calling upon his men to support him, he waded to shore, and made a dash at the breach. An unfortunate explosion in one of the magazines of the fort materially

aided the assailants in their first attempt; and they succeeded in establishing a footing at the summit of the breach, where they planted a number of small banners in token of triumph.

To this point they had succeeded in obtaining an entrance; but all further ingress was barred by the serried array of defenders, to whom they were now opposed. Long and desperate was the struggle; and the tide of battle appeared to fluctuate, the prospect of victory now leaning on the one side, and now on the other. At last, however, the force of numbers appeared likely to prevail against even the indomitable bravery of the Knights of St. John; and, step by step, they felt themselves driven backward over the rampart. La Valette, from his post of observation at St. Angelo, perceived the adverse turn which affairs were taking, and instantly despatched a powerful succour from the garrison of the Bourg to the scene of strife, by means of the temporary bridge which he had caused to be constructed. Mustapha, on his side, had watched with exultation the progress which his battalions had made in penetrating within the defences of St. Michael; and, in order to complete the success, and overcome all further opposition, he embarked a number of janissaries in ten large boats, and despatched them to the assistance of Candelissa.

In order to avoid the stockade, which the previous failure had shown to be impregnable, this flotilla steered well round to the northward, and thus brought itself under the fire of the guns of St. Angelo. Upon the rock which formed the base of this fortress a battery had been constructed *à fleur d'eau*, for the express purpose of protecting the spur of St. Michael; and the Knight

who had command of this battery, no sooner saw the advance of the hostile force, than he determined upon dealing it such a blow as should at one fell swoop annihilate it for ever. He caused his guns to be loaded with bullets, fragments of iron, and numerous other missiles of a similar nature, and then quietly awaited until the enemy approached within easy range. At a given signal the battery, which from its depressed position had escaped the notice of the Turks, belched forth its murderous fire, at a distance of little more than two hundred yards, raising the whole surface of the water into a lashing foam with the storm of missiles which it poured forth. The effect was instantaneous. The boats had all been crowded together, and the discharge had taken effect directly in their midst. Several sank at once, and the remainder were so encumbered with dead and dying, that all further advance was hopeless, and the shattered relics of this formidable reinforcement returned in dismay to their own side of the harbour, without even having attempted a landing on St. Michael's point. The wondrous effect of this deadly discharge has been described with great unction by all the Christian annalists of the siege; and the loss which the Turks sustained by it has been variously computed at from four to eight hundred men. For days after, the bodies of the killed floated upon the water, and were seized upon by the expert Maltese swimmers, who reaped a rich harvest from the gold and silver ornaments which were obtained from their persons.

Meanwhile the succour which La Valette had sent to the closely pressed defenders of the spur had joined their comrades, and, by the welcome addition of their numbers, once more turned the tide of battle. With a

shout of anticipated triumph they dashed at the foe, whom the tragedy just enacted beneath their eyes had filled with consternation, and succeeded in driving them headlong over the breach. Even Candelissa himself, whose reputation for courage and daring had until that moment been above suspicion, appeared overtaken with panic, and was the first to turn his back upon the combat, and to fly shamefully from the sword of the pursuer. On his first landing at the point, he had directed the boats which had brought him thither to push off from the land after disembarking their freight, in order that his troops might fight the more desperately, from a feeling that all road to a retreat was cut off from them. He now found this valiant direction of his highly inconvenient; and as he stood upon the edge of the rock, eagerly beckoning to the boats to return, he presented a spectacle but little edifying to those who beheld him. He hurried ignominiously into the first boat which reached the spot, and was followed by such of his comrades as were fortunate enough to secure the same means of escape. The remainder fell almost unresisting victims to the fury of the besieged, and casting aside their weapons, they loudly cried for mercy and quarter. That appeal, however, was made to hearts which were thirsting too eagerly for revenge, and which had become steeled by too many cruelties inflicted on their brethren to admit of its finding any favour there. The stern reply to their pitiable supplications was: "Such mercy as you showed to our brethren in St. Elmo, shall be meted out to you, and none other;" and as each successive victim was struck to the earth, the fatal blow which deprived him of life was jocularly termed *St. Elmo's pay*.

Candelissa and his fugitive comrades having made good

their escape from the fatal point, the Christians employed upon their work of butchery became exposed to the fire from the enemy's batteries, which, now that there was no longer any fear of destroying their own men, opened furiously upon the point. In this cannonade, the young son of the viceroy of Sicily, Frederic de Toledo, who had been despatched by his father to reap his first laurels in arms under the Maltese banner, was killed. La Valette had always, out of consideration for his father, studiously kept him from the more exposed and dangerous posts; but the fiery enthusiasm of the young soldier could not tamely brook this position of inglorious security. When, therefore, the reinforcement left the Bourg for Senglea, Toledo contrived to join their ranks unnoticed, and bore himself right gallantly in the short but decisive struggle which ensued. Had he not been thus early cut off in his career, there was every prospect that the germs of that noble and gallant spirit which he possessed would have blossomed into a hero, of whom his country might have been proud; and, as it was, his untimely fate, whilst fighting for a cause in which he had no direct personal interest, created a feeling of the most poignant regret in the bosom even of the stern and impassive La Valette himself. Too many of his own brethren were, however, daily falling around him, some of high and noble lineage, in the heyday of youth and the first flush of manhood, for the loss of any individual to create a lengthened impression. Each one felt, indeed, that he carried his life in his hand, and when his comrade was struck dead by his side, it appeared only as though he had by a few short hours anticipated his own fate.

Whilst Candelissa had been thus engaged in the as-

sault upon the spur, which ended so disastrously for the Turks, Hassan had on his side made several desperate but futile attempts to penetrate into the defences of the land front of Senglea. Wherever the assaulting columns showed themselves, they were met by an impenetrable array, through which no efforts could pierce. The young Algerine exerted every art which eloquence could inspire, to incite his followers to redouble their efforts. He was mindful of the scornful boast which he had uttered whilst gazing on the ruins of St. Elmo, and he strove hard to fulfil what he had there alleged. He was fated, however, to be taught that he was now fighting against an enemy very different from those with whom he had hitherto come in contact, and over whom he had always gained an easy victory; and so at length, foiled in his enterprise and exhausted with his efforts, he was compelled sullenly to withdraw his troops, and to acknowledge the bitterness of defeat.

Thus ended this memorable day, a day which reflected as much glory on the garrison of Malta as disgrace upon their assailants. Nearly three thousand of the flower of the Ottoman army, the great bulk of whom were janisseries and Algerine corsairs, perished upon the occasion, whilst the loss of the garrison did not exceed two hundred and fifty. La Valette caused a solemn thanksgiving for this important success to be offered up in the conventual church of the Bourg; and although he saw with dismal foreboding the gradual diminution in the numbers of his garrison, to whom even the comparatively trivial loss of that day was a sensible disaster, still he allowed no trace of his gloomy presentiment to make itself apparent. Mustapha, on his side, felt that still greater exertions were necessary in order to atone for the failures

which had hitherto attended his arms; and as the strength of the garrison was now much reduced, he conceived that he would be obtaining the greatest possible advantage from his superiority in that respect by carrying on his assaults against Senglea and the Bourg simultaneously. He was still of opinion that if he could obtain possession of the former, which was by far the most weakly fortified, St. Angelo and the Bourg could not hold out long.

He therefore retained the direction of the attack on St. Michael in his own hands, whilst he confided that against the Bourg to his coadjutor Piali, the admiral of the fleet. To Candelissa, the Algerine corsair, whose conduct during the late assault had not raised him in the estimation of his comrades, was intrusted the charge of the fleet, with directions to cruise off the mouth of the great harbour, and intercept any attempts which might be made in that direction to throw reinforcements into the town. This division of command created the greatest rivalry and emulation amongst the chiefs. Each one felt that if he were the fortunate man to gain the first footing within the enemy's defences, the whole glory of the expedition, and consequently its rewards, would fall to his share.

Piali, therefore, determined to push forward the attack on the Bourg as rapidly and as vigorously as possible, in order to effect an entrance as soon, if not sooner, than the pasha Mustapha. A battery had already been made upon Mount Salvator, which played upon the post of Castile and a part of that of Auvergne. To this Piali added another battery, nearer the point of Bighi, of far larger dimensions, containing guns and mortars of much more ponderous calibre; and with this he battered the



whole town, and reduced the nearest ramparts to a state of utter ruin. At the same time, he pushed his trenches forward with the most indefatigable rapidity, and in an incredibly short space of time he had approached so close to the bastion of Castile, that all was ready for an assault.

Mustapha had also employed the interval in increasing the power of his batteries, and in harassing the garrison of Senglea by a constant and galling cannonade; and on the 2nd of August, he delivered an assault at this point. For six hours the struggle was maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides. Five times were the Turks repulsed from the breach, and as often were they rallied by the indomitable Mustapha, and brought again to the attack. At length, however, he was compelled, through the sheer exhaustion of his men, to abandon the attempt, and the worn and feeble garrison were once more permitted to enjoy a brief repose.

This, however, was not of long duration, for five days afterwards, viz., on the 7th of August, a fresh attack was made upon both points simultaneously, and at both points it again signally failed. Piali exerted himself to the utmost to penetrate through the gaping breach in the ramparts of Castile, but the energy of the garrison was too great to admit of his success. Retrenchments had been formed in rear of the exposed points, and so galling a fire was maintained upon the advancing squadrons, that they staggered under its intensity; nor could all the admonitions of their leaders prevent them from cowering beneath the storm. Whilst in this state of confusion, rendered still more inextricable by the various obstacles with which the breach had been thickly strewn, the garrison, assuming the

offensive, dashed at the struggling foe, and with vast slaughter drove them headlong back into their trenches. Mustapha's attack was at first greeted with better success. His columns obtained a footing upon the breach, and a desperate hand to hand combat ensued, in which it appeared most probable that numbers would, in the long run, prevail. He himself was to be seen in every direction, sword in hand, cheering on his followers, promising rewards and booty to those who conducted themselves manfully, and with his own hand cutting down the foremost of those who were displaying their poltroonery by flight, until eventually he succeeded in obtaining a gradual advantage, and in driving the garrison back from the contested rampart.

At this moment, when all appeared lost, and when a short time longer must have decided the fate of Senglea, Mustapha, to the amazement of the garrison, sounded the signal for retreat. At the moment this movement on his part appeared but little else than a direct interposition from heaven, and in that light the Knights, as devout catholics, were disposed to regard it. The circumstance, however, was to be accounted for in a much more ordinary manner. The commandant of the Città Notabile had heard the ceaseless din which, since early dawn, had raged around the devoted fortress, and had rightly conjectured that the Turks were delivering another of those fearful assaults which had so often before pressed the garrison hard. He determined, therefore, upon endeavouring to make a diversion in their favour, and mustering all the cavalry under his command within the city, he sent them forth in charge of a Knight, with general directions to make a descent wherever they might find an available opportunity.

The Knight in command advanced cautiously to the head of the Marsa, where the sick and wounded of the pasha's army lay encamped. The guards of the camp had all left their posts, and were on the neighbouring heights gazing intently on the scene of strife before them. The little force, seizing the advantage thus offered to them, rushed upon the camp, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the helpless creatures around them. Shrieks, groans, and yells resounded in every direction, and a general panic spread throughout the army. It was averred that the relieving force from Sicily had landed, and that its advanced guard was already upon their rear. The news spread like wild fire; terror and dismay were on every face, and each one, without waiting to front the foe, betought himself only how best he might escape from the general massacre which he doubted not would ensue. The intelligence reached Mustapha in the thick of the struggle at St. Michael's, and at the very moment of victory, he felt the prize torn from his grasp. An immediate retreat was sounded, and his disheartened troops assembled to meet the new foe who was, by general intelligence, supposed to be even then upon his flank. What was his rage and astonishment, when he reached the scene of action, to learn the true state of affairs. The Christians, having attained their object, and created a diversion, which could not fail to be useful to their brethren, had wisely retired before their retreat was cut off by numbers; and Mustapha found, to his unspeakable indignation, that he had abandoned a victory, which was almost within his grasp, on a false alarm.

From this day he resolved to carry his point rather

by the harassing frequency of his attacks, than by their intensity. Each day, therefore, witnessed successively a repetition of the struggle at one or other of the two points of attack; and each day the defenders beheld their numbers gradually thinning from the efforts they were compelled to make in resisting the foe. Meanwhile, their ambassador at the court of Sicily had not been idle. His was indeed no easy task, and it required the most skilful diplomacy to carry his instructions judiciously into effect. Whilst, on the one hand, it was urgently necessary that he should stimulate the dilatory viceroy to increased exertions in collecting his relieving force; it was, on the other hand, equally incumbent upon him to say or do nothing which could, by any possibility, be construed into a cause of offence. When, however, the news had successively reached Sicily, first of the fall of St. Elmo, then of the blockade of the Bourg; and lastly, of the incessant assaults which were being made on that point, and on St. Michael's, he could no longer refrain from a vehement remonstrance at a delay which seemed certain to ensure the loss of the island.

It is very difficult to account for the conduct of the viceroy in this juncture. It is a well-known fact that he was warmly attached to the Order, and particularly so to La Valette; he had even intrusted his own son to the perils of the siege, under the care of the Grand-Master; and it cannot be supposed that, having taken such a step, he could be indifferent to the fate of the island. Whether he feared, by too hasty an intervention, to compromise the safety of his master's fleet, or whether he was acting under secret instructions from Philip himself, which, indeed, is very probable, can never now

be ascertained ; but it certainly is very clear, that had it not been for the almost incredible perseverance of La Valette's resistance, the succours, by means of which the island was eventually rescued, would have arrived only in time to have beheld the Turkish flag waving on the summit of the castle of St. Angelo.

The remonstrances of the ambassador induced the viceroy to summon a council to discuss the steps which should be taken ; and a proposition was then actually made, and supported by several voices, that the island should be left to protect itself. Fortunately, however, for the reputation of Philip and his viceroy, as also for the very existence of the Order of St. John, other and nobler counsels prevailed, and an assurance was forwarded to La Valette that if he could maintain himself until the end of August, he should most certainly be relieved by that time. La Valette had experienced too many disappointments with regard to the viceroy's promises, to lay much stress upon this new pledge ; nor was the assurance itself very cheering, since, in the ruined state of his fortifications, it appeared almost impossible he could maintain himself so long.

It would merely weary the reader, and be a simple repetition of precisely similar scenes, to describe in detail the assaults which were day after day delivered by the indomitable Mustapha and equally persevering Piali. On the 18th of August, however, the diurnal assault to which the Knights had now become accustomed to look forward with certainty, assumed a far greater importance, and was of a much more deadly character, than usual. Both points were attacked, but the assault upon the Castile bastion was deferred by Piali for some time after that upon St. Michael's had been commenced,

partly with the hope of inducing some of its defenders to withdraw to the assistance of their friends at St. Michael, and partly to enable him to spring a mine which had been successfully driven beneath the bastion. Finding that the delay did not tempt any of the garrison to abandon their posts, Piali directed that the mine should be sprung; and its explosion was attended with so great an effect, that a large portion of the rampart was ruined by the shock. In the general dismay and panic which this unexpected event created amongst the garrison, the Turks pushed boldly forward, and when the dense smoke which hung sluggishly over the scene of the catastrophe gradually cleared away, the Ottoman banners were to be descried waving triumphantly upon the summit of the newly-formed breach.

The alarm was instantly spread, and the great bell of the conventual church pealed forth to notify the peril in which the garrison was placed. A terrified ecclesiastic, rushing into the presence of La Valette, besought him to take refuge within the castle of St. Angelo, since the Bourg was lost. All was panic and confusion, and had it not been for the calm presence of mind which La Valette displayed at that critical moment, the town must indeed have been lost. Instead of following the advice of his ecclesiastical friend, La Valette seized a pike, placed a light casque on his head, and rushed to the scene of action, calling to his brethren to die manfully at their posts. A desperate encounter ensued, in which the Grand-Master was himself wounded, but he succeeded in attaining his object, and once more clearing the breach of the foe.

The danger from which this promptitude and daring

had rescued them, had been so imminent and appeared so likely to threaten them again, that La Valette determined upon taking up his quarters permanently close to the exposed bastion. It was in vain that his Knights remonstrated with him upon this resolution; it was in vain that they pointed out to him the value of his life in maintaining the defence. He persisted in his determination, thanking his friends for the zeal which they manifested for his safety, but assuring them that, at his age, it mattered little how soon he fell in the defence of his religion. The result proved the clearness of his foresight. That same night the Turks renewed the attack, and the spirit inspired amongst the defenders by the presence of their venerated chief amongst them, materially aided them in successfully resisting it. The 19th, 20th, and 21st each beheld an assault upon some point, and although upon each occasion the heroism of the garrison was successful, their reduced numbers proved clearly that they would be unable to sustain many more such attacks.

Scarce a Knight remained unwounded of that gallant band, and La Valette was each day called upon to mourn the loss of some of those whose gallantry and resolution had endeared them to his chivalric heart; nor was he spared the pang of a loss nearer to him still. His own nephew, Parisot de la Valette, as gallant a Knight as ever donned harness, was struck down, with his companion in arms, the Chevalier Polastron, in a daring sortie which they had made in broad daylight; and it was only after a long and fiercely-contested struggle, that their comrades succeeded in rescuing their corpses and bringing them back into the town. La Valette was himself a spectator of this mournful scene,

and rejected all attempts at condolence, by assuring his hearers that the whole fraternity were to him as kindred, and that he did not mourn the loss of his nephew more than that of any other Knight who had fallen.

Whilst the defenders were being reduced to this pitiable condition, the position of Mustapha was becoming but little better. The incessant attacks he had persisted in making had, it is true, harassed the garrison beyond all endurance; but their constant failure had also produced the worst possible effect upon his own troops. They had lost the flower of their army, partly on those deadly breaches, which they had in vain endeavoured to storm, and partly by the pestilence that had latterly raged with the most frightful virulence throughout the camp. Their ammunition was running low, and a scarcity of provisions had long since commenced to make itself felt. It appears strange that, with so large a fleet as that which Piali commanded, they should have found any difficulty in maintaining a constant intercourse with the neighbouring coasts of Africa; but certain it is, that whilst that fleet was lying in idleness within the Marsa Musceit, Sicilian cruisers were permitted constantly to intercept the transports by means of which their supplies were maintained.

In these unfavourable circumstances, long and anxious consultations were held between Mustapha and Piali as to the course to be pursued. The former, who felt that his reputation and prosperity, nay, most probably even his life, depended upon the successful issue of the enterprise, strongly urged that the army should, if necessary, winter upon the island; but Piali, on the other hand, declared that he would not allow his fleet to run so



great a risk. That fleet had been placed under his own especial control, and he alone was responsible to the sultan for its safety. As soon, therefore, as the summer commenced to break up, he announced his intention of quitting the island and returning to Constantinople, whether with or without the army. A constant jealousy had, since the commencement of the siege, shown itself between the rival Ottoman commanders; and its ill effects had materially aided La Valette in maintaining his defence.

Mustapha felt greatly dismayed at the opposition which his views met with from his coadjutor; still he retained the secret of his despondency within his own breast, and instructions were issued for a fresh general assault on the 23rd. Two days prior to that event, some friendly hand amongst the besiegers shot into the town an arrow, to which was attached a billet, containing only the word *Thursday*; and the sagacity of La Valette led him instantly to divine, that on that day the struggle was to be renewed. A general council was summoned to deliberate upon measures of defence; and he was then strongly urged to abandon both the Bourg and Senglea, and to withdraw with his reduced garrison into the castle of St. Angelo. The Grand-Master, however, would not listen to this proposition; he pointed out that St. Angelo was too confined to contain all the inhabitants who would require a shelter within it; nor would its water supply be nearly sufficient for their wants. Both the Bourg and Senglea must, therefore, he said, be maintained to the last; and in order to show that he was determined to carry his views into execution, he withdrew the greater portion of the garrison of the castle, to reinforce those of the two towns.

Early on the morning of the 23rd, the assault, against which they had been forewarned, took place. Every member of the Order whose wounds were not positively mortal, had upon this occasion quitted the infirmary, and once more resumed his post upon the shattered ramparts. Yet even with this assistance, the number of the defenders had dwindled down to a mere handful; and nothing but the heroic spirit which nerved each arm of that devoted band, could have maintained the struggle which, throughout the day, they were called upon to sustain against the most overwhelming odds. Once again, however, were they victorious; and the baffled Mustapha was compelled to withdraw his discomfited troops from the scene of their failure.

For a week after this defeat, the Turks attempted nothing further against the towns; but contented themselves with maintaining a sullen bombardment from their batteries. On the 1st of September, Mustapha once more essayed his fortune at a last desperate assault; and every incentive by which his troops could be stimulated to the attack was freely proffered by him. It was, however, all in vain. A spirit of disorganisation and despondency had spread itself through their ranks. They had long since declared, that it was evidently not the will of Allah that they should become the masters of Malta; and they loudly demanded to be borne away from that island, where so many of their comrades had found a bloody grave. It was not by men imbued with feelings such as these, that victory was to be snatched from the determined and desperate garrison; and the shattered battalions of the Moslem recoiled, almost without a blow, from the firm front which was still maintained against their assault.

The feebleness of this last effort of the besiegers spread the greatest exultation, and the most sanguine hopes of ultimate success, in the hearts of the garrison. They began to hope that, alone and unaided, they should be enabled to drive the baffled and discomfited foe in disgrace from their shores ; and they almost ceased to wish for the presence of that reinforcement, whose advent had been previously looked for with such earnest anticipation.

This long-expected, and oft-postponed aid was, however, at length on its road to their rescue. On the 25th August, a fleet of twenty-eight galleys, containing 8500 troops, of whom nearly 300 were members of the Order, and the remainder Spanish and Italian soldiery, set sail from Syracuse, and appeared off the island of Malta. Whilst, however, the viceroy was undecided as to the steps he should take to relieve the garrison, a violent storm arose, which dispersed his fleet and compelled him to return to Sicily to refit. His troops, however, were so clamorous to be once more led to the rescue, that on the 6th September he again set sail, and anchored that same night between the islands of Comino and Gozo. The next morning he landed his army in Meleha bay, a small but commodious port on the north of the island, and having witnessed the commencement of their march towards Città Notabile, he returned to Sicily, for a further body of 4000 troops, who were still at Syracuse awaiting transport.

Meanwhile, Mustapha had remained in his camp, after his last failure, in a condition of the most abject despondency. Every effort which his ingenuity could devise had been made to overcome the obstinate resistance of the defenders. Their works had been battered

by a force of artillery far more powerful than had ever before been used at a siege; they had been subjected to a series of the most desperate and prolonged assaults; their works had been honeycombed by a most laborious series of mines; a cavalier had been raised in front of the post of Castile, from the summit of which the interior of that bastion could be overlooked, but it had been torn from their grasp by the garrison, and actually converted into a post of defence. At his last assault he had contrived to throw into the town a cask filled with combustibles, with a slow match attached, which he trusted would spread dismay by its explosion amidst the ranks of the defenders; but they had succeeded in hurling it back into the very middle of a column which was at the moment advancing to the assault, and which was shattered and dispersed from the effects of a missile devised by themselves. An attempt had been made against Città Notabile, and that also had been baffled by the bravery and determination of its commandant. He had, in fact, been thwarted at every point; and it was at this moment, whilst he was himself plunged into the depths of despondency, and whilst his troops were clamouring for an abandonment of the siege, that he received the first notification of the landing and advance of an army of succour to the Christians.

The numbers of this force had, as is usual in such cases, been greatly exaggerated by report, and Mustapha, terrified lest he should be surprised in his trenches, and his retreat cut off, made instant preparations for departure. Although he had been well aware that troops were assembling, and a fleet collecting in the ports of Sicily, for the relief of Malta, he was nevertheless completely taken by surprise when the intelligence of their

landing at Meleha reached him. He had imagined that the course which the Spanish viceroy would pursue, would have been to force an entrance into the grand harbour, and every preparation had been made by him to resist such an attempt. When, therefore, he gathered that all his precautions had been vain, and that a large Spanish army was, at that moment, within a few miles of his own reduced and dispirited force, the same feeling of panic overwhelmed him which had already spread itself amongst his troops. The night of the 7th of September was passed in the embarkation of the artillery and other warlike stores, and the noise of removal, plainly audible to the garrison throughout that summer's night, must have sounded like music in their ears. With the first dawn of day the embarkation of the troops commenced. St. Elmo was abandoned, and all those trenches and batteries which it had cost the Turks so many months, and so fearful an expenditure of blood to construct, were now relinquished into the hands of the garrison.

La Valette's measures, on this joyful morning, were as prompt and decisive as those of Mustapha had been injudicious and hasty. The whole town poured forth into the trenches of the foe, and in a few hours the labour of months had been destroyed. The banner of St. John was once more triumphantly reared over the ruined fortalice of St. Elmo, and Piali was driven to expedite the departure of his galleys from the Marsa Musceit, which was no longer a secure refuge, now that Mount Sceberras was once again in possession of the Knights. The abandonment of the siege had been barely effected, and the embarkation of the troops scarcely completed, when Mustapha received more accurate in-

telligence as to the numbers of those who were advancing to the rescue of the garrison. The proud spirit of the Turkish general was struck with indignation at the thought, that he should thus hastily have abandoned the labour of so many months upon the advent of a force so far inferior to his own, and promptly summoning together a council of war, it was decided, by a slender majority, that the troops should be again disembarked, and marched into the interior of the island, to encounter their new opponents. The soldiers, worn out and dispirited by the lengthened struggle which had proved so fatal to themselves, murmured loudly at this decision of their chiefs, and were with the utmost difficulty torn from the ships, in which they had hoped to have been borne away from the scene of so many privations and hardships. Mustapha, however, was a man endued with too much determination of purpose to allow the discontent of a mutinous soldiery to divert him from his aim, and a body of about 9000 men once more stood upon the shores of Malta.

Intelligence of this new movement was at once despatched by La Valette to Della Corna, the leader of the new contingent, and that general promptly took precautionary measures to meet the enemy. Della Corna had secured a very strong position on the summit of a hill, and he was himself disposed to await, within his intrenchments, the onset of the Turks; but he had those under his command whose fiery zeal and impatient ardour could ill brook such a defensive policy. A body of 200 Maltese Knights, each of whom was accompanied by two or three armed followers, had formed themselves into a battalion by far the most efficient in Della Corna's army. These Knights called loudly to be led at once

against the foe who had caused the slaughter of so many of their brethren, and the general, against his own better judgment, was compelled to give way to the universal ardour, and, abandoning his post of advantage, to lead his troops against the advancing enemy.

The two armies came to the encounter with a widely different spirit; the one, sullen and disheartened at their numerous failures, were only too anxious to abandon the fatal spot; whilst the others were burning with eagerness to avenge the fate of those endeared to them by every tie of brotherhood, who had fallen victims in the struggle now so nearly ended. Imbued with such widely contrary feelings, and fighting with so different a spirit, it can be a matter of no surprise that the Turks were unable to withstand the shock of their antagonists. The struggle, indeed, could scarcely be dignified by the name of a battle; at the very first volley the Turks fled, and were pursued by their eager opponents to their very ships. No attempt at resistance was made, and their line of flight was a constant massacre throughout. Hassan, the Algerine corsair, had been posted with 1500 men to protect the point of embarkation, and had it not been for this precautionary measure on the part of Mustapha, not a single man of that army would have lived to reach the galleys. As it was, this seasonable relief for a short time imperilled the existence of the impetuous Maltese battalion. Disorganised by their hasty pursuit, and exhausted with their own efforts beneath the vertical rays of a September sun, this gallant body beheld themselves surrounded by Hassan and his Algerines, and must inevitably have been cut to pieces, had not Della Corna promptly made his appearance with the main body of his army. All strife was now at an

end; the shattered remnants of the Turkish force once more sought safety on board their ships, and that fleet, which a few short months before had approached Malta with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and had landed their army with the proud assurance of conquerors, was now driven to abandon the enterprise with disgrace, and to carry away the diminished and enfeebled remains of their once powerful army with ignominy from the rocky coasts of that island which they had in vain endeavoured to tear from the grasp of the Knights of St. John.

Della Corna having thus witnessed the final departure of the foe, marched his victorious force to the Bourg, and there they encountered the remains of that heroic garrison, whose lengthened and stubborn resistance had that day been brought to so glorious a termination. It was a sad and touching spectacle to witness the meeting between these enfeebled war-worn soldiers and the gallant comrades who had so opportunely come to their rescue. Of the 8000 men whom La Valette had, prior to the commencement of the siege, mustered beneath his banner, but little more than 600 remained at its close capable of bearing arms; and almost every one of that chosen few bore upon his person the honourable scars received during many a hardly fought struggle. Exhausted and worn as they were with toil and watching, their wan and almost ghastly countenances were now lighted up with proud consciousness of the honours they had won, and the glorious victory they had gained. Alone and unaided, they had for months withstood the brunt of the whole power of the Turkish empire. Their ruined and blood-stained ramparts could tell a tale of heroism and endurance such as the world had never



before witnessed; that struggle was now ended, the victory was once again theirs, and the banner of St. John had yet another triumph to be emblazoned upon its folds, before which all those that had previously been the subject of so much pride and honour seemed pale and trivial. Well might La Valette be excused the natural exultation of the moment, when, calling to mind the glorious result of the struggle he had brought to so successful a termination, he directed that the name of his town should from that day forth be changed from its old appellation of the Bourg, to the proud and well-earned title of the Città Vittoriosa.

## CHAP. XIX.

RETURN OF THE TURKISH ARMY TO CONSTANTINOPLE. — RUMOURS OF A NEW EXPEDITION. — DEATH OF SOLYMAN. — COMMENCEMENT OF THE NEW CITY OF VALETTA. — DISTURBANCES IN THE CONVENT. — DEATH OF LA VALETTE. — ACCESSION OF DEL MONTE. — TRANSFER OF THE CONVENT TO VALETTA. — BATTLE OF LEPANTO. — DEATH OF DEL MONTE. — ELEVATION OF LA CASSIERE. — SEDITIONS AROUSED AGAINST HIM. — HIS DEPOSITION AND RESTORATION. — HIS DEATH, AND THE SUCCESSION OF VERDALA. — ARRIVAL OF THE JESUITS. — DEATH OF VERDALA, AND BRIEF RULE OF GARCES.

THE army which the pasha Mustapha had originally conducted against the island of Malta consisted of 30,000 men, selected from amongst the flower of the Turkish troops; and the successive reinforcements brought to the island by the corsairs Dragut and Hassan, swelled that number to upwards of 40,000. Of this vast force, which but a few months before had landed triumphantly upon the rocky shores of that island which they had marked as their prey, scarce 10,000 survived to accompany Mustapha on his return to Constantinople.

The rage of Solyman, upon learning the disgrace which had befallen his arms, was such as might have been anticipated from one who, through a lengthened career, had hitherto almost invariably been the favoured child of victory. Tearing the despatch which contained the unpalatable intelligence into fragments, he ex-

claimed that his arms were never successful save when he himself was present ; and he pledged himself to lead in person a fresh expedition against Malta at the commencement of the ensuing summer ; when he vowed he would not leave one stone standing upon another. Preparations were instantly commenced in the arsenals of Constantinople, for the construction of a fleet of sufficient magnitude to carry out the project of the sultan, and every nerve was strained to prepare such a force as should effectually wipe away the stain which the late failure had brought upon the glory of the empire.

The position of the Order of St. John was at this moment critical in the extreme. Of the garrison of 8000 men which before the siege had mustered beneath the white-cross banner, and which the reinforcement received shortly after the fall of St. Elmo had raised to nearly 9000, but little more than 600 remained, and these mostly wounded, and but ill-fitted to bear arms.\* The process of exhaustion had been carried

\* The 8th of September, the day on which the siege of Malta was raised by the Turks, was always subsequently celebrated with great rejoicings by the Order. As the day of the nativity of the Virgin Mary, it was already a festival of the Church ; but from the year 1565 it became the most important anniversary in the calendar to the inhabitants of Malta. On that day a solemn mass was performed for the souls of those who fell during the siege ; and the names of such among the victims as had attained any rank in the fraternity were registered in the records of the church. Of these, 18 were Knights of Provence, 4 of Auvergne, 21 of France, 50 of Italy, 14 of Aragon, 4 of Germany, and 18 of Castile. Sir Oliver Starkey was the only English Knight of eminence recorded to have been present at the siege, and he survived, to occupy the dignities successively of lieutenant of the Turcopolier, and bailiff of the Eagle. It must be remembered, that these numbers only included those who had been either killed outright, or whose wounds had proved mortal before the

on by Mustapha almost to the point at which he was aiming. It had been his purpose to harass the garrison by such constant assaults, that their numbers should eventually be so reduced as to leave them an easy prey to his arms. This policy had proved successful at St. Elmo; and must undoubtedly have also realised his expectations at the Bourg, had his own means been sufficiently unlimited for the purpose. Whilst, however, the results of his scheme were being thus developed within the garrison, his own force was suffering a diminution, from sword and pestilence, to so fearful an extent, that when the moment arrived for taking advantage of the feebleness of the defenders, his army was no longer in a state to avail themselves of it.

The defence of Malta has justly been considered the most brilliant feat of arms which has graced the annals of the Order of St. John; and the historian naturally seeks for the causes which brought about so glorious a success. Foremost amongst these must be ranked the jealousy which existed between the military and naval commanders of the Turkish armament. Mustapha and Piali were both far too eager to prevent each other from realising the entire glory of the expedition; and were but ill-prepared for that mutual concession and goodwill which was so essentially necessary for the ultimate success of their arms. The engineering tactics of the Turks were, moreover, faulty in the extreme; their neglect in permitting the garrison of St. Elmo to maintain an uninterrupted communication with that of the

close of the siege. There was probably a large additional number who lingered for months, and perhaps for years, and yet who most undoubtedly may be considered to have received their death wounds during this memorable struggle.

Bourg, detained them before its walls many weeks longer than would otherwise have been the case; and as though untaught by the results of that siege, they subsequently neglected to complete the investment of the Bourg, until after a comparatively considerable reinforcement had succeeded in making its way into the town from Sicily. Dragut was undoubtedly right when he pointed out to Mustapha that he should, in the first place, have made himself master of the Città Notabile. The fortifications of that town were comparatively insignificant, and after a few days' siege it must have fallen into his hands; his rear would then have been secure from any disturbance whilst prosecuting the siege of the Bourg; and the garrison would have been cut off from those resources which they derived from the Città Notabile, during the early part of the siege.

Thus far, it is from errors in the Ottoman tactics that we have deduced the successful result of the struggle on the part of the Christians; but it would be a wanton robbery of that meed of glory which they had so justly earned, to deny that it was mainly owing to the heroic and indomitable bravery of the garrison, led as they were by so gallant and determined a chief as La Valette. It was fortunate for the renown of the Order, that, at the moment when they were called upon to maintain so desperate a defence, they were led by a man who, from the energy of his character, and the stern determination of his purpose, was eminently qualified to guide them through the fiery ordeal. The character of La Valette was one which elicited far more respect and fear than love. There was a stern impassiveness in his temperament; a steady and cold resolution of purpose, which marked how utterly he

excluded all personal feeling from the guidance of his actions. His mind was cast in a mould so stern and unflinching, that he extorted an unwavering obedience from those who, had they perhaps loved him more, would have followed his injunctions less implicitly. His cold and uncompromising sacrifice of the garrison of St. Elmo for the safety of their brethren, marks at once the character of the man ; whilst the obedience, even unto death, which he extorted from that gallant band, even after they had broken out into open mutiny, proves the extraordinary ascendancy which he had gained over their minds. The crisis required a man who could sacrifice all considerations of feeling for those of duty. A stern disregard not only of self, but also of others, where the exigencies of the case demanded it, was imperatively called for ; and in La Valette the Order found a man capable of such sacrifice. He had also the rare faculty of arousing in others that religious enthusiasm which appears to have been the chief motive power of his own conduct in life ; and throughout this eventful siege, the meanest soldier engaged seems to have imbibed from his chief that lofty determination to conquer or to die, which was the great secret of their stubborn and successful resistance.

Europe had looked on with bated breath whilst the strife was still impending. Ever and anon, as intelligence was brought of the successful maintenance of that resistance, and the constant failure of the Turkish assaults, a loud cry of acclaim would arise, and prayers were proffered in many a Christian congregation for the ultimate success of the Cross against the Crescent. When at last it became known that that success had been indeed assured, and that the turbaned hosts of

Solyman had recoiled in disgrace from the sea-girt fortress, the universal joy and exultation knew no bounds. The successes of the Hospitallers over the Turks were a subject of the deepest congratulation to the courts of Madrid and Rome. The island of Malta had been looked upon as an advanced post to both of these kingdoms; and had Solyman succeeded in establishing himself in permanence on that point, the kingdom of Sicily and the papal dominions, would have been continually exposed to the piratical incursions of his Algerine subjects. It was at these courts, therefore, that the sentiments of admiration and gratitude found the freest vent.

Philip instantly despatched a special ambassador to Malta, with congratulations to La Valette upon the auspicious result of the siege; and the envoy bore with him, as a present from the monarch, a magnificent poinard and sword, the hilts of which were of chased gold, studded with diamonds and other jewels. These costly weapons were presented to La Valette in full council by the ambassador; who, in a set oration, informed the Grand-Master that the king of Spain looked upon him as the great hero of the age, and requested his acceptance of these weapons, to be used by him in the defence of Christendom. At Rome the universal enthusiasm was unbounded. A salute was fired from the guns of the castle of St. Angelo, and a general illumination of the city testified to the exultation of the inhabitants. The Pope, Pius IV., as a special mark of favour, offered La Valette a cardinal's hat; a dignity which had been previously tendered to, and accepted by, the Grand-Master D'Aubusson, after his successful defence of Rhodes. This proffer, which had proved acceptable in

the latter case, had no attractions for La Valette. His position, as Grand-Master of so powerful and influential a brotherhood as the Hospital of St. John, may well have led him to consider himself of higher rank than a mere cardinal. Ruling over the islands of Malta and Gozo in sovereign independence; possessed of a fleet which scoured every corner of the Mediterranean; and maintaining ambassadors at all the leading courts of Europe, he considered himself to occupy the rank of a sovereign prince; and as such, the dignity of a cardinal's hat appeared to him unworthy of acceptance. The proffer of the pontiff was therefore graciously declined, under the plea that the office of Grand-Master required functions so diametrically opposed to those of a cardinal, that he did not consider they could be reconciled together.

In the midst of this general scene of rejoicing and congratulation, it became necessary for La Valette to consider what steps should be taken to avert the renewed attack, which, as he was informed by his spies, was at that moment in active preparation at Constantinople. The position of the convent was in this crisis certainly most desperate. The fortifications were in a state of complete ruin, the arsenals and storehouses were empty, the treasury was exhausted, and the ranks of the fraternity so fearfully diminished, that an adequate garrison could not be provided, even had the island been in a proper state of defence. The general feeling of the council leant in favour of an immediate abandonment of the island, and the retirement of the convent into Sicily; but La Valette felt that his renown, and that of the Order, had become too intimately blended with the island of Malta to brook so great a sacrifice as its



surrender in the very hour of triumph. He loudly expressed his determination to bury himself beneath those ruins he had already so successfully defended, rather than permit them thus tamely to fall into the possession of the Infidel; and the same strong will and inflexible determination which had so often before overruled the opinions and decisions of his council, once again triumphed over all opposition; and in accordance with the desire of their chief, it was determined to stand or fall in the island where they had already achieved so brilliant a success.

The danger, however, was most imminent; and La Valette, feeling that it would be utterly impossible for him to oppose force by force, determined to have recourse to treachery to avert the impending blow. He had in his pay a large number of spies in and about Constantinople, and he availed himself of the services of some of these unscrupulous agents to cause the grand arsenal of that city to be destroyed by fire. Large stores of gunpowder had been accumulated for the purposes of the approaching expedition, and the devastation caused by their explosion was such as utterly to destroy the entire arsenal and the fleet which was being equipped within its precincts. This blow completely annihilated the intentions of Solyman with regard to Malta; and his death, which occurred not long after, prevented any renewal of the attempt. Most writers, in narrating this occurrence, have deemed it due to the revered memory of La Valette to explain this act apologetically, by laying great stress upon the peculiar and critical position in which he was placed. There does not appear, however, to be any occasion for apology or excuse in the matter. The Ottoman emperor was notoriously and ostentatiously

preparing a gigantic armament for the utter destruction and annihilation of the Order. Its object was no secret, and its destination had been openly declared by the sultan himself, who had boasted that he would not leave one stone upon another in that island which had dared to resist his armies. Surely it came within the legitimate rules of war to compass the destruction of that fleet whilst yet within the limits of the Ottoman arsenal, and La Valette was only exercising the prudent foresight of a great commander, in thus averting the blow which he would otherwise have been utterly unable to resist.

All immediate danger of an invasion being thus happily ended, the Grand-Master turned his attention to the restoration of his convent, and the re-fortification of the island. The late siege had most clearly demonstrated the extreme importance of the post of St. Elmo, and the absolute necessity which existed for its re-occupation. La Valette determined, therefore, not only to reconstruct the fort upon a more extended scale than before, but also to carry out the project which had been already frequently mooted, of occupying the entire peninsula with a new town, and surrounding it with fortifications of such magnitude, as should render it safe from the attack of an enemy. Experience had shown that the Bourg, or as it was now termed, the Città Vittoriosa, was but ill suited for the head-quarters of the convent. Exposed, on every side, to hills which completely overlooked it, the difficulty of maintaining it, during a lengthened siege, had been so distinctly marked, that some change appeared absolutely imperative; and no other spot, within the island, afforded so many advantages in the way of defence, as the Mount Sceberras. The expense, however, of carrying

out such a project, would have been enormous; and La Valette, with a treasury completely exhausted, felt that he would have to depend greatly on foreign assistance to carry his design into execution. Ambassadors were therefore despatched to all the leading courts of Europe, furnished with plans showing the proposed alterations and additions to the defences of Malta, and earnestly demanding pecuniary aid for the realisation of the scheme.

The Order, at this moment, stood in very high favour throughout all the Catholic countries of Europe; the good service they had rendered to Christendom, by averting the dreaded inroads of the Moslem, was everywhere recognised and appreciated. The demand for aid which now arose, was therefore warmly and freely met, and La Valette received assurances of such liberal contributions, that he was enabled at once to commence the realisation of his project. The Pope guaranteed a contribution of 15,000 crowns; the king of France promised 140,000 livres, Philip pledged himself to supply 90,000 livres, and the king of Portugal promised 30,000 crusadoes. Whilst this assistance was being rendered from without, the members of the fraternity, eager to secure the benefits which the proposed design would confer upon their convent, rivalled one another in the extent of their contributions. Many of the wealthiest commanders, not content with forwarding the entire revenue of their commanderies, stripped themselves of a large portion of their personal property, which they cheerfully merged into the public treasury, to aid in the good work. The noble heart of La Valette must have warmed within him, at the generous co-operation thus afforded to his design; and summoning

the most able engineers and architects then procurable in Italy, he no longer delayed the commencement of the new city.

On the 28th of March 1566, the ceremonial of laying the first stone was performed by La Valette, with great pomp and magnificence. The spot selected for this purpose was the corner of St. John's bastion; and here La Valette, following the ceremonial still customary upon similar occasions, spread the mortar in due form, and when the stone was lowered into its bed, struck it with his mallet, and having ascertained its correctness with the square, proclaimed it duly laid in the most approved fashion. Beneath the stone were deposited plans of the proposed city, as also several gold and silver coins, with medals bearing the legend, "*Melita renascens*;" together with the day and year on which the building was commenced.\*

From this time La Valette devoted himself entirely to his new city. He took up his abode in a temporary wooden structure upon Mount Sceberras, and spent his days in the midst of the workmen. The example thus set by their chief was followed by all his knighthood, and each one strove, by precept and example, to urge forward the progress of the work. All the leading towns in Sicily and Italy were ransacked for artificers, and at one time no less than 8000 labourers were employed to assist the masons.

The original design had contemplated that the high ridge of rock which formed the Mount Sceberras should have been cut down to a level platform, upon which the city was to have stood, surrounded by its ramparts, formed mainly from the natural rock, scarped down to

\* Vide Appendix, No. 17.

the water's edge. Whilst, however, this work was in operation, and before it had become far advanced, rumours reached the island of a new expedition preparing at Constantinople, and of which the destination was supposed to be Malta. Selim, who had succeeded to Solymán, was a man of pacific sentiments, and too much engrossed in luxuries and sensualities, to take delight in those ambitious projects which had been so constantly cherished by his father. Still he ruled over a nation eminently warlike in character, and amongst whom enmity to the cause of Christianity, and a craving for domination in the Mediterranean, had long become ruling passions. Unable, therefore, entirely to restrain the aggressive and warlike propensities of his subjects, Selim was compelled apparently to meet their views, by fitting out expeditions without any fixed ideas as to their ultimate destination. False alarms were thus, throughout his reign, constantly being spread, and preparations were on all sides made to resist attacks which the Ottoman sultan never seriously contemplated. The only result of the expedition which he was now preparing, was to destroy the symmetry of the new city of Valetta, which, instead of being on a level platform, was, owing to this alarm, built upon the sloping ridge which constituted the natural conformation of the ground. Hence those interminable flights of steps which in the present day weary the unfortunate pedestrian, whilst toiling upwards under the blaze of a July sun, and which have invoked the metrical malediction of the greatest poet of modern ages.\*

- \* Adieu, ye joys of La Valette !  
Adieu, scirocco, sun, and sweat !  
Adieu, ye cursed streets of stairs !  
How surely he who mounts you swears !—*Byron.*

La Valette had not progressed far with his new city, before the want of funds began to make itself seriously felt. He had received promises of large amounts, but those pledges were but very tardily fulfilled; and the funds upon which he counted from his own fraternity, could only be paid in by annual instalments, as the revenues of the various commanderies fell due. Under these difficulties he decided on a measure, the successful working of which proved how high the credit of the Order for prompt and faithful payment stood in the eyes of the inhabitants generally. He caused a large quantity of copper money to be coined, bearing a fictitious value far above that which it was intrinsically worth. These coins bore upon one side the symbol of two hands clasped in friendship, and on the obverse, the motto "Non æs sed fides," Not money, but trust. This money was freely taken by the artificers, and passed currently throughout the island for its nominal value; and the Order faithfully redeemed the trust which had been reposed in them, by promptly calling in the fictitious coinage as they received remittances from Europe, until it had been entirely withdrawn from circulation.

The first name given to the new city, and that which La Valette designed that it should be called, was *umilissima*, the humblest, but this appellation was soon changed to that of Valetta, after the chief under whose auspices it had been commenced. Whilst the Grand-Master himself superintended the construction of the town, the fortifications by which it was to be surrounded were intrusted to the care of Jerome Cassan, the engineer of the Order, a Knight who had rendered himself celebrated for his proficiency in the art of fortification; and under his fostering superintendence were com-

menced the first of those stupendous bulwarks which have since rendered the city of Valetta one of the most impregnable fortresses of Europe. The raising of the ramparts, the levelling of the ground, and the tracing of the streets, occupied rather more than a year; and after these preliminary works had been executed under the direct auspices, and at the expense of the Order generally, private individuals were encouraged and invited to erect houses within the space allotted for that purpose. As an incentive to members of the fraternity to join in the work, it was expressly decreed, that any Knight building for himself a house within the limits of Valetta, was to be permitted the privilege of disposing of it by will at his death; a concession not enjoyed by him with regard to the remainder of his property. This privilege induced a vast number of Knights to erect for themselves mansions in the new city, and many of its houses show traces of having been originally constructed for members of the fraternity, who, not being permitted to marry, had no families, and consequently did not require many sleeping-rooms. In most of the houses of Valetta we find, that, whilst the apartments devoted to reception are spacious, lofty, and handsomely decorated, occupying by far the larger portion of the building, those intended for sleeping-rooms are narrow, confined, and limited in extent.

The aged Grand-Master continued, throughout the brief remainder of his life, to take the same interest in the new city which was thus springing up under his eyes. But he was not permitted to spend that limited period in the peace and quiet to which, by a long life of vicissitudes and warfare, he had so justly entitled himself.

In his early life he had been present at the siege of

Rhodes under L'Isle Adam, and had borne an honourable part throughout that long and desperate struggle. From that hour he had followed the fortunes of his Order through all their wanderings, and had raised himself step by step through all the various dignities in their gift, until he had eventually attained to the post of Grand-Master, at a moment when that office bore with it the fearful responsibilities of conducting the maintenance of a defence against the entire strength of the Turkish power. Now, however, when the successful issue of that memorable siege had secured the Order from all further foreign disturbance or aggression, and when he might reasonably have hoped for an old age passed amidst the calm of universal tranquillity, there arose within the bosom of his own community a spirit of discord and faction which embittered his latest moments.

The general exultation, which had naturally followed upon the glorious repulse of the Turkish army, had gradually degenerated into a spirit of license amongst the more youthful members of the fraternity, so outrageous that La Valette found himself totally unable to restrain it. The wildest debauchery and the most reckless libertinism stalked rampant through the town, and the scandalous orgies which everywhere prevailed brought a foul stain upon an Order which professed a religious organisation, and which embraced the vow of chastity as one of its leading principles. In these licentious gatherings ribald songs were sung, reflecting upon the characters, not only of the virtuous ladies in the island, but even of the Grand-Master himself.\* Nothing

\* A pasquinade is stated to be still in existence at Malta, although



was too high or too sacred to be made the butt of their ridicule, and La Valette felt that it would be necessary to resort to the strongest measures to check this growing iniquity.

A prosecution was instituted against the most notorious of the offenders, and they were summoned for adjudication before the general council of the Order. Instead, however, of attending submissively to this call, these insubordinate Knights rushed into the council chamber in tumultuous array; and, heedless alike of the dignity of the meeting, and of the obedience which they owed to its edicts, they treated the entire affair with the most insulting ridicule. The pen was plucked from the hand of the chancellor who was recording their sentence; the decrees of the council were destroyed, and the inkstand thrown out of window. They then, feeling that they had so far compromised themselves that they were certain of receiving the severest punishment from the stern justice of their inflexible chief, hastily made their exit from the council chamber, hurried away to the harbour, and there, seizing upon one of the galleys which lay at anchor, set sail for Sicily, and from that point made their way to their respective homes, where alone they felt that they should be secure from the avenging justice of their insulted chief.

Two murders about this time likewise contributed their quota to the anxieties and distress of La Valette. In one case his own private secretary was shot in the street, and the perpetrator of the foul act remained

the author has not been enabled to procure a sight of it, in which the heroic La Valette is accused of cowardice, and of hiding himself behind a beam during one of the assaults upon the post of Castile.

undetected and unpunished. In the other, a Florentine gentleman, who had been married to a lady, the daughter of one of the original settlers from Rhodes, stabbed his wife in an access of jealousy, and afterwards succeeded in making his escape from the island. This event caused a most unpleasant feeling amongst the Rhodian colonists, and added much to the annoyance to which La Valette was at this time subjected.

Meanwhile a dispute, which promised the most grave consequences, sprang up between the fraternity and the court of Rome. For many years the pontiffs who had successively attained to the dignity of the triple crown had arrogated to themselves the power of nomination to most of the vacant dignities in the language of Italy, to the detriment of the authority of the Grand-Master and his council. In the first outburst of gratitude which displayed itself at Rome after the successful defence of Malta, La Valette had succeeded in extorting from the Pope a pledge that the nomination to these dignities should in future be left to the discretion of the fraternity, without interference from the court of Rome. This pledge, however, had no sooner been made than it was broken; and La Valette found the Pope as prompt as ever in arrogating to himself the privilege which he had expressly renounced. He therefore addressed to his Holiness a letter of the most urgent remonstrance upon the subject, and also despatched an ambassador to the papal court, with a view to obtaining some reparation for the wrong which was being inflicted. The Pope, however, irritated at the tone in which the Grand-Master's letter was couched,—and indeed it must be admitted that he had expressed himself in no measured terms on the subject of this wanton breach of faith,—was

glad of a pretext to avoid receiving La Valette's ambassador, and he therefore availed himself of the tenor of the obnoxious letter, as a reason for refusing to give him an audience; and as a further mark of his displeasure, he dismissed him from court in disgrace.

This marked slight, and wanton addition of insult to injury, deeply affected the Grand-Master and weighed heavily on his spirits. The accumulated discords which surrounded him, both from within and without, so far overcame the inherent firmness of the gallant old man, that he sank into a condition of the most painful despondency, from which he found it impossible to rouse himself. One day, towards the latter end of July, anxious to distract his mind from the anxieties which preyed upon him, he started on a hawking party in the direction of St. Paul's Bay. The sun, which at this season of the year is extremely powerful in the island of Malta, overcame the old man, enfeebled as he was, and he was brought home suffering from all the symptoms of a *coup de soleil*. A fierce and most virulent fever set in as the consequence of this unfortunate expedition, and, after an illness of nearly a month, he died on the 21st of August 1568.

His body was in the first instance placed in the chapel attached to the castle of St. Angelo, but four days later, namely, on the 25th of August, his successor having in the meantime been elected, a grand funeral cortège was formed for the transport of the corpse to a chapel which he had built and endowed in the city of Valetta, and which was dedicated to our Lady of Victory. The body was placed upon the great galley of the Order, which, richly-decorated and denuded of its masts, was towed in solemn procession by two other

galleys, covered with black cloth, and bearing behind them the Turkish banners which had been captured during the late siege, and which they now trailed ignominiously in the water. The body having entered the Marsa Musceit, was there landed, and the procession being re-formed by land, it was conveyed with similar solemnities to the place of sepulture, where it was lowered into its grave amidst the lamentations and regrets of all who witnessed the melancholy ceremony.

The memory of La Valette has always been held in the highest veneration by the succeeding generations of the fraternity. The Order had, during the five centuries of its existence, witnessed but few who could have the slightest claim to be considered his equal in all those qualities which should distinguish the leader of so powerful an institution, and most certainly none who could be deemed his superior. Called to the supreme authority at an hour of the most imminent danger, he proved himself fully qualified to meet the crisis. In his public character he earned for himself a reputation such as has fallen to the lot of few men to achieve. Stern and inflexible in character, he was rigidly just and honourable in all his actions. Throughout his long career he proved himself the terror of evil-doers, and the implacable foe to disorder of every description. By his fraternity he was feared and respected, more perhaps than he was loved; and his character was such as to excite the former rather than the latter feeling in the minds of those over whom he held command. The crisis during which he was placed at the head of his Order, demanded a man of iron will and of rigid inflexibility of purpose, and in La Valette that man was found. So long, therefore, as the necessity

for such qualifications continued, he was essentially the right man in the right place, and as such received the willing obedience and the warm admiration of his fraternity ; but during the last years of his life, when peace appeared to have been once more secured to the convent, that austerity was no longer recognised as a virtue on his part, and at the time of his death there were not a few who, having felt the rigid exactness of his rule most irksome, hailed the event as a relief, and though outwardly mourning for the loss of one who had proved so brilliant an ornament to his Order, were at heart not ill pleased to look forward to the prospect of a new chief, whose governance might prove less rigid and austere.

The decease of La Valette having been anticipated for some weeks before it actually took place, various intrigues had been set on foot with reference to the election of his successor. La Valette had himself named Antonio de Toledo, the grand-prior of Castile, as in his opinion the most worthy successor to his office ; but the cabal of two grand-crosses, named La Motte and Maldonat, secured the election of the grand-admiral Peter de Monte, of the language of Italy. The lengthened services of this Knight had fully entitled him to the favourable consideration of the electors, and it appears somewhat strange that he should not have been named by La Valette in preference to the Knight already mentioned. Like the late chief, he had in his youth served at the siege of Rhodes under L'Isle Adam, and had, after that event, established for himself a high reputation by his naval exploits. The Pope, in consideration of his services against the Infidel, had nominated him governor of the castle of St. Angelo

at Rome. He had subsequently been raised to the post of general of the galleys by the fraternity, and had eventually reached the dignity of grand-admiral as the head of the language of Italy. It was whilst holding this office that he was selected by La Valette to undertake the defence of the peninsula of Senglea during the late siege, and his services in that post were so brilliant as to have placed him, in the general opinion of his fraternity, as second only to La Valette. At the conclusion of the siege he had been sent as an ambassador to Rome, when the Pope, as a mark of respect for his brilliant services and grey hairs, would not permit him to kneel in his presence, as was customary at the reception of ambassadors.

He had not long occupied the post of Grand-Master before he perceived that the two Knights through whose influence he had succeeded in his election, desired to make him a tool in their hands for the acquisition of such dignities as he might have it within his power to bestow. De Monte was not disposed to submit himself to such dictation, and yet, at the same time, he felt that a certain consideration was due to those who had placed him in the magisterial chair. In order, therefore, to free himself from their claims without committing any act of ingratitude, he nominated one his ambassador at Rome, and the other he made grand-prior of Spain.

Being thus freed from the troublesome dictation of his friends, he occupied himself in carrying on those reforms which La Valette had commenced. The new city of Valetta progressed, under his auspices, even more rapidly than it had done during the rule of his predecessor; and on the 18th of March 1571, he moved the convent from its original habitation in the Bourg

into the new city. This event was celebrated with great magnificence, and may be considered as marking the date when the city of Valetta was first inhabited. It was, however, even at that time, in a very unfinished state; and the palace in which the Grand-Master resided was as yet only a wooden building, containing a hall and two inner rooms.

Under his fostering care the navy of the Order was raised to a strength far exceeding what it had attained for many years. In order to stimulate a spirit of enterprise amongst the fraternity, De Monte gave permission to such members of the Order as might desire to avail themselves of it, to undertake cruising expeditions on their own responsibility, and for their own benefit. This permission was taken advantage of to a great extent, and many Knights returned from their cruises against the corsairs laden with booty. In the midst of these partial successes, however, a disaster occurred which at the time threw great disgrace upon the fair fame of the fraternity. The general of the galleys, named St. Clement, whilst in command of four vessels laden with provisions, was overtaken by the Tunisian corsair Ucciali. The Maltese commander did not on this occasion display that firmness and bravery which might have been expected from a member of his Order; but, two of his vessels having been captured, he ran the one in which he himself was aground, and having reached the shore, fled ignominiously. In this unfortunate engagement sixty-two Knights perished; and St. Clement no sooner presented himself at Malta, than he was brought before the council to answer for his conduct during the fatal affray. The evidence adduced too clearly proved his cowardice on the occasion, and the

public indignation ran so high against the unfortunate Knight, that, after having been stripped of his habit, he was handed over to the secular power for further punishment. By their decree he was strangled in his prison, and his body, enclosed in a sack, was thrown into the sea. Such was the stern award decreed for those who disgraced their fraternity by any exhibition of cowardice in the face of the enemy.

The year 1571 was marked by the glorious victory which the combined Christian fleet gained over the Turks at the battle of Lepanto. In this action only three Maltese galleys were present, commanded by Pietro Justiniani; the whole expedition, which consisted of 210 galleys, besides numerous other smaller vessels, being under the command of Don John of Austria. The action was fought on the 7th of October, and, after a desperate struggle, ended in the complete rout of the Ottoman fleet. One hundred and forty galleys were captured, many others were destroyed, and the slaughter of their crews reached the almost fabulous total of 32,000 men. The results of this great victory were so marked that the naval power of the Turks in the Mediterranean was for many years completely annihilated.

De Monte had in his last years felt himself so oppressed by the responsibilities of his office, that he earnestly besought the Pope to permit him to resign the dignity into other hands. Pius V., however, would not consent to this request, and the Grand-Master was compelled most unwillingly to retain his post until his death, which occurred on the 27th of January 1572, when he had attained the age of seventy-six years.

It was during his brief rule, that the convent of Hospitaller ladies at Sixena became once more united



to the Order of St. John. This establishment, which was situated at Sixena, a small town midway between Saragossa and Lerida, had been founded by Sancha, daughter of Alphonso II., king of Aragon. Her mother, also called Sancha, surnamed the Chaste, had previously founded a convent of noble ladies of the Order of St. John, at the time when the loss of Palestine had deprived them of their homes. The establishment at Sixena was formed on a scale of princely magnificence, and resembled a palace rather than a religious house. Sixty noble young ladies of the kingdoms of Aragon and Catalonia were admitted into this royal convent, without being required to pay any dower; and the munificence of its foundress and the kings of Aragon, soon raised it to a high position. It was subjected by Pope Celestin III. to the rules of the Augustin Order; and the ladies wore a scarlet robe, with a black mantle, bearing the white eight-pointed cross of the Order, and in honour of their royal foundress they each carried a silver sceptre during divine service. For many years the institution remained associated with the Order of St. John, acknowledging the Grand-Master as their superior, and the prioress of the convent took her seat at all provincial chapters of the Order, next in rank to the castellan of Emposta. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, they withdrew their allegiance from the Order of St. John, and placed themselves under the direct authority of the Pope. This secession lasted until the reign of De Monte, when, in 1569, Hieronyma d'Olibo, then grand-prioress of the convent, with the consent of her nuns, signified her desire to become once more attached to the Order; and her request being acceded to, the schism was brought to a close; and from

that date, the nuns of Sixena annually presented a silver vase to the convent at Malta, in token of fealty.

The death of De Monte having left the office of Grand-Master vacant, it was filled by the election of John L'Evêque de La Cassière, chief of the language of Auvergne, and grand-marshal of the Order. The rule of this Knight was a scene of turbulence and confusion from beginning to end. Although a man of the most dauntless bravery, and one who had by many gallant actions gained for himself a very high reputation among his comrades, he was, by the arrogance of his temper, and the violence and obstinacy of his character, but ill suited for the high dignity of chief of the Order. Ere long he had involved himself in so many disputes, and had created such a host of enemies, that the island was thrown into a state of the utmost confusion.

An altercation which he had with the bishop of Malta, touching the extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the latter, led to the introduction into Malta of an accredited member of the holy Inquisition, who, under the title of grand-inquisitor, became ever afterwards a fruitful source of discord and uneasiness to future Grand-Masters. He had been originally despatched in consequence of an appeal made by La Cassière against the bishop to Pope Gregory XIII. Differences had often, prior to this, sprung up between the heads of the Order of St. John and the bishops of Malta. The ecclesiastical functions and powers of the latter had never been very clearly defined, and were often the cause of a collision between himself and the head of the government. The intervention of the grand-inquisitor, however, so far from alleviating this evil, added yet another most fertile source of discord to those already

existing. Instead of two, there were now three heads in the island; and, although both the bishop and the inquisitor nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the Grand-Master, yet by their acts they almost invariably proved that that acknowledgment was more nominal than real.

At the time when this new ecclesiastical authority was first despatched to Malta, the Pope had, at the request of the council, directed that he was not to act independently; but that in all matters affecting church discipline a tribunal was to be formed, in which he was to be associated with the Grand-Master, the vice-chancellor, the bishop, and the prior of the church. It was not long, however, before the ambition of the grand-inquisitor, supported as he was by the Pope, gradually usurped for himself an independent and separate tribunal within the island. In order to extend his authority, and to free it from all control on the part of the Grand-Master, the inquisitor adopted the following method. Any Maltese who desired to free himself from his allegiance to the Grand-Master was given a patent, issued from the office of the inquisitor, by which he became a direct subject of the Inquisition, and was no longer liable to any of the secular tribunals of the island. The bishop of Malta, in his turn, gradually adopted a similar measure, and by a simple tonsure freed even laymen from all other control than his own. These abuses did not of course spring into full vigour all at once, but they gradually became so glaring that it appeared as though the Grand-Master would eventually lose all authority in the island of which he was the nominal sovereign.

Whilst La Cassière was contending with these rival

functionaries, the external relations of his government were at the same time giving him much cause for uneasiness. A dispute which broke out with the republic of Venice, upon the subject of the property of some Venetian Jews which had been seized by the cruisers of the Order, very nearly led to the entire confiscation of their property within the territories of the republic, and was only accommodated by the most ample concessions and complete reparation on the part of La Cassière. Another source of dispute arose from the nomination of the archduke Wincelas of Austria, through the interest of the king of Spain, to the grand-priory of Castile and Leon, and the bailiwick of Lora, immediately on his being received into the fraternity. Remembering the powerful assistance which the king of Spain had invariably accorded to the Order, it would have been difficult for the council to have refused any request preferred by him. Still this wholesale appropriation of the leading dignities in the language of Castile naturally gave the greatest possible dissatisfaction to the Knights of that language, and a sedition sprang up, which was only quelled by the interposition of the Pope. The insurgent Knights were, by his sentence, condemned to present themselves before the Grand-Master in council, with wax tapers in their hands, and there publicly to ask pardon for their turbulent behaviour.

The insubordination, however, which had once broken out was not to be quelled by a mere decree from the papal court; nor was the conduct of La Cassière during these troublous times such as to conciliate the fraternity, or to restore a spirit of obedience into their ranks. His arrogance and haughty bearing only rendered matters worse, and multiplied the number of his enemies, until,

in the year 1581, the mutinous spirit once more showed itself openly. The Knights of the Spanish language had long been jealous of the influence which the numerical superiority of the French had invariably given them, and in this discontent they were joined by the Italians and Germans. They now plotted for the deposition of La Cassière and the elevation of a member of their own language in his place. In order to veil their real designs they intrigued with a French Knight named Romégas, who by his great personal valour had raised himself high in the estimation of the Order, and had gained the dignities of prior of Toulouse and general of the galleys. Being of a very ambitious temperament, he was seduced from his allegiance under the idea that he would gain the appointment from which they purposed deposing La Cassière.

Among the many causes for dissatisfaction which they alleged against their chief was one which showed the extreme demoralisation of the younger members of the Order. La Cassière, with a view to checking the open and gross licentiousness then prevalent within the city, had issued an edict banishing all women of loose character from the city of Valetta and the casals in its immediate vicinity. That this decree should have been publicly made the subject of a grievance marks that a very low tone of morality must at that time have been prevalent amongst the members of the Hospital.

All being at length ripe for the movement, the mutineers openly declared themselves, and held a public council, in which they decreed that the Grand-Master was, owing to his great age and infirmities, unable to continue in the active exercise of his functions; and they therefore proposed that he should be called upon

to nominate a lieutenant to assist him in his duties. La Cassière, who, although an aged man, still retained the full vigour of his intellects, rejected this proposition with the utmost disdain; upon which the mutineers re-assembled, and, taking the law into their own hands, nominated Romégas to the post of lieutenant. By selecting a French Knight for the office they evaded the suspicion which would have attached to their proceedings had they chosen a member of their own language, and seduced a considerable number of French Knights to join their cabal. Not content with this act, they once again assembled, and decreed that La Cassière should be placed in close confinement within the fort of St. Angelo. This resolution was no sooner passed than it was carried into effect, and the aged Grand-Master, surrounded by his rebellious brethren, was conveyed through the streets as a criminal to his place of imprisonment. During this journey he was assailed with the bitterest invectives and the grossest abuse, not only by the Knights, but also by the audacious prostitutes who had, by his decree, been banished from the city, and who, on the subversion of his authority, had once more flocked thither in great numbers.

These turbulent proceedings had been insidiously fomented by the king of Spain, who, in order to support the mutineers, had despatched a fleet to Malta, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting the island against a Turkish invasion, but in reality to render assistance in the dispute then raging. An appeal was made to the Pope, both by the insurgents and the Grand-Master, the latter of whom likewise notified his situation to the French ambassadör at Rome. The greatest indignation was there excited against the pro-

ceedings of the Spaniards; and the Pope instantly despatched an envoy to Malta to prosecute an inquiry into the causes of the insurrection. The French king also took up the matter warmly, and on his side directed his ambassador to see the Grand-Master righted, and to thwart the intrigues of the Spanish faction.

The papal envoy, Visconti, no sooner reached Malta than he commenced an investigation into the causes and results of the cabal. He had received orders from his holiness to reinstate La Cassière in his dignities, provided he found that that step could be taken without endangering the public tranquillity; but a very brief insight into the state of popular feeling at Malta led Visconti to perceive that such a measure would be fraught with the greatest possible danger. He therefore contented himself with securing the liberation of the incarcerated chief, and summoning him, as well as the malcontent leaders, to Rome, that the dispute might be settled by the pontiff in person. He also succeeded, after some altercation, in inducing the Spanish fleet to quit the island, and to leave the settlement of the question entirely in the hands of the Pope.

The entry of La Cassière into Rome, which took place on the 26th of October, was attended with great pomp; and Gregory seemed determined to mark, by the magnificence and cordiality of his reception, the sense he entertained of the treatment to which the aged chief had been subjected. Romégas, on the other hand, was treated with such studied neglect that his ambitious and proud spirit sank beneath the blow, and he died, on the 4th of November, of a fever produced by the agitation of his mind. The Pope decreed the immediate restoration of the Grand-Master to his dignity,

but at the same time privately cautioned him to act with greater moderation in his governance of the fraternity entrusted to his charge.

La Cassière, however, did not survive to resume the active duties of his station. The cares and anxieties of the last year had proved too much for his aged frame, and he died at Rome, on the 21st of December 1581, at the age of seventy-eight years. During his rule the church of St. John the Baptist was built in the new city of Valetta, and became the conventual church of the Order. The expense of its construction was entirely defrayed by La Cassière out of his magisterial revenue; and he further endowed it with an annual stipend of a thousand crowns. The simplicity of the exterior of this building is by no means consonant with the beauty and magnificence of its interior, being totally devoid of all architectural pretensions. The portal, however, once passed, the eye is greeted with a mass of internal decoration that marks a most lavish expenditure on the part of many succeeding generations of the fraternity. By a decree of the first general chapter, held after the erection of St. John's church, a chapel was assigned within its precincts to each language. These chapels form the aisles to the very extensive nave, and are filled with the most elaborate monuments of the several Grand-Masters, erected in their memory by the members of their various languages. The pavement of the entire church is one of the most beautiful specimens of mosaic work in Europe, and is composed of an uninterrupted succession of monumental records, to the memory of the most celebrated amongst the bailiffs, grand-crosses, and commanders. This pave-



ment glistens with an endless variety of divers coloured marbles, emblazoned throughout with the arms and heraldic insignia of the illustrious deceased; jasper and agate, with other stones of an equally valuable character, being plentifully intermixed. The treasury was enriched with numerous costly gifts in gold and silver, the quinquennial offerings of the Grand-Master and other leading dignitaries. In addition to the magnificent reliquary, enclosing the hand of St. John, there were statues in solid silver of the Twelve Apostles, an exquisite gold cup, presented by Henry VIII. to L'Isle Adam, the sword and poinard given to La Valette by Philip of Spain, numberless crosses and censers in gold and silver, together with several gigantic candelabra of the latter metal. The chapel of the Virgin was lighted with a lamp of solid gold, suspended by a ponderous chain of the same metal; and several of the altars were richly decorated in the same costly manner. Beneath this church La Cassière caused a crypt to be constructed, into which he transferred the bodies of L'Isle Adam and La Valette, and it is in that vault that their venerated remains now rest, beneath two handsome monuments which he caused to be erected to their memories. It had been his intention in constructing this crypt that his own corpse should be interred by the side of those heroes who had reflected so much glory on the title of Grand-Master; but his death so far from Malta appeared at first to render it likely that his wish would not be accomplished. The body was deposited within the church of St. Louis, until its place of ultimate destination should be decided; and when at length it was transported to Malta for interment in the

site originally intended for it, the heart, which had been removed and embalmed, was retained at Rome, and is still preserved there.

The death of La Cassière was no sooner notified to the Pope than he despatched a mandate to the council at Malta prohibiting any steps from being taken, in the election of a successor, until they should have received further instructions from him. He designed, in fact, to take the nomination entirely into his own hands, considering that, as head of the Order, and as the late Grand-Master had died within the limits of his own immediate jurisdiction, he should be entitled to that prerogative. He decided eventually, however, on pursuing a middle course, and despatched a Knight, entrusted with two briefs and full instructions to guide him in the conduct of the affair. The Knight having arrived at Malta, presented one of his briefs to the council, in which the Pope averred that the peculiar circumstances attending the death of the late Grand-Master had left him the right to nominate a successor to the vacant dignity; but that from friendship for the Order, he waived his claim to the privilege, and desired that the election should proceed in the usual manner. The languages were therefore convoked according to custom, but, as soon as the electors had been nominated, the nuncio presented his second brief, which simply restricted their powers to the selection of one out of three candidates whom he named; and who were, Chabrillan, bailiff of Manosque; Verdala, the grand-commander; and Panissa, grand-prior of St. Gilles. The Papal mandate, irregular and unauthorised though it was, received no opposition, and Hugh Loubenx de Verdala was elected to the vacancy.

Although the death of La Cassière had brought to a close the dispute of which he was the subject, the king of France, well aware that the sedition had originally sprung from an ambitious motive on the part of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, fomented and encouraged by the king of Spain, directed his ambassador at the court of Rome to insist that the memory of the late Grand-Master should be vindicated from the aspersions with which it had been so wrongfully assailed. With this request the Pope complied, and nominated a commission, consisting of five cardinals and some of the principal lay officials in Rome, to investigate the accusations brought against La Cassière by Romégas and his party. Visconti, the Papal nuncio, having returned to Rome from Malta with the results of the investigation which he had there conducted, the congress gave their judgment that the accusations against the late Grand-Master were malicious and unfounded; that all the proceedings taken against him were, from their manifest injustice, to be annulled; and that he was to be considered as honourably acquitted of all the crimes alleged against him. They at the same time decreed that the members of the Order did not possess the power of deposing their chiefs; that authority being vested in the Pope alone. On the 3rd of September 1582, this sentence, having been ratified by his holiness, was published in the consistory, and thus closed the schism which had created so great a disturbance within the island of Malta.

The character of Verdala was eminently suited to the temper of the period which had witnessed his elevation. Gentle and mild in character, affable in demeanour, and an earnest lover of peace and concord,

he strove hard to soften the asperities which recent events had created, and to reconcile those differences which still retained a spirit of disunion within the convent. In this, however, he was not very successful. During the whole of his career as Grand-Master, — a period of thirteen years, — he was constantly disturbed and harassed by the cabals which were for ever being fomented against him. No amount of conciliation on his part sufficed to appease the angry feelings which had been aroused ; and every decree which his sense of justice compelled him to promulgate was cavilled at, and made the subject of seditious opposition.

In 1587 the grand-marshal Sacconai dared to rescue from the hand of justice, by open force, one of his valets, who had been arrested on a charge of theft, and the punishment which this audacious act on his part brought down upon him at the hands of his outraged chief, created such a ferment within the convent that Verdala deemed it necessary to proceed in person to Rome, and request the intervention of the Pope against his mutinous subjects. He was received with every mark of respect by Sextus V., who, in order to mark his sense of the undeserved opposition which had been excited against him, presented him with a cardinal's hat, trusting that this accession of dignity would induce the turbulent fraternity to receive their chief with greater respect. These expectations were not however realised, and the unfortunate Verdala, harassed beyond endurance by their factious conduct, once more returned to Rome, where he expired on the 4th of May 1595. It was during his reign, in the year 1592, that Gargallo, Bishop of Malta, in order to strengthen his power, and to gain additional support in the constant warfare which he maintained

against the authority of the Grand-Master, summoned the Jesuits to Malta, where they established themselves, and in their turn endeavoured to form a separate jurisdiction of their own. Malta was from this moment doomed to witness the extraordinary and most pernicious spectacle of four distinct religious powers, the Bishop, the Inquisitor, the Jesuits, and the Grand-Master ; a source of endless disputes and jealousies which went far towards aggravating the discord which the rival languages of France and Spain maintained with the utmost obstinacy. Pope Gregory XIII. had already decreed that the offices of the prior of the church, and of the bishop of Malta, were to be held exclusively by the conventual chaplains, and that no Knight of Justice was ever to be preferred to either of those dignities. As most of the chaplains of the Order were Maltese, and as members of this nation had no opportunity of attaining to the dignities monopolised by the Knights, this decree was received by them with the greatest favour, as it reserved to their own body two of the leading offices in the gift of the fraternity ; nor were the Knights themselves averse to the measure, since they perceived how far its adoption would go towards reconciling the Maltese to their rule.

Verdala has left several memorials of his sway in the fortifications which he constructed in the island of Gozo, and also by the erection of a country residence near the Città Notabile, for the Grand-Masters who were to succeed him, and which ever after bore his name.\* Ver-

\* This tower, after the acquisition of the island by the English, was for some time used as a place of confinement for French prisoners of war ; after which it was for many years unoccupied. The present governor of Malta has greatly restored it, and made many additions to the grounds by which it is surrounded, and constantly uses it as a

dala was the first Grand-Master who, in addition to that office, bore also the dignity of Turcopolier, so long attached peculiarly to the English language. The Pope, who now felt that all immediate prospect of a return of the English nation to an acknowledgment of his supremacy was at an end, and that, as a necessary consequence, the status of that language was annihilated in the Order of St. John, decreed that their ancient dignity should for the future be joined to that of Grand-Master, to avoid the possibility of its being utterly lost, and to maintain its privileges and immunities intact for re-transfer, in case the English language should ever, under more favourable auspices, become re-organised. This prospect not having been realised, the dignity remained ever after attached to that of the Grand-Master. This was also the date at which the compilation of an authorised history of the Order was entrusted to Bosio, the materials for the work having been collected by Anthony Fossan, who had died in the midst of his labour. Bosio's work, although very verbose, and far too tedious and voluminous for the general reader, is nevertheless a conscientious and trustworthy compilation, so far as the author had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the details of the subject upon which he wrote, and will always prove most valuable as a work of reference to the student of the history of the Order of St. John. The author was nephew to the Anthony Bosio whose able services as a negotiator, prior to the siege of Rhodes

summer residence, for which it is admirably adapted, the temperature being far cooler than in Valetta, and the air infinitely purer and more bracing. In its immediate vicinity is the Boschetto, a grove, which, owing to the general absence of trees in the island, is much prized by the inhabitants.

under L'Isle Adam, and during the subsequent wanderings of the fraternity, have been already detailed in a former portion of this work.

The successor of Verdala, whose name was Martin Garces, Castellan of Emposta, was a man of seventy years of age at the time of his election, and his brief rule of six years was marked by no event of importance, peace having been re-established within the convent, and its foreign relations being at the same time most satisfactory. His death, which occurred on the 6th of February 1601, closed a century in the annals of the Order which had been marked by a brilliant succession of deeds, reflecting imperishable renown upon the fraternity. From the year 1476, when Peter d'Aubusson was first called to the supreme dignity, till the last years of the century which had just expired, the Order had maintained itself with a dignity and success such as, with all its glorious achievements, it had never previously attained. Within that time it had twice successfully resisted the whole strength of the Ottoman empire when arrayed against it, and even on the third occasion, though driven from the island of Rhodes, they had gained for themselves as ample a meed of glory as though they had remained masters of the field. During this golden period of their existence they had witnessed the rule of three chiefs whose names will descend to posterity as amongst the noblest heroes which the age has produced. History cannot, during that century, point to one who has attained a more wide-spread reputation than that which has attached itself to the illustrious triumvirate of the Hospital, Peter d'Aubusson, Villiers L'Isle Adam, and John de la Valette. That age had, however, now passed away, and though during the two centuries through

which the Order yet struggled, they could boast of many a chief whose talents in the council-chamber, and whose skill in administration, were of no mean order, still the vigour of their former days was evidently lost, and the deeds of these latter times will bear no comparison with those that had gone before. The institution may be said to have passed through its youth, and the last glorious century has not inaptly been considered as the prime of its manhood. What yet remains to tell of its political history must equally be considered as its old age and gradual decline, until eventually it sunk into annihilation from the mere effects of inanition.



## CHAP. XX.

POLITICAL POSITION OF THE GRAND-MASTER OF THE ORDER. — HIS REVENUES. — CEREMONY OF ELECTION AND INSTALLATION. — DETAILS OF HIS HOUSEHOLD. — CEREMONIALS OF THE TABLE. — FESTIVALS OF THE VIRGIN MARY AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. — THE LIEUTENANT OF THE GRAND-MASTER. — THE NAVY. — THE ARMY. — THE CHANCERY. — THE CONSERVATORY. — THE REVENUE. — THE EXPENDITURE. — DETAILS OF THE EUROPEAN PROPERTY OF THE ORDER.

BEFORE entering into the political history of the Order of St. John for the two last centuries of its existence, a period marked by but few events of general importance, and which may consequently be glanced at with greater rapidity than would have been advisable in the previous ages, it will be well to pause awhile, and enter with rather more minute detail into the general organisation of the institution and its social habits and observances.

The Order of St. John, though under the sway of a Grand-Master, partook, in its political character, rather of the nature of an aristocratic republic than of a monarchy. Very little of the actual control of government was left in the hands of the Grand-Master alone; all legislative powers being vested solely in the general chapter, and all executive functions appertaining to the council, over which the Grand-Master presided, and in which he possessed the privilege of two votes, with an

additional casting vote in any case of equal division. Whilst, however, his powers were thus jealously limited by the constitution of the Order, he practically exercised more influence in the legislation of his fraternity than would at first sight appear possible. No subject of debate could be introduced into the council unless by the Grand-Master, or his lieutenant; nor was any enactment of that body valid till it had received his sanction. He was thus enabled to exclude, even from discussion, any measure to which he was opposed; and as the council consisted of grand-crosses, whose nomination lay in his gift, he could at any time, by making fresh creations, secure a majority by which to pass whatever measures he should think fit to submit for their deliberation.

The position and powers of the Grand-Mastership had gradually become much changed and enlarged from what had been contemplated in the first years of the Order's existence. Peter Gerard, who is commonly called the First Master of the Hospital, was nothing more than the superior of a monastic institution, of but little consideration, and less wealth; and he occupied much the same post as an abbot in a second-class monastery. The position of his successor, Raymond du Puy, became somewhat changed, and the dignity of his office materially extended. Much wealth had poured into the coffers of the institution, and extensive territorial possessions, in most of the countries of Europe, had materially increased the consideration in which the Order was held, and had consequently tended to raise the social and political status of its head. The change which Du Puy introduced into the Order by giving it a military character, and thus constituting it a most im-

portant auxiliary to the feeble and tottering monarchy of Jerusalem, added much to the political importance of the Master. He was no longer a monk, and the superior of a body of monks, available only for ecclesiastical and charitable duties, but he was the leader of a chosen body of warriors; a corps which comprised within its ranks all that was knightly and noble. It was impossible that the chief of such a fraternity should fail to hold, in a military kingdom, a very different position from that of the cowed monk who had preceded him; and ere Raymond du Puy brought his lengthened sway to a close, he found the Master of the Hospital—essential as he and his brotherhood were to the very existence of the kingdom—a personage of no mean importance, consulted and courted by the monarch, and treated with the most deferential respect by his subjects.

As time rolled on, and grant after grant was made to the Order, its wealth, numbers, and political consideration increased, until, in the later days of the unfortunate kingdom, the respective chiefs of the Hospital and the Temple occupied the highest position in the state, next to the monarch himself. It was in these times that the simple rank of Master was exchanged for the more ambitious and high-sounding title of Grand-Master. The change was in itself of trivial importance, but it marks the gradual advance which the office had made in social distinction.

The expulsion of the Order from Palestine, and its retirement to Cyprus, appeared at first likely to reduce, if it did not utterly annihilate, its political importance, and consequently that of its head; and for some years its fate, whether for good or evil, hung in the balance.

The bold and successful conceptions of Villaret determined the doubtful question in favour of the Order; and from this moment we find the Grand-Master occupying a far more important position than even in the most palmy days of Christian domination in the East. The acquisition of the island of Rhodes, without divesting him of any of the prestige which, as head of a powerful military fraternity, had fallen to his lot, had given him the dignity and privileges of a sovereign prince. Though his territories were but small, and his subjects but few in number, the military colony at Rhodes was far from unimportant. The powerful navy which the Knights of Rhodes rapidly established, and with which they scoured the Levant, to the great dread and hindrance of the Ottoman pirates, with which those waters had always swarmed, rendered such valuable assistance to the commerce and general interests of Europe, that the fraternity, ere long, raised themselves to a position in public estimation far more elevated than that which they had occupied in the East; and the Grand-Master, sovereign prince as he was, entered into communication with the various courts of Europe very much on a position of equality.

The transfer of the convent to Malta, and the terrors generally inspired by the acquisitions of the Algerine corsairs upon the northern shores of Africa, enhanced this consideration. The island of Malta, garrisoned by the redoubtable Knights of St. John, became an advanced post and bulwark of Christianity. Sicily and Italy were protected from the aggression of the Infidel by this insular barrier, and both the Pope and the Spanish monarch, feeling the importance of the services thus rendered, invariably tendered the right hand of friend-

ship to the ruler of that island, and treated him with a consideration which his position would scarcely have otherwise warranted.

Having thus assumed sovereign functions and dignities, we find that he also, by degrees, surrounded himself with much of the state usually accompanying the assumption of royalty. In order to enable him to do this with becoming dignity, a revenue was attached to the office, which, during the last century of its existence, amounted to upwards of 40,000*l.* a year. This revenue was derivable from the following sources:—

1st. In every grand priory one commandery was set apart for the exclusive benefit of the Grand-Master, and was called the magisterial commandery. He was entitled to nominate any Knight he might choose to select, without reference to seniority, as commander of this property, and its revenues were appropriated to the Grand-Master for the first two years, and a pension therefrom afterwards.

2nd. He was entitled to one nomination to a commandery in every grand-priory once in five years; and the first year's revenue of the newly-appointed commander, termed an annate, was paid to him.

3rd. He received the custom-house duties and certain excise and stamp duties, amounting on the whole to nearly 20,000*l.* a year.

4thly. He was paid from the public treasury the amount of 600*l.* a year for his table, and 20*l.* a year for the maintenance of his palace.

The election of a Grand-Master always took place on the third day after the demise of his predecessor. The reason for this expedition was that the Pope assumed to himself the right of nomination to this dignity

whilst it remained vacant, but he did not possess that right after the election of a successor had once been duly made by the Order. He, in like manner, possessed the privilege of vetoing the election of any Knight, provided such veto was announced to the council before the election had been made. After that ceremony had been gone through, the pontiff no longer retained the power of disturbing the nomination, although his sanction to the election was formally required.

Immediately that the decease of their late chief was notified to the council of the Order, they at once proceeded to nominate a lieutenant, who received the title of lieutenant of the mastership, in whose hands the governance of the Order was vested during the interregnum. The necessary qualifications for a voter upon the new election were,—the member must be eighteen years of age; he must have resided at the convent for three years, and have performed three caravans (of which more hereafter); and he must not be indebted to the public treasury in a larger sum than ten crowns. Lists of such members as had complied with these conditions were at once compiled and affixed to the door of St. John's church for verification and general information. A board of three Knights was also nominated by the council to receive payments, on behalf of the treasury, from those members who were in its debt and who were desirous of freeing themselves from liability in order to participate in the coming election.

On the third day the proceedings commenced by the celebration of mass in St. John's church, the whole of the electors being there assembled. After this ceremony was concluded the various languages retired into the respective chapels which had been dedicated to their use

in the church, with the exception of that to which the lieutenant of the mastership belonged, and which remained in the body of the church. Each language then nominated three members from amongst themselves by ballot, into whose hands they confided the further conduct of the election. These three members were all to be chosen from amongst the Knights of Justice, with the exception only of the bishop of Malta and prior of the church, who, although only appertaining to the class of conventual chaplains, were nevertheless permitted, on account of the dignity of their offices, to join with the first class on this occasion. Should the lieutenant of the mastership have been named as one of the three electors of his language, he resigned the lieutenancy immediately, and the council at once proceeded to the nomination of another member for that office, it being a fundamental principle in the Order of St. John, that its government should never be without a duly constituted head, much on the same principle which has produced the saying of "The king never dies." It was considered necessary for the due nomination of these electors that each should have received a clear fourth-part of the votes given by his language. Should no candidate have gained that majority the election was annulled, and a fresh ballot set on foot until the required qualification was attained.\*

\* After the annihilation of the Order in England had completely destroyed that language in the convent, the three electors who were to represent the defunct tongue were usually selected in the following manner:—Every language, in addition to the three knights who were chosen as its own proper representatives, nominated a fourth to act for the English. The twenty-one members of the other seven languages then assembled, and selected three from amongst the seven candidates thus put forward to act for England.

The twenty-four Knights thus selected then assembled together and chose from amongst themselves a president, who thereupon assumed the duties of the lieutenancy of the mastership; which office was from that moment abolished. Under his presidency, the electors then proceeded to name what was termed the triumvirate, consisting of a Knight, a chaplain, and a serving brother, who, having taken the proper oaths, were invested with the further powers of the election, the previous twenty-four members retiring from the conclave. The triumvirate thereupon nominated a fourth member to join them. Should they be unable to come to a decision upon this point within an hour, they re-assembled the twenty-four original electors of the languages, and submitted the three names that they had respectively supported to be ballotted for by them. The fourth member being thus chosen took the oaths, and in concert with his three predecessors, nominated a fifth; and after his accession a sixth was chosen, and so on, until the original triumvirate was swelled to the number of sixteen. These sixteen then elected the Grand-Master; and should there be an equal division of votes between two candidates, the Knight of the election (being the senior member of the triumvirate), had a casting vote. This weighty matter having been duly settled amongst themselves, the original triumvirate advanced towards the electors, assembled in the body of the church, and the Knight, having the chaplain on his right hand and the serving brother on his left, demanded whether they were prepared to ratify the nomination which had been made; and the assembly having declared its approval, the Knight thereupon announced the name of the new Grand-Master.



If the individual so chosen chanced to be present, he immediately placed himself beneath the magisterial canopy and took the following oath, which was administered to him by the prior of the church: "I swear solemnly before God to observe the established and ancient laws of our Order, and to act in all state affairs by the advice of the members of the council, so help me God." He then received the homage of all present, and was carried in triumphal procession to the palace. The complete council, a day or two afterwards, was convoked, and invested their new chief with the sovereignty of the islands of Malta and Gozo. An old custom had given up the house of the deceased Grand-Master to public pillage. Of later years this concession had been found most inconvenient and objectionable, and its disuse had been purchased by an issue from the treasury, to every member of the Order, of the sum of three crowns upon the accession of a new Grand-Master.

The statutes of the Order are very particular in defining the obedience to be rendered to their chief by the members of the fraternity. After having, in a flowery preamble, laid down the main proposition "That every member of the Order of Jerusalem, of whatever condition or quality he may be, is bound to obey the Master, for the love of our Saviour Jesus Christ," this doctrine is qualified by the next clause in the following manner: "Should the Superior give the brother any order which does not seem to him to be in accordance with the statutes and the customs of the fraternity, he shall be permitted to demand the judgment of the Court of Egard. It is thus that the obedience which has been vowed, is to be understood; it is not to be held binding against the statutes and customs of the Order, which

the Superior is equally bound to obey; if he breaks his oath, he cannot constrain the fraternity to continue their obedience to him." The powers of the Grand-Master in granting privileges, and in pardoning offenders, are also strictly limited by the same statute. He may grant members permission to go on a pilgrimage, to dine in private at their own houses, to leave the convent, to bestow the habit of the Order, to assemble the languages, and he can also confer on the conventual bailiffs the power of restricting the beverage of any member to water. This restriction, however, having been imposed, it is in the power of no one save the Grand-Master to revoke it, after the clock has once struck. His powers of pardoning were limited to the time which may have elapsed prior to condemnation. Afterwards, it became necessary to obtain the sanction of the council. In the case of a Knight stripped of his habit for life, no power, short of a chapter-general, could reinstate him. The Grand-Master was especially permitted to commute the sentence of deprivation when inflicted in punishment of a duel, in which the opponent had not been killed or maimed, into the loss of a year's seniority or more, according to the circumstances of the case.

Immediately on election the Grand-Master was bound to provide a leaden seal, bearing on the one side his effigy, and on the other the seal of the Order. This seal was to be used in all documents requiring his authority and attestation. Such were the principal regulations laid down in the statutes of the Order, under the head of the Grand-Master.

His private household was superintended by twelve Knights, who held various offices in its different departments, and over whom there ruled supreme an officer

called the Seneschal. This dignitary acted as the executive of the Grand-Master in all cases where his eminence did not choose to appear personally. He was commandant of the militia of the island, and in that capacity held an annual review of the forces under his orders. In time of war, two grand-crosses were appointed to aid him in this department of his duties, under the title of Lieutenants-General; but they were held strictly subordinate to him, and were bound to follow his orders implicitly. Should the Grand-Master at any time become afflicted with a serious illness, it was the duty of the Seneschal to secure his official seals, which he retained until either the recovery or the death of his chief. In the latter case, the sacrament of extreme unction was administered by him. He ranked amongst the grand-crosses of the Order in virtue of his office, even though he should not have attained to that dignity; and both his table and equipage were furnished at the expense of the Grand-Master.

Next in rank to the Seneschal, in the magisterial household, were the Maître d'Hôtel, the Cavalerizze Major, or Master of the Horse, and the Treasurer. The Maître d'Hôtel had the entire governance of the internal economy of the palace, and regulated all its ceremonies, the other officers receiving their orders from him. The Master of the Horse had, as his name implies, the entire control of the stable department, and was general in command over all the cavalry of the Order. No horse, mule, or donkey could be exported from the island without a written permit from him. He also had the duty of taking possession, on behalf of the Grand-Master, of all the equipages of Knights dying in Malta, which became the inheritance of that dignitary, and the dis-

posal of which was superintended by him. The Treasurer had charge of the financial department: he received the magisterial revenues, from whatever source derived, and defrayed all the expenses incurred in the palace.

The remaining officers of the household were of an inferior rank to the foregoing, and consisted of the Chambrier Major, or principal Chamberlain; the deputy Maître d'Hôtel; the under Cavalerizze; the Falconer; the Captain of the Guard; the three Secretaries of France, Italy, and Spain; and the deputy Maître d'Hôtel for the country palaces. The Chambrier Major had the direction and arrangement of everything appertaining to the private apartments of the palace, and was the immediate superior of the four chamberlains, and the estaffiers, or footmen, all of whom received their orders from him, the appointments to these offices being in his gift. The deputy Maître d'Hôtel had the superintendence of the table equipment, both for the Grand-Master's own private use, and also for that of such officers and dignitaries as were accorded the privilege of a table in the palace. The under Cavalerizze merely acted as a deputy to his superior, and performed such duties as the latter deemed it beneath his dignity to attend to personally. The Falconer was intrusted with the charge of the strict preservation of the game in the island. No person was allowed the privilege of shooting without a written authority from him, and this permission did not extend either to partridges or hares, the shooting of which was strictly forbidden; under pain of the galleys. He was bound to cause the closing of the shooting season to be proclaimed at Easter, as also its re-opening at the Feast of the Magdalen. He had the charge of

the Grand-Master's preserves, and he reared and trained the falcons which it was the annual custom to present to the kings of France, Spain, and Naples. At the commencement of the shooting season, he was directed by the Grand-Master to send presents of game to the Knights of the grand-cross, the members of the council, the officers of the household, and the Inquisitor. The duties of the Captain of the Guard are sufficiently indicated by his title. The three Secretaries of France, Italy, and Spain had charge of the Grand-Master's correspondence in their respective languages, all Latin documents falling under the cognisance of the secretary for Italy. The deputy Maître d'Hôtel for the country palaces performed precisely the same duties within his own district, as his colleague in the town; but ranked as the junior of all the officers of the household.

The Grand-Master had sixteen pages, who were received into the Order as Knights of Justice, at the age of twelve years; sixteen being the lowest age at which a Knight could be professed under any other circumstances. Their term of service was three years, during which time they were entirely supported by their relations, being of no expense whatever to the Grand-Master; their table even being supplied at the cost of the public treasury. Masters of every description were provided for their education, the cost of which was defrayed by their friends. Although, owing to these arrangements, the expenses of the situation were very considerable, there were always a great number of candidates for the post, owing to the advantages which they possessed in being received into the Order at such an early age. Their service as pages counted also towards the time of residence at the convent, which all members

of the Order were obliged to complete before they could become eligible for any office or emolument. Two of these pages were in daily attendance on the Grand-Master, and accompanied him whenever he left the palace. On these occasions they received all petitions presented on the road, which they handed to his eminence on his return. Whenever the Grand-Master returned to the palace after dark, six pages lined the staircase with torches to light him to his apartments. When he dined in public they waited at table, and one of them performed the duties of taster. The guests were permitted to give them sweetmeats from the table, but meat, or anything savoury was strictly forbidden. At the Christmas and Easter feasts, the whole of the confectionery that was left became their perquisite, and was handed over to them as soon as the guests had left the table. During the carnival, which was always kept with great magnificence in Malta, these youths formed one of the most attractive features in the display. They were mounted on a car splendidly decorated, and drawn by six mules richly caparisoned, preceded by two trumpeters and a kettledrum on horseback, they themselves being gorgeously attired, and presenting altogether a very gay and showy spectacle.

In addition to the principal officers of the palace, whose duties have been already described, there were many other knights in the service of the Grand-Master, who had neither the rank nor position of officers; such as the four cup-bearers, and the carvers, whose number varied according to circumstances. The lower offices of the household were filled by serving brothers, and ranked in a different class from those which were occupied by Knights. Amongst them were the butler, who

had charge of the plate and table equipments, and had perquisites from the bread, wine, and fruit served at table ; the keeper of the wardrobe, the four chamberlains, and the superintendent of country palaces, in whose charge was the palace of St. Antonio, and the tower at Boschetto, called Monte Verdala.

The ceremonial of the table, when the Grand-Master dined in public, was observed with the greatest possible nicety ; the grandest occasions being the festivals of Christmas and Easter. The private invitations to these feasts were issued two days beforehand by one of the chamberlains, but on the day itself the principal maître d'hôtel gave a public invitation during the celebration of high mass in St. John's Church. For this purpose he came into the body of the church, immediately after the offertory, bearing in his hand the wand of his office. Saluting the members of council one after the other, he in a loud voice invited them to partake of a repast which the Grand-Master proposed to give on that day in honour of the Order. At half-past ten o'clock, or thereabouts, the dignitaries who had received invitations proceeded to the palace, and were ushered into the audience chamber, where the Grand-Master was in waiting to receive them. The dinner was placed on the table at eleven o'clock, and when all was in readiness the principal maître d'hôtel announced the fact to his eminence, who thereupon rose and proceeded to the dining hall. At its entrance the cup-bearer presented him with a basin in which to wash his hands, the seneschal holding the towel. Whilst this ceremonial was proceeding the prior of the church advanced to the head of the table and gave the benediction. He then retired into the ante-chamber, where the guests were washing their hands, in readiness

to return with them as soon as the Grand-Master was seated. That dignitary, after having washed his hands and wiped them in the towel which the seneschal held for that purpose, took his seat at the head of the table upon a couch of crimson velvet beneath a dais. The guests then entered the apartment, and seated themselves according to their rank upon either side of the table, replacing their caps on their heads as they did so. The dinner then commenced, the carvers performing their office, and the pages waiting on the guests.

It was a point of etiquette upon these occasions that none should presume to drink until the Grand-Master had set the example. As soon, therefore, as the soup was removed his eminence called for wine, and rising with his cup in his hand drank to the health of those who sat at table with him. The guests thereupon also rose and removed their caps, remaining in that position, whilst he drank, and until the moment when, after finishing his draught, he once more bowed all around and reseated himself. The guests then in their turn drank to the health of their host, standing up as they did so and bowing to him. The second toast given by the Grand-Master was the officers of his household, and the guests took that opportunity of pledging each other, and at the third toast they also drank to the household. At the conclusion of the repast the Grand-Master gave the health of the Pope, and this was the signal for the close of the ceremonial.

The public levées which were held very frequently at the palace resembled so closely in their etiquette that usually adopted in the courts of Europe that it appears scarcely necessary to describe them here. The religious ceremonials in which the Grand-Master took a part, in



virtue of his office, were also very numerous, and the rules laid down for their conduct minute in the extreme, the more so owing to the bickerings and jealousies which had gradually sprung up between the principal functionaries of the Order and the ecclesiastics, who considered themselves exempted from the authority of the Grand-Master, and under the control of the Pope alone. Most of these solemnities were in honour of the ordinary anniversaries of the church, and contained nothing of interest as connected particularly with the Order. There were, however, two amongst them which were held in peculiar veneration, and a description of which will be found interesting as a type of the festivals celebrated in the island. One of these was the 8th of September, St. Mary's day, and the anniversary of the raising of the siege of Malta by the Turks; and the other was St. John the Baptist's day, who, as patron saint of the Order, was held in peculiar veneration.

The following account of the first of these has been taken from a manuscript, in which all the festivals of the church have had their forms of solemnisation fully detailed. At eight o'clock in the morning, all the grand-crosses then in Malta assembled at the palace in full costume, with their mantles "*abec*," and accompanied the Grand-Master in solemn procession to St. John's Church. The streets between the palace and the church were lined by a double file of the island militia, dressed in the ancient Maltese costume, which from its gay and fantastic colours added much to the effect of the scene. Arrived at the church, high mass was commenced by the prior of St. John's, but at the close of the epistle it was interrupted by the arrival of the grand standard of the Order. It had always been

the privilege of the language of Auvergne to have the charge of this banner, and the Knights of that language took their turn in regular order as standard bearers during those festivals in which it made its appearance. In time of war, however, no such regular order was observed, but the grand-marshal selected any member of his language whom he preferred for this high office. Upon the festival of St. Mary, the standard-bearer entered the church, arrayed in full armour, with the sopra vest of the Order, and a silver helmet on his head, surmounted by a nodding plume, forming altogether, as the manuscript remarks, "a magnificent spectacle." He was accompanied by one of the Grand-Master's pages, bearing the sword and poinard presented to La Valette by the king of Spain. The standard was accompanied by the whole language of Auvergne, headed by the grand-marshal bearing the rod of justice in his hand. The bearer, accompanied by the page, proceeded up the church until he arrived at the high altar, which he saluted three times; he then turned towards the Grand-Master, who was seated on his throne, and also saluted him thrice; after which he mounted the dais, and placed himself with his standard upon the right hand of his eminence, the page bearing the sword and the poinard, taking up his place on the left. The mass then proceeded, and when the gospel was being read, the Grand-Master took the sword and dagger from the hands of the page, and, drawing them from their scabbards, held them naked in his hand till the gospel was concluded. This ceremony was a relic of the ancient custom of the Order invariably to draw their swords during the reading of the gospel, as a token of their readiness to combat in its behalf. This

custom fell into disuse during their later years, an omen, perhaps, and a mark of the cessation of their old readiness to defend their faith. Whilst the host was being elevated, the standard-bearer knelt and embraced his banner. At the conclusion of the ceremony it was borne to the church of our Lady of Victory, after which it returned accompanied by the Grand-Master to the palace. Upon this occasion, ten young women received a dowry of forty crowns each from the public treasury.

Upon the 7th of September, the vigil of the above feast, a solemn service was performed in memory of those who had fallen during the memorable siege, and on this occasion particular respect was paid to the tomb of La Valette, as also to that of a Spaniard named Don Melchior de Robles, who had acquired great renown during the defence of the post of Castile, and who fell gloriously at that point. Although not a member of the Order, he was buried in the chapel of the language of Auvergne, and the Grand-Master, Raphael Cottoner, erected a handsome monument to his memory.

During the afternoon of this day, the ceremony of uncovering the celebrated picture of our Lady of Philermé took place. This picture has been frequently mentioned in previous pages, and maintained its ancient celebrity to the last. When L'Isle Adam left Rhodes he bore it with him, and on the settlement of the Order in Malta, it was placed in the conventual church of St. Laurence. After the construction of St. John's church by La Cassière, it was transported thither, and lodged in a magnificent chapel devoted to its reception. Until the year 1598 it remained always covered by a thick veil, which was never removed; but in that year it was first publicly unveiled on the occasion of

St. Mary's day, and continued for many years to be solemnly uncovered and exposed for the devotion of the pious on that day. Latterly, however, it remained always visible, and in order to preserve the ancient ceremonial, which was performed in the presence of the Grand-Master and his council, a thin veil was extended before the picture, which was solemnly withdrawn on the 7th of September, and replaced on the evening of the 8th.

The other ceremonial to which allusion has been made, was the exhibition of the hand of St. John the Baptist, presented to the Grand-Master, Peter d'Aubusson, by the sultan Bajazet. This precious relic, which, like the picture of our Lady of Philermé, had been brought from Rhodes to Malta by L'Isle Adam, was deposited in a chapel of St. John's church, called the Oratory. It was enclosed in a magnificent silver custode, secured by eight locks, one of the keys of which was deposited in the charge of the Grand-Master, as turcopolier, and the other seven in that of the other conventual bailiffs. On the vigil of the feast of St. John these keys were all collected by the Master of the Horse, who, in presence of the Grand-Master and council, opened the casket or custode, and the Prior of the Church bore the relic in procession to the high altar, where it remained throughout the next day, except when it was borne in grand procession through all the principal streets of the city. The hand itself was enclosed in a gold reliquary, richly studded with diamonds and pearls, the grand-prior of Barletta having also presented it with a magnificent diamond ring.

The Grand-Master had the right, should he desire it, of naming a lieutenant, to whom he might devolve

such of his functions as from age or disinclination he was unwilling to exercise in person. This nomination rested entirely with himself, the council merely receiving intimation of the fact. It was customary whenever a Grand-Master fell seriously ill for him to appoint a lieutenant, whose authority lasted only until either his recovery or death. Some Grand-Masters, however, named lieutenants in permanency, who relieved them of all the more onerous burdens of government, retaining in their own hands only such authority as was necessary for the maintenance of their dignity. As a proof of the jealousies and petty squabbles of the ecclesiastics, which distracted the fraternity in its later years, it may be mentioned that the lieutenant of the Grand-Master was allowed a seat in the church of St. John above the seneschal, and with a carpet. The bishop of Malta, who was also allowed a seat above the seneschal, had no carpet, and being unwilling to admit the precedence of the lieutenant, he refrained from attending church whenever such a functionary was appointed.

If the Grand-Master fell seriously sick, and his malady was considered dangerous, the prior of the church received notification of the fact, the Host was brought into the palace, and the dying man received the sacrament of extreme unction. During this time the great bell of St. John's church tolled forth at intervals, and, as the palace was in close proximity to the church, the expiring chief was enabled distinctly to hear his own passing bell. After his death, his body was embalmed, and then once more arrayed in his magisterial robes, and lay in state in one of the principal chambers of the palace. On the morning of the funeral, the cortége

was thus formed:—First, the governor of the city, followed by the battalion of guards, with drums beating a funeral dirge; then the clergy of the island according to their respective grades and dignities; after whom came the corpse, borne by the senior Knights, the conventual bailiffs holding the pall, and four pages with standards surrounding the coffin; then followed the officers of the household, the grand-crosses, and other dignitaries; and the procession was closed by the general members of the Order, and the public at large. The funeral service being completed, and the body lowered into its last resting place, the seneschal advanced, and breaking his wand of office, threw it upon the coffin, exclaiming in a loud voice, “Gentlemen, our Master is dead.” The master of the horse followed in the same manner, breaking the spurs of the deceased, and the treasurer likewise, who threw a purse into the grave. The ceremony then closed, and the members returned from the mournful scene to speculate on the excitement of the coming election, which would take place on the morrow, to fill the vacant dignity.

It was contrary to etiquette for a Grand-Master to pay any visits, and this rule was but seldom deviated from, and then only on most important occasions. He was, however, sufficiently gallant to pay a visit of congratulation to the three convents of St. Ursula, St. Catherine, and St. Magdalen, both at Christmas and Easter. He also called upon the Benedictine nuns of the Citta Vittoriosa, when he took formal possession of that city, upon assuming the magisterial dignity. He was bound to inspect the Hospital of the fraternity periodically, and upon this occasion he tied an apron round his waist, and personally distributed their re-

spective portions of food to each patient. He was supposed in this manner to fulfil his duties as a religious Hospitaller.

The navy of the Order was under the supreme control of the bailiff of Auvergne, as grand-marshal, and next to him under that of the bailiff of Italy, as grand-admiral. These two officials had charge of the land forces as well as the navy. Indeed, the two services were so commingled in the Order of St. John, that it would be difficult to mark any distinction between them, except that the militia of the island did not serve on board ship, nor did the battalion of the guard. The other two, named respectively the battalion of the galleys and the battalion of ships, served indiscriminately ashore or afloat, as they were required. Every Knight, during his residence in Malta, was bound to complete four caravans, or cruises of six months each; during which time of course he was attached to one of these two battalions. As the two dignitaries named above, the marshal and the admiral, held their offices as heads of their respective languages, the actual duty of governance and superintendence of the navy would often have been but ill performed had it been left entirely to them. An officer was consequently selected who, although subordinate to their authority, had the real control in all naval matters. This Knight, who was called the general of the galleys, was elected by the council by ballot, on the nomination of the Grand-Master. The council had no power to name any person for the post, that privilege being reserved for the Grand-Master alone; but they could by an actual majority of votes veto his appointment, and compel a fresh nomination. The general of the galleys was always a grand-

cross, and if he had not attained to that dignity prior to his appointment, it was at once conferred upon him.

So soon as his election was decided, and the notification made to him, he named the officer whom he wished to serve under him as commander of the capitane galley or flag-ship. This appointment was decided in a similar manner to his own, the nomination resting with himself, but its veto with the council. He also appointed a patron, or sub-officer, to his galley, who in case of a vacancy whilst at sea, would succeed to the post of captain. The general of the galleys was invested with absolute authority on board his fleet whilst it was at sea. He had uncontrolled power of life and death over the crews, and was permitted to suspend any officer from his functions, even though he might have received his appointment from the council direct. He received the title of excellency when absent from the convent, as well from members of the fraternity as from strangers, and had the privilege, when attending the council, of which as a grand-cross he was necessarily a member, of appearing in red, with sword and cane, whilst the ordinary members were clothed in the "clocchia," or black cloak of the Order, and were not permitted either a weapon or stick within the council hall.

Until the latter end of the 17th century, the fleet of the Order had consisted exclusively of galleys, and it was with a navy thus composed, that they had earned that brilliant reputation which had gained for them the supremacy of the Mediterranean, and the privilege that the flag of every other nation, upon those waters, saluted that of St. John. Even Louis XIV., a monarch who invariably was most unyielding in affairs



of ceremony and precedence, admitted the right of the Hospitaller galleys to the first salute from his vessels. Towards the close of that century, however, an addition was gradually made to the navy of other vessels, and these eventually became so augmented, as to lead to a division in the organisation and duties of the marine, as also in its superintendence.

For this purpose an officer was nominated in the same manner as the general of the galleys, whose title was commandant of vessels, and lieutenant-general of the galleys. He was subordinate to the general of the galleys, and when that officer was present, the command invariably fell into his hands as well of the vessels as of the galleys, but as these latter rarely acted with the former the commandant usually enjoyed a separate command. He was not necessarily a grand-cross, but if he should have attained that dignity he was accorded the same privilege as has been specified for the general of the galleys, of appearing at the council in red, with sword and stick. The control of these two branches of the navy was vested in two boards, named respectively the congregation of the galleys, and the congregation of the vessels. The former, which was the most important, was composed of the grand-admiral (or his lieutenant), the general of the galleys, and of four commissioners, Knights of the four languages.\* The other board, which was strictly subordinate, was presided over by a grand-cross, deputed to that duty by the council, and consisted of the commandant of vessels and four commissioners, also Knights of the four languages. The

\* The four languages thus specified meant France (including all its three divisions), Spain (including Portugal), Italy, and Germany.

number of the galleys, prior to the introduction of other vessels, varied usually from six to eight; although in time of war they were often increased. After the introduction of other vessels, in 1704, the galleys were reduced in number to four. The fleet of men-of-war at first consisted of three ships, which were afterwards increased to four, and eventually three frigates were also added. The cost of these frigates was 12,000*l.* each. Two of the men-of-war were sold in 1781 for 18,000*l.* The crews of the galleys were organised into a battalion, and were officered by Knights, who rose by seniority to the grade of captain, subject to the nomination of their congregation. The same organisation was observed in the squadron of vessels. The garrison duty of Valetta, and the other towns, was performed by these troops, in conjunction with the Grand-Master's guard, the militia being only called out for duty at certain seasons.

It has been mentioned that the supreme governance over the military and naval establishments of the Order was vested in the bailiff of Auvergne, and under him in the bailiff of Italy, but that, to relieve these dignitaries of the onerous duties of the post, a subordinate officer was appointed, who had the actual direction and control of that department. So we also find that, although the bailiff of Castile and Portugal was grand-chancellor, the most important and responsible portion of the duties attached to that dignity were performed by the vice-chancellor, an officer who became in point of fact the secretary of state to the Order. He was nominated in the first instance by the chancellor, and although that official was not restricted in his choice, but might select a Knight of any language, still being himself either a Castilian or Portuguese, he very gene-

rally selected a Knight of one of those two languages for the post. The name thus chosen was submitted to the Grand-Master for approval, and he in his turn laid it before the council, where the candidate was compelled to obtain a majority of suffrages. The vice-chancellor was not of necessity a grand-cross, but was very often invested with that dignity. Indeed, the emoluments and patronage of the office were so considerable, that it was much sought after, even by Knights the most exalted in position, and we find not a few who have, in the occupation of this office, found such great facilities for ingratiating themselves with the fraternity, as to have succeeded, through its means, in eventually attaining the dignity of Grand-Master.

We also find the bailiff of Aragon, as grand-conservator, relieved of the most arduous of his duties by the conventual conservator. The seven languages took it in turn to supply a candidate for this office, which lasted for three years; six months before the expiration of each term the bailiff of the language whose turn it was to fill the next vacancy, submitted to the Grand-Master a list of such members of his language as were eligible for the post. Grand-crosses were not admitted into this list, although in the case of a conservator attaining to the dignity of a grand-cross during his term of office, he nevertheless retained his position till the expiration of his three years. The Grand-Master selected from this list the candidate he might desire to propose to the council, and the votes of that body were necessary to render the nomination valid. The duties of the conservator consisted in taking charge of all gold, silver, jewellery and plate, left by a Knight at his decease, whether at the convent, or in the European comman-

deries. He took charge of the treasury chest, and issued payments therefrom ; in fact, all the pecuniary transactions of the Order passed through his hands. Although he had no seat in the ordinary council, unless he was a grand-cross, he was admitted into the complete council in his capacity of conservator.

The revenues of the fraternity were controlled by a committee, called the chamber of the treasury, and which consisted of the grand-commander, the bailiff of Provence, as president ; three procurators, one of whom was named by the Grand-Master, and the other two by the council ; the conventual conservator, two auditors, and two secretaries. When the grand-commander was not present in person, the deliberations were presided over by his lieutenant, who, in his absence, enjoyed the same authority as himself. No discussion could be carried on without the presence either of the commander or his lieutenant, and in case they wished to conclude the sitting, they were enabled to do so by the simple act of leaving the table.

The revenues of the Order which fell under the administration of the chamber of the treasury, consisted of the following items, which formed the ordinary income of the fraternity.

1st item : *Responsions*.—The nature of these payments has been already fully explained ; its proportion to the rental of each commandery was decided by a chapter-general, and might, in the event of war, or other public pressure, be raised in amount. It usually was fixed at one-third of the net income of the commandery. The annual receipt from this source during the last ten years of the Order's existence was 47,520*l*.\*

\* These amounts have all been taken from the report published by

2nd item: *Mortuary and Vacancy*.—Whenever a commander died, the entire of the revenue of his commandery, from the date of his decease until the 1st of May following, was paid into the public treasury, and was called the mortuary. The revenue of the year following was also paid to the treasury, and was called the vacancy. Whenever the finances of the Order required extraordinary assistance, a second year's vacancy was appropriated to its aid, and eventually this additional tax became continuous. Its annual average was 21,470*l*.

3rd item: *Passages*.—This was a sum of money paid to the Order by members on being admitted into its ranks. It was of two kinds; the majority and the minority. The former, which was paid by Knights at the age of sixteen, or pages at the age of twelve, was 100*l*.; when paid by a chaplain, it was 80*l*.; and when paid by a servant of arms, it was 92*l*.; the donats or brothers of stage paid 26*l*. 8*s*. The minority passage was an increased rate, paid for the privilege of entering the Order at an earlier age than was permitted under the restrictions of the majority passage. It was originally commenced in the middle of the 17th century, as an expedient to raise an extra fund for building additional accommodation for the Order in Malta, but it was never appropriated to the intended purpose, and latterly became a recognised and continuous source of revenue. Its amount for the first class was 388*l*., and for both the second and third classes it was 230*l*. The annual average of this source of

the Commander Ransijat, which shows the receipts of the treasury for the ten years ending in 1792.

revenue, majority and minority both included, was 20,334*l*.

4th item: *Spoils*.—This consisted of the produce of all the effects of a deceased Knight, which fell to the public treasury, excepting only one-fifth part, which, with the sanction of the Grand-Master, he was permitted to dispose of by way of testament. The annual average of this item was 24,755*l*.

The next few items are too insignificant to require much detail. The *priory annates* amounted to 477*l*., and consisted of a year's revenue paid by a commander when nominated by the grand-prior, a privilege that dignitary was permitted to exercise once in five years. The *priory presents* amounted only to 50*l*., and consisted of a commutation of the gift which by the statutes a prior was bound to present to the church of St. John at Malta, once at least during his tenure of office. This present had been commuted to 40*l*. for priories of the first class, and 32*l*. for those of the second class. The annual average of these presents was 50*l*. The gifts paid into the treasury as presents by the Knights averaged 146*l*. annually. The timber upon every commandery belonged of right to the treasury, and at one time realised a very considerable amount. Its gradual diminution had reduced the proceeds to a comparatively small sum by the close of the eighteenth century, when its annual average was only 4798*l*.

The next item will require some explanation. Its title is *renounced pensions*, and it arose in the following manner. Many of the commanderies were saddled with pensions, which were subject to the vacancy and mortuary, like the remainder of the revenue of the commandery. In order to avoid the inconvenience of the loss

of two years' pension upon the occasion of every vacancy, many of the pensioners agreed to pay ten per cent. of their pension annually to the treasury, in consideration of which they were freed from the mortuary and vacancy, and were also guaranteed the punctual payment of the remainder of their annuity. The annual receipts from this source amounted to 161*l*. Rents of various kinds realised 2995*l*., in addition to which there were some storehouses and gardens, the property of the treasury, which produced 433*l*.

Various foundations had at different times been established by members of the Order for the maintenance of the hospital, fortifications, galleys, &c., and as in process of time the funds invested for this purpose became no longer sufficient to meet the end proposed, the treasury undertook to make up the deficiency, and the amount of the foundations was paid into its coffers, amounting to 611*l*. There were also four foundations, the administration of which had originally been vested in the treasury; they amounted annually to 3430*l*. The lazaretto duties were 131*l*. The annual sale of permission to eat eggs and butter during Lent realised 1055*l*. The ransom of Turkish slaves produced 1662*l*. The interest of money advanced by the treasury to commanders, on the guarantee of their language, amounted to 638*l*. Secret restitution money averaged 65*l*., and sundry other small sums completed the list; making the total average annual income from ordinary sources, 131,530*l*. Of this amount the various languages and the convent contributed in the following proportion:—Provence, 20,500*l*.; Auvergne, 7500*l*.; France, 32,000*l*.; Aragon, 12,000*l*.; Castile, 16,000*l*.; Portugal, 9500*l*.; Italy, 24,500*l*.; Germany, 4400*l*.;

Anglo-Bavaria, 300l.; Poland, 700l. and the convent, 4000l.\*

In addition to the above sources of revenue, there were certain foundations established at different periods for purposes which, but for the existence of those foundations, must have been provided for by the treasury. They consisted of the following sums: 1050l. per annum given by Manoel for the maintenance of Fort Manoel; 1080l. given by Cottoner for the maintenance of Fort Ricasoli; 150l. given by a lady from Sienna for the maintenance of a hospital for women; and 2665l. given by three members of the Order towards the support of St. John's church.

Such being the average receipts of the treasury, it may be well to give a brief glance at their expenditure. The first item on this list was that for ambassadors, including not only their own salaries, but also those of their secretaries, and all other expenses connected with the establishment. This item amounted to 3800l. The second was for receivers, including their salaries and those of their *employés*, together with all travelling and law expenses, and amounted to 6600l. The third item included all expenses connected with the three conventual churches of St. John, St. Anthony, and the Conception, and figured for the sum of 1160l. The annual charge for alms was upwards of 1700l. The expense of the Grand Hospital was nearly 8000l.; the sick costing the treasury about one shilling each per diem. The hospital for women cost upwards of 1800l. A certain number of foundlings were supported at a cost of 600l.

\* It must be borne in mind that, as has already been stated, these figures only represent the annual income, on an average of the last ten years of the existence of the Order in Malta.



The navy cost the Order 47,500*l.*, which was thus divided: the galleys cost 22,500*l.*; the men-of-war, 23,600*l.*; and sundry minor charges, 1400*l.* The land armaments cost 17,000*l.*, of which the Maltese regiment cost 12,600*l.*; the artillery, 1000*l.*; the staff in Valetta, 280*l.*; the ordnance, 1500*l.*; the fortifications, 1300*l.*; sundry other minor charges making up the balance. The tables kept by the Order for the resident members cost 5400*l.*, including 600*l.* allowed to the Grand-Master for his own table. The details of this sum will be more fully explained, when the organisation and administration of the auberges appertaining to the several languages is treated of. The expenses of the treasury office, in which were included those of the conservator, amounted to nearly 900*l.*, and those of the chancery to about 150*l.* The maintenance and clothing of the slaves who were employed on shore cost nearly 3000*l.*, exclusive of those who, having embraced Christianity, were kept separate, and were supported at an expense averaging nearly 1000*l.* About 500*l.* a year was expended in the purchase of slaves from members of the Order. The maintenance of the aqueduct, constructed originally by the Grand-Master De Vignacourt, together with that of the public cisterns and fountains, caused a charge of 300*l.* The postage of letters for those persons who were exempted from such payments cost the treasury 2000*l.* The persons thus privileged were the Grand-Master, his general-receiver, and his three secretaries, the inquisitor, the members of the ordinary chamber, six in number, the commissioner of the post-office, and all the ambassadors of the Order resident in foreign courts. The pension list chargeable to the treasury varied greatly at different periods. At the close of the eighteenth century

it amounted to 1100*l*. The interest of loans contracted by the fraternity swallowed up 5000*l*. This interest was at different rates, commencing at 2 per cent., and rising to 2½, 2½, 2¾, up to 3 per cent., which was the largest amount paid for any loan. The establishment for stores was chargeable to the amount of 18,000*l*.; and there were also sundry extraordinary expenses which varied from time to time, but which usually swelled the general expenditure to between the sums of 120,000*l*. and 130,000*l*., which nearly balanced the income.

The reader who is accustomed to peruse the national balance sheets of the great countries of Europe may be prompted to smile at the figures of this sum total; and when it is remembered that out of this amount the army, navy, ordnance, and civil establishment of the fraternity were all defrayed, it appears marvellous that they should have been maintained with so much efficiency. But it must be borne in mind that this public revenue comprised but a very small portion of the total property and gross income of the Order. The whole European property in commanderies and priories only contributed 40,000*l*. to the Malta exchequer. It, however, was available for the support of a very large majority of the fraternity, and of their dependents, who would otherwise have become chargeable to the treasury. The Grand-Master's income of 40,000*l*. also constituted a separate item. We cannot, therefore, estimate the gross annual income of the fraternity from all sources, during the 18th century, at less than half a million sterling. The largest proportion of this revenue was drawn from France, which nation contributed three of the eight languages into which they were divided.

The European property, which made so small a return

in direct payments into the treasury, was divided in the following manner: The language of Provence consisted of the two grand-priories of St. Gilles and Toulouse, and the bailiwick of Manosque. The grand-priory of St. Gilles was divided into fifty-three commanderies, whilst that of Toulouse contained thirty; and the revenue paid by the language into its local treasury was something less than 50,000*l.* a year.

The language of Auvergne consisted of the grand-priory of Auvergne, and the bailiwick of Lyons; the priory being divided into fifty-two commanderies, and its revenues amounting to 17,000*l.*

The language of France comprised the three grand-priories of France, Aquitaine, and Champagne; the first of which contained fifty-eight commanderies, the second thirty-one, and the last twenty-four; the revenue of the language being 75,000*l.*

The language of Italy comprised seven grand-priories, and five bailiwicks. The priories were Lombardy, divided into thirty-six commanderies, Rome into nineteen, Venice into twenty-eight, Pisa into sixteen, Capua into twenty, Barletta into twelve, and Messina into eleven. The bailiwicks were St. Euphemia, St. Stephen, Holy Trinity of Venousa, St. John of Naples, and St. Sebastian. The revenue of the language was 56,000*l.*

The Spanish language of Aragon comprised the three grand-priories of Aragon commonly called the castellany of Emposta, Catalonia, and Navarre. The castellany was divided into thirty commanderies; Catalonia into twenty-nine, and Navarre into eighteen. There were also in this language the bailiwicks of Majorca and Caspa, as also the alternate occupation of the bailiwick of Negropont, with the language of Castile.

The language of England was, during the 18th century, combined with that of Bavaria, under the title of Anglo-Bavaria, the former having become virtually extinct, and the latter having sprung into existence only at a late date. Although bearing the name of Anglo-Bavarian, and enjoying all the privileges of the old and venerable language of England, it was practically exclusively Bavarian. Its two grand-priories of Ebersberg and Poland were divided into twenty-nine and thirty-two commanderies respectively. Its revenues had not become fully developed when the Order was suppressed, and had never reached 1000*l.* a-year. The bailiwick of Neuberg was attached to this language.

The three German grand-priories of Germany, Bohemia, and Dacia, contained between them fifty-six commanderies, and the revenues which they produced amounted to about 10,000*l.* a year.

The language of Castile and Portugal was divided into the three grand-priories of Castile, Leon, and Portugal, which contained between them seventy-five commanderies, with a revenue of 38,000*l.*

Thus it will be perceived that the European property of the Order of St. John was divided into nearly seven hundred distinct estates, each of which afforded a liberal income to its own immediate commander, besides contributing to the treasury of its grand-priory, and through that channel to the main treasury at Malta. Each commandery, in addition to its own chief, gave a maintenance to two or more brothers of the Order, who were associated with him in the management, and who lived entirely at the expense of the commandery.

In a preceding chapter full details have been given

of the various commanderies which the Order possessed in England, prior to the Reformation. It may be well, before closing this branch of the subject, to point out that the original language of England was divided into the two grand-priories of England and Ireland; the former containing thirty-seven commanderies, the details of which have been enumerated, and the latter twenty-one. The bailiwick of the Eagle was also attached to this language. The twenty-one Irish commanderies were as follows:—In the county of Dublin, Kilmainham and Clontarf. In the county of Kildare, Kilbegs, Kilheel, and Tully. In the county of Wexford, Kilclogan, Bally-Hewk, and Wexford. This latter commandery had been the seat of the grand-priory of the Hospitallers until the suppression of the Templars threw that of Kilmainham into their hands, when they removed the local seat of government to that spot. In the county of Carlow, the commandery of Killergy; in that of Meath, Kilmainham-Beg, and Kilmainham-Wood. In that of Louth, Kilsaran; in that of Down, Ardes. In Waterford, the four commanderies of Kilbarry, Killara, Crook, and Nincrioch. In Cork, Morne or Mora; in Tipperary, Clonmel; in Galway, Kinalkin; and in Sligo, Teaque Temple. The greater proportion of this property had been originally in the hands of the Templars, and was transferred to the Hospital on the suppression of that Order.

## CHAP. XXI.

THE CAREER OF A KNIGHT AS A NOVICE, PROFESSED KNIGHT, COMMANDER, AND BAILIFF. — THE AUBERGES. — THE CHAPLAINS. — THE PRIOR OF THE CHURCH. — THE HOSPITAL. — THE GENERAL CHAPTER. — THE COUNCILS OF THE ORDER. — THE PUNISHMENTS OF THE FRATERNITY. — LIST OF PROHIBITIONS. — CRIMINAL RECORDS. — LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MALTESE. — THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN. — SLAVERY.

FROM the period when the Order of St. John was first divided into languages, and the various dignities in the gift of the fraternity apportioned to those languages, no confusion or intermixture was ever permitted between them. A postulant for admission into the Order preferred his request either to the head of the language of which he was a native at the convent, or at one of the grand-priories in his own country. If he desired admission into the class of Knights of justice, the necessary proofs of nobility were required from him, which proofs varied in the different languages, and have been already described. When it had been satisfactorily ascertained that he was of sufficiently gentle birth to entitle him to admission as a Knight, he was, if he had attained a sufficient age, admitted as a novice, and after the expiration of a twelvemonth spent in probation, he was duly received into the body of the Order as a professed Knight.

The age at which a postulant was received as a novice

was sixteen, which enabled him to become professed at seventeen, but he was not required to commence his residence in Malta until he had attained the age of twenty, and in many cases received a dispensation postponing that residence still further. The pages of the Grand-Master were entitled to the privilege of admission into the Order at the age of twelve years, and their service in that capacity counted towards the term of residence every Knight was bound to complete at the convent to entitle him to nomination to a commandery. In later years Knights were also received "in minority," even in their cradles; a larger amount of entrance money, called "passage," being in such cases paid, but this was an innovation on the established rule, introduced merely for the purpose of raising additional funds for the assistance of the public treasury.

A Knight having thus become professed, so soon as he had reached the age of twenty years, was bound to proceed to Malta and to reside there for a certain term. During this time he performed such military and naval duties as were required of him, and which were termed caravans, a certain number being requisite before he could attain promotion.\* During this period he was attached to the inn of his language, where he lived at the table found by the conventual bailiff, as will be more fully detailed presently. After he had completed

\* Each complete year of military or naval service constituted a caravan, and the number of these required for qualification as a commander were, until a late period, fixed at three; latterly, however, four were exacted. The residence in the convent for the same qualification was fixed at five years. Before a Knight could be elected a bailiff, either conventual or capitular, he must have performed fifteen years of service in the Order, ten of which must have been in residence at the convent.

his necessary term of service he was eligible for promotion to a commandery, and in due course of seniority received that appointment, which removed him once more from Malta to his native country, where he resided upon the estate intrusted to his charge, and was under the direct supervision of the grand-prior within whose district his commandery was located. In many cases, however, Knights received appointments in Malta, either in the Grand-Master's household or in some official capacity which necessitated a continued residence in the island, and which might be considered as an equivalent. After having held a commandery for five years he was eligible for translation to one of greater value, provided he was considered to have administered that originally intrusted to his charge with due prudence and care. He thus continued rising in dignity and emoluments until he had attained such seniority as rendered him eligible for the post of conventual bailiff, upon nomination to which he resigned the commandery he was holding, and at once returned to Malta to assume the duties of his new station.

The conventual bailiffs, originally eight in number, but since the secession of the English language and the consequent attachment of the office of turcopolier to that of the Grand-Master, reduced to seven, ranked next in the precedence of the Order to the supreme dignity. Their duties were thus defined in the statutes, "In order that the Grand-Master may be enabled to watch over the governance of our Order with greater prudence and moderation, our predecessors have appointed as assistants in his senate men of worth and good repute, who shall each be invested with a separate office. For this purpose have been established



the several councillors of our Order, such as the grand-commander, the marshal, the hospitaller, the admiral, the grand-conservator, the turcopolier, the grand-bailiff, and the grand-chancellor, who are all called conventual bailiffs, because each is the president of his language."

These dignitaries resided each in the palace or inn appropriated to his language, which were large and handsome edifices erected for that purpose out of the public funds.\* The treasury issued an allowance of sixty gold crowns a month to every bailiff for the expenses of his office, and it also granted daily a fixed allowance in kind to support the tables which he was obliged to maintain in his inn for the use of the members of his language. Every member resident in Malta, whether a Knight, chaplain, or serving brother, was entitled to a cover at one of the tables of his inn, saving only when he was a commander holding a benefice of the annual value of 200*l.* a year if a Knight, or of 100*l.* a year if either a chaplain or serving brother, in which case he was excluded from joining the table of his inn, being considered as sufficiently provided for otherwise.

The allowance issued by the treasury was by no means sufficient to cover the expense of these tables; a great

\* These inns are still in existence, and are amongst the most striking adornments of the city of Valetta. The Auberge of Provence is now appropriated to the Union Club; the Auberge of Auvergne is the Court of Justice; the Auberge of France is used as a commissariat establishment; the Auberge of Castile and Portugal is an officers' barrack; the Auberge for Spain and Aragon is the residence of the Bishop of Gibraltar; the Auberge of Italy is the civil arsenal; and the Auberge for England, lately united to Bavaria, is also an officers' quarter. The Auberge of Germany was pulled down some years since, to make way for the Protestant church erected for the use of the English residents of Malta by the late Queen Dowager of England.

proportion fell, consequently, upon the private resources of the bailiffs. Burdensome as this charge undoubtedly was, the post of conventual bailiff was nevertheless eagerly sought after. Independent of the very high position which it conferred upon its holder, second only in rank and influence to the Grand-Master himself, it was invariably, and as a matter of right, the stepping-stone to the most lucrative dignities within the gift of the language. If either of its grand-priories or bailiwicks fell vacant, the conventual bailiff had the option of assuming the dignity; or if he preferred waiting for one of still greater value, he might retain his post, and allow the vacant nomination to pass to those junior to himself, until one occurred of sufficient value to meet his expectations. Not unfrequently the selection of a Grand-Master was made from amongst the conventual bailiffs, who, from being present in the convent at the time of the election, had many advantages in the way of canvassing, and in making themselves popular and acceptable to the electors.

The allowance which the bailiff was bound to provide for each person attending the table of his inn was one rotolo\* of fresh meat, either beef, mutton, or kid, or two thirds of that amount of salt meat; and on fast days, in lieu of the above, a due portion of fish, or four fresh eggs, together with an allowance of bread and wine, viz. six loaves of the former and a quartuccio† of the latter. Members were permitted to draw this allowance, and to dine away from the inn three times a week, but on those occasions they had no breakfast allowed them. When, however, they dined in the inn they were entitled to

\* A rotolo weighs one pound twelve ounces avoirdupois.

† The quartuccio was about three English pints.

both breakfast and supper. The above constituted what the bailiff was compelled to provide for his guests, but it rarely happened that he restricted himself within those limits. The prodigality of the tables actually maintained depended greatly on the private means and disposition of the bailiff. If he were generously disposed, a wealthy man, and anxious to gain popularity, the surest way to attain this end was by a liberal entertainment of those who were dependent on him for their daily sustenance. A spirit of rivalry was thus engendered between the various languages, and he who could obtain the reputation of maintaining his inn on the most liberal scale generally found his account in the popularity which he thus gained.

Amongst the regulations laid down in the statutes for the maintenance of order at the inns was one which forbade the introduction of dogs, under the plea that they consumed too much food; and another strictly forbidding the members, under severe penalties, from striking the servants.

The title of "pilier" was given to the conventual bailiffs, and it was by this name that they were designated in all official records. They were bound to reside permanently at the convent, and were compelled to make their appearance there within a period of two years from the date of their election to the dignity; failing in which, the Grand-Master and council proceeded to a fresh election, and annulled that by which they had received their nomination. Three of the seven were entitled to leave of absence, which could be granted by the Grand-Master and council, upon good cause being shown, but four were bound under all circumstances to be present; and those who had obtained leave nominated lieutenants

to act for them during their absence, and to supply their places at the council. The principle of seniority was recognised as that by which all appointments in the fraternity were to be governed, and the nomination to the office of conventual bailiff followed the general rule; but it was by no means invariable, and Knights were constantly selected for the post over the heads of their seniors, either owing to their greater qualifications or the superior interest which they possessed.

The nominations to all commanderies were made by the Grand-Master in council, with the following exceptions. In every priory the Grand-Master had one commandery, the revenue of which belonged to himself, and the nomination to this rested exclusively in himself. He also had the privilege of nominating to one vacancy in every priory once in each five years, and this privilege was also held by the grand-priors. The appointment of the patronage was fixed in the following manner. The first commandery which fell vacant during the quinquennial term was nominated to by the Grand-Master, the second by the council, the third by the grand-prior, and all succeeding vacancies by the council, till the termination of the period. Should there not be three vacancies during the time specified the grand-prior lost his privilege; but this rarely occurred, as translations and promotions in so large a number of commanderies were of very frequent occurrence. A commander appointed to a bailiwick or priory resigned his commandery to take possession of his new dignity, unless he was the holder of a magisterial commandery, which he was permitted to retain in connexion with his new appointment.

The chaplains of the Order of St. John were received without any of those restrictions which were placed on

the admission of the first class or Knights of Justice. It was sufficient that they were of respectable origin, and that their parents had been duly united in lawful wedlock. They were admitted at the age of sixteen years as clerks, and were ordained as subdeacons two years afterwards. They could not attain to the rank of deacon till they had reached the age of two and twenty, nor to that of chaplain earlier than twenty-five. They were then available for all the religious offices of the convent; they performed divine service in the church of St. John; were attached either to the household of the Grand-Master, the inns of their respective languages, or the hospital; or they performed their caravans on board the galleys, and accompanied them during their cruises. It was from this class that the prior of the church and the bishop of Malta were selected; the former by the Grand-Master and council, and the latter by the Pope. With regard to the election of the prior of the church, the statutes have thus expressed themselves:—"The more closely a dignity approaches to spiritual matters, the more careful and considerate ought to be the selection of its holder. Bearing that in mind, we decree that whenever the priory of our church becomes vacant, the Grand-Master and the ordinary council shall assemble, and proceed to a new election with calm and serious deliberation. Having, for this purpose, carefully examined into the manners, life, doctrine, and qualifications of our chaplains in every language, they shall elect and nominate as prior a chaplain of upright life and of approved conduct, learned, and well-versed in the practice of things divine. It is essential that, after this election, he should reside perpetually at the convent, and if, upon any urgent necessity, he should ever be sent therefrom,

the Grand-Master and ordinary council shall fix a definite period for his return."

In addition to the conventual chaplains thus created, the Order received into the second division of their fraternity another class, termed priests of obedience, who were not called upon to reside in Malta, but performed the duties of their office in the various Continental priories and commanderies. These priests received the emoluments of their various benefices like the other clergy, and where such revenues were too small for their due and honourable maintenance, they drew a further provision from the local funds of the Order. They were, however, ineligible for either of the great offices which were appropriated to the conventual chaplains, nor were they ever appointed to hold commanderies, as the latter were. The ranks of the conventual chaplains were, after the residence of the Order had been established at Malta, mainly recruited from amongst the Maltese, and the post of bishop and prior, both of which ranked with the conventual bailiffs, were constantly held by natives of that island.

As the Order of St. John had originally owed its establishment to the charitable efforts of the Amalfi merchants for the practice of hospitality, and as to the exercise of that virtue they owed both their existence and their name, it was reasonable to anticipate that it should hold a high place amongst the duties inculcated by their statutes. Accordingly we thus find it spoken of under the head of hospitality. "It is very certain that, by common consent of all Christian people, hospitality holds the first place amongst the works of piety and humanity, as that which embraces all the others. If, therefore, it be thus observed and revered by all well-

disposed persons with such zealous care, how much the rather ought those to practise it who honour themselves with the title of Knights Hospitallers, and who wish to be regarded as such. Since the thing of all others which we ought to desire should be to carry into full effect that of which we bear the name."

In accordance with the views thus laid down, the earlier governors of the institution spared no pains and no expense to render their fraternity entitled to the name they had assumed. Even in the midst of the bloody wars in which the Order found itself constantly involved, and at times when their reverses had almost threatened their utter annihilation, the doors of their convent were ever open for the reception of the worn and weary wanderer. The pilgrim, whether sick or well, found there a ready welcome, and, should his bodily energies have sunk under the hardships and toil to which he had been exposed, he received within the walls of this charitable institution every care and attention that Christian benevolence could suggest. The Knight returned from his brilliant career on the battlefield, and oblivious of the renown which he and his brotherhood had there gained for themselves, doffed his harness, laid aside his trusty falchion, and, assuming the black mantle of his Order, proceeded to assist in those peaceful acts of charity which were ever being performed within his convent walls.

So long as the Order remained in Palestine did this state of things continue. During that period they had amassed, from the donations and bequests of the pious, an enormous and ever-increasing wealth. This wealth had brought in its train many evils and much degeneracy. It had made them many bitter enemies, and

had rendered lukewarm many of their most enthusiastic friends ; still we never hear, amongst the many crimes laid to their charge, even by the most rancorous of their foes, that of negligence in this the fundamental obligation of their profession. But, after their expulsion from Palestine, a rapid change speedily took place in this particular. Established in the island of Rhodes, the great demand which had once existed for their charity and hospitality was annihilated. There were no longer sick and weary pilgrims to cheer upon their way ; the requirements of their hospital in the island-home they had adopted soon became only those which the slender population in whose midst they were located demanded ; and thus we find that noble establishment, which in previous ages had called forth the enthusiastic admiration of all Christians in the Holy Land, dwarfed down to a very limited extent. Members of the fraternity, and indeed strangers of every description, could still, when sick, procure every needful assistance from the hospital of the Order, and care was taken to render that hospital as perfect and convenient as possible ; but it was at best but a pigmy affair after the comprehensive and noble establishment which they had originally reared within the precincts of the sacred city.

Their translation to Malta produced no change in this respect. Mindful of their old traditions, one of their earliest measures, when establishing their convent upon the rocky inlets of their new home, was to found a hospital, and when they removed that convent to the new city, built by their great chief, this institution naturally followed in the general move. The hospital of Valetta was, and still is, a capacious building, and bears evidence of having been extensively used for the



purposes to which it was devoted ; still it was but a Hospital, and as such differed but little from other modern institutions of the same class. Great care, however, appears to have been displayed in framing the statutes relating to its maintenance. Supreme in its governance was the conventual bailiff of the language of France, the grand-hospitaller, who nominated from amongst the Knights of his own language an overseer of the infirmary, under whose immediate charge the whole institution was placed. The religious functions of the establishment were performed by a prior and sub-prior, who were also appointed by the hospitaller, subject however to the approval of the Grand-Master and council. As a committee of inspection over these officials the Grand-Master and council appointed two "prud'hommes," or controllers of the infirmary, who were held responsible for its proper management, and who were bound, by frequent inspections, to satisfy themselves that the overseer, the prior, and those under them, performed their duties.

Physicians were retained in pay of the Order for duty in the hospital, and the statutes thus express themselves respecting them: "Physicians shall be employed for the cure of the sick, experienced and talented, who shall be bound to take a vow, before the eight brethren of the languages, that they will watch over the sick with great care, and according to the prescribed rules of medical science, and that they will visit them twice a day, that they will order such things as are necessary for their cure, and will carry them out without delay in spite of every obstacle. They shall receive their salaries from the funds of the common treasury, and are strictly forbidden to receive

any remuneration for their services from the sick." Two surgeons were also appointed to act with the physicians in such matters as fell within their province. The overseer was bound to visit the patients twice every night, at the hour of vespers and at break of day. The prud'hommes were responsible that this duty was performed. All the utensils in the hospital, even those devoted to the humblest purposes, were of silver. This was less as a matter of ostentation than cleanliness, since, although made of that precious metal, they were perfectly plain and devoid of all ornament. With regard to diet, it was laid down as follows: "Inasmuch as the more pure and good as is the food, the more it assists in the nourishment of the human body, we decree that for this purpose the overseer shall always keep a supply of the best and most excellent food, such as chicken, fowls, &c., together with good bread and pure wine."

The burial of such as died within the hospital was decently and carefully ordered. Four men, dressed in mourning robes, carried the corpse to the grave, and with a laudable economy it was especially provided that these robes, which were kept for the purpose, "should be preserved for another time." No mourning was permitted to be worn at the funeral of any member of the Order, either by the fraternity themselves, or even by strangers attending the ceremony. The corpse was buried in the mantle of his Order, as it was considered proper that in his grave he should wear the same distinctive costume with which he had been invested during his life.

The Hospital of St. John had, from its earliest foundation, been esteemed a sanctuary, within which fugitives from justice might escape the fangs of the law. The exceptions to this right of sanctuary became,

however, by successive decrees so numerous, that it is difficult to conceive what crimes remained for which it continued to afford a shelter. These exceptions were as follows:—"No assassins shall find protection there, nor those who pillage and ravage the country by night, nor incendiaries, nor sodomites, nor thieves, nor conspirators, nor those who have been found guilty of having caused the death of any one, either by secret treachery or in cold blood, or by poison, or by treason. No servant of any of the brethren shall find sanctuary there, nor those who have offered any violence, either to them or to our judges and other ministers of justice, nor debtors, nor such malicious persons as may have committed crimes within the infirmary, under an idea that it was a sanctuary, nor, lastly, lawyers or witnesses convicted of perjury, nor murderers who infest the roads to rob and kill the passers by."

Reduced though the Hospital of St. John undoubtedly was during the later years of the Order's existence, it was, nevertheless, freely open to all who sought its hospitable shelter, and the kindly ministrations of its officials. Patients flocked to Malta from Sicily, Italy, and other maritime countries, whose shores were washed by the Mediterranean, and none who sought admittance were ever turned from their portals. As many as a thousand patients were at times assembled within the infirmary at Malta, and the charges for so large an establishment formed a very considerable item in the annual expenditure of the treasury.

It has already been mentioned that the legislative powers of the Order were exclusively vested in the general chapter, whilst its executive functions were intrusted to the Grand-Master and council. It will be well now to enter into some detail as to the composition

both of the chapter and the councils. The general chapter, which was the original assembly of the fraternity, was, during the earlier years of its existence, held regularly every five years, and in cases of emergency, was often convened even between those periods. Gradually, however, a longer time was allowed to elapse between each chapter, until they came to be assembled only once in ten years; and eventually they were almost entirely discontinued, only one having been convened during the eighteenth century.

Many reasons may be alleged for the abandonment of this ancient council. The immense expense which invariably attended its convocation, the extreme inconvenience and detriment to the interests of the community in calling away so many of its provincial chiefs from the seats of their respective governments, the turbulence which so often characterised their meetings, and the difficulty which the Grand-Masters invariably experienced in carrying out their views in an assembly where their interests had but a very slender predominance, were all so many causes to check their frequent convocation. In the absence of a chapter, the Grand-Master carried on the government with the aid and intervention of a council only, and in these latter assemblies he was enabled to obtain a far greater influence, and a more complete subservience, than he could ever expect from the chapter.

The summoning of a chapter-general lay entirely with the Grand-Master or the Pope: we have already adduced reasons to show why the former should, as far as possible, neglect to assemble them; and the same views in a great measure actuated the pontiff in adopting a similar line of conduct, since, in the absence of a chapter-general, all legislative powers were vested in

himself, powers which the court of Rome were never backward in assuming to their full extent.

The following is a correct list of the dignitaries who held a seat at the chapter-general, in the order of their rank. It will be seen that the Turcopolier was included as eighth on this list, though since the reformation this dignity had been lost to the Order. The Grand-Master, by virtue of his office, presided at the chapter, either in person, or by his lieutenant; after him came —

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|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. The Bishop of Malta.            | 28. The Grand-Prior of Germany.        |
| 2. The Prior of the Church.        | 29. The Grand-Prior of Ireland.        |
| 3. The Bailiff of Provence.        | 30. The Grand-Prior of Bohemia.        |
| 4. The Bailiff of Auvergne.        | 31. The Grand-Prior of Hungary.        |
| 5. The Bailiff of France.          | 32. The Bailiff of St. Euphemia.       |
| 6. The Bailiff of Italy.           | 33. The Grand-Prior of Catalonia.      |
| 7. The Bailiff of Aragon.          | 34. The Bailiff of Negropont.          |
| 8. The Bailiff of England.         | 35. The Bailiff of the Morea.          |
| 9. The Bailiff of Germany.         | 36. The Bailiff of Venusia.            |
| 10. The Bailiff of Castile.        | 37. The Bailiff of St. Stephen.        |
| 11. The Grand-Prior of St. Gilles. | 38. The Bailiff of Majorca.            |
| 12. The Grand-Prior of Auvergne.   | 39. The Bailiff of St. John of Naples. |
| 13. The Grand-Prior of France.     | 40. The Bailiff of Lyons.              |
| 14. The Grand-Prior of Aquitaine.  | 41. The Bailiff of Manosque.           |
| 15. The Grand-Prior of Champagne.  | 42. The Bailiff of Brandenburg.        |
| 16. The Grand-Prior of Toulouse.   | 43. The Bailiff of Caspa.              |
| 17. The Grand-Prior of Rome.       | 44. The Bailiff of Lora.               |
| 18. The Grand-Prior of Lombardy.   | 45. The Bailiff of the Eagle.          |
| 19. The Grand-Prior of Venice.     | 46. The Bailiff of Lango.              |
| 20. The Grand-Prior of Pisa.       | 47. The Bailiff of St. Sepulchre.      |
| 21. The Grand-Prior of Burletta.   | 48. The Bailiff of Cremona.            |
| 22. The Grand-Prior of England.    | 49. The Grand-Treasurer.               |
| 23. The Grand-Prior of Capua.      | 50. The Bailiff of Neuvillas.          |
| 24. The Castellan of Emposta.      | 51. The Bailiff of Acre.               |
| 25. The Grand-Prior of Portugal.   | 52. The Bailiff of La Rocella.         |
| 26. The Grand-Prior of Messina.    | 53. The Bailiff of Armenia.            |
| 27. The Grand-Prior of Navarre.    | 54. The Bailiff of Carlostad.          |
|                                    | 55. The Bailiff of St. Sebastian.      |

Such of the above dignitaries as were not able to attend in person at the assembly of the chapter, were bound to send thither duly authorised proxies to act in their stead; the time and place of meeting having been fixed upon by the Grand-Master, approved by the Pope, and duly notified to the various members whose rank entitled them to a seat in the assembly. The first step taken, after the chapter had commenced its sittings and divine service had been performed before it, was the nomination of three commanders of different languages, to verify the proxies named to act for absent members, and to guarantee their validity. That ceremony having been concluded, the place of each member was fixed in accordance with the foregoing list, and the chapter-general declared duly open. In token of homage to its sovereign authority, each member tendered as a tribute a purse containing five pieces of silver. The marshal brought into the hall the grand standard of the Order, which he surrendered to the chapter; and the other high dignitaries at the same time delivered up the ensigns of their various offices, which were not returned to them until the chapter had passed a fresh grant for that purpose. A second committee of three members was also nominated, each of a separate language, to receive petitions, and to organise the business to be laid before the chapter.

In order to expedite the business, for the despatch of which they had been convened, and as in so large an assembly it must otherwise have been most inconveniently protracted, a committee of sixteen commanders was elected, who became the real working body, to whom the powers of the chapter were delegated. Each language elected two of its own members to act on this committee, and the chapter at large elected two others to represent the absent language of England. This

committee of sixteen took the oaths before the chapter, that they would legislate honestly and fearlessly for the public weal ; and the remaining members of the chapter, including the Grand-Master, also took an oath, binding themselves to abide by the decisions and decrees of the committee. The vice-chancellor, the secretary of the treasury, and the Grand-Master's solicitor, all took part in the meetings and debates of this committee, but were not invested with the privilege of a vote, which was reserved exclusively for the sixteen members nominated by the chapter.

The statutes have decreed that the following should be the order in which business was to be transacted by the committee. They were first to analyse and investigate the incidence and pressure of the various imposts decreed by previous chapters, and to make such alterations therein as the state of the public revenues and the exigencies of the fraternity might render necessary ; they were afterwards to inspect the governance of the treasury, and satisfy themselves of the correctness of its administration. The records of the Order were then all to be passed in review before them, after which they should proceed to reform such abuses as had crept into the institution, and to pass such new laws as might be deemed necessary, abrogating all statutes which appeared to them no longer suitable to the organisation of the fraternity. In conclusion, they were to deal with any matters of a general nature which might be brought before them and which were not included under the preceding heads.

The matters having been all debated and decided on by a majority of votes taken by ballot, the chapter were once more assembled, and the decrees of their com-

mittee promulgated and sanctioned. The business then closed with divine service, in the course of which the following prayers were offered in succession:—For peace, for plenty, for the Pope, for the cardinals and other prelates, for the emperor and other Christian princes, for the Grand-Master, for the bailiffs and priors, for the brothers of the Hospital, for the sick and captives, for sinners, for benefactors to the Hospital, and lastly, for the confraria and all connected with the Order. The duration of a general chapter had been very wisely limited to sixteen days, in order to check any spirit of opposition and factious debate by which it might otherwise have been indefinitely prolonged. If, at the conclusion of that time, any business remained unsettled, it was disposed of by a council of reservation elected by the chapter prior to its dissolution. The chapter was the ultimate court of appeal from the decisions of the various councils, and in its default that appeal lay with the court of Rome.

Provincial chapters were annually held in every grand-priory, presided over by the prior or his lieutenant, at which every commander within the district was bound to attend either personally or by proxy. The local interests of the fraternity were discussed at these provincial sessions, and all matters disposed of which did not concern the Order at large, but only that branch of it located within the priory. The appeal from this court lay with the council of the Order at Malta. The code of laws, called the statutes of the Order, were the result of the decrees of a succession of chapters-general, no alterations, additions, or omissions to this code being introduced by any authority short of that which originally called it into existence.



The duty of the Grand-Master, as head of the Order, consisted merely in enforcing obedience to the laws thus laid down, and even in this comparatively subordinate office he was not permitted to act alone, but was associated with a council, without whose concurrence and sanction none of his decrees were legal, and he himself rendered utterly powerless. The councils of the Order in their convent home were of four kinds, viz. the complete, the ordinary, the secret, and the criminal; the latter being also sometimes called the council of state. The composition of the latter three were precisely similar, but differed in their extent from the first.

The complete council consisted of the Grand-Master or his lieutenant, as president; the bishop of Malta, the prior of the church, the eight conventual bailiffs or their lieutenants acting for them, the grand-treasurer or his lieutenant, and any other grand-cross who might chance to be present at the convent on the occasion. To these dignitaries were added two members from each language, who were bound to be Knights of Justice and residents in the convent for eight years. The seniors of each language, undecorated with the grand-cross, were usually elected for this office, the nomination resting with the languages themselves. The period of assembly for the court lay at the option of the Grand-Master, but it could only be held in the council-chamber of his palace, wherein it differed from the other councils, which might be convened wherever he thought fit to appoint. Before this court all appeals were brought against the decisions and sentences of the ordinary and criminal councils, the ultimate appeal being with the chapter-general, or, in its default, with the papal court.

The following was the order of procedure upon the occasion. The Grand-Master having fixed the hour at which the council was to meet, the master of the horse gave due notice to that effect to all the members authorised to be present on the occasion. The great bell of St. John's church tolled for half an hour at the appointed time, during which interval the councillors assembled within their hall. At its expiration, the Grand-Master took his place under the dais appropriated for his use, and the business of the council commenced. Should any one of the conventual bailiffs be absent, as well as his lieutenant, it became necessary to fill the vacancy, and the master of the horse announced the fact thus, "the senior member for the language of —, the commander —," whereupon the Knight so named took his place with the other councillors. As the language of England was virtually extinct, and neither a conventual bailiff nor his lieutenant could ever be present for that tongue, the senior member resident in the convent, not otherwise admissible to the council, was named to fill the vacancy. The same thing was also done to supply the two members for the English language required to form a complete council.

The court being thus duly organised, the vice-chancellor announced the various matters to be brought under discussion, and which usually consisted of appeals from the decisions of the inferior courts. In any case requiring pleading, the rival parties were bound to appear in person, unless they could show a good and sufficient reason for employing a deputy. The following exceptions were made to this general rule. Members of the English and German languages were permitted the use of deputies, as they could not have made them-

selves intelligible to the council in their own tongue. Knights who were unavoidably absent from the convent when their causes came on for hearing, might provide substitutes duly authorised to appear in their behalf, and the same privilege was also accorded to all Knights of the grand-cross, who were never required to plead their causes in person. It appears, indeed, to have been a main object in framing these regulations to check litigation as far as possible amongst the fraternity, and the "custom" or preamble, which is attached to the statutes relating to the various councils of the Order, marks this principle most distinctly. It says: "In order that our brethren may study hospitality, and the noble exercise of arms, rather than embroil themselves in litigation and in legal discussions, our predecessors have handed down the following very laudable custom: whenever differences shall arise between our brethren, they shall be decided in council summarily, that is to say, there shall be no writings upon the subject in dispute, the parties shall plead their cause in person, and state their cases simply, after which judgment shall be passed. Writings which have been previously made, and not prepared expressly for the purpose, may be produced in evidence, as also such witnesses as may be required, and if necessary the depositions of these latter may be reduced to writing."

The case under consideration having been thus clearly stated and responded to, the court was cleared for purposes of deliberation, and after the members had had free opportunity of expressing their sentiments on the matter by an ample debate, the various opinions of each speaker being retained in profound secrecy without the court, a ballot was taken, the result of which decided

the case. The court was reopened, the public once more admitted, and the sentence which had been decreed announced by the vice-chancellor, and recorded in the archives.

The remaining three councils were composed of the same members as those present at the complete council, with the exception of the two senior members of each language. In these councils, therefore, every member was a Knight of the grand-cross. The ordinary council could not be held without the presence of the eight conventual bailiffs or their lieutenants, or Knights appointed temporarily to act as their proxies. None of the other members, however, were bound to be present, and the council was legally constituted though no one appeared but the eight above-mentioned dignitaries, presided over by the Grand-Master or his lieutenant. The form of procedure at this court was precisely similar to that of the complete council, and at it all nominations to vacant dignities were made, all disputes arising therefrom decided, and the ordinary business connected with the government of the Order transacted. This was the council most usually employed by the Grand-Master, who might assemble it any time and in any place he thought proper. No subject could be introduced except with his sanction and approval, and as all grand-crosses had a voice in the council, he was enabled, by a batch of fresh creations of honorary grand-crosses, to carry any measure upon which opinions were divided in the convent. The secret council, which was similarly constituted, took cognisance of such matters of internal and foreign policy as were not considered fit subjects for publicity, and its proceedings were always retained strictly private. The criminal council, which

was also composed of the same members, received and adjudicated on all complaints lodged against individuals pertaining to the Order, who were arraigned before them, and sentence was declared in consonance with the evidence.

The mention of this council leads naturally to a discussion of the crimes and punishments common amongst the fraternity. The punishments to which a member of the Order of St. John was subject, were as follows :— first, “The Septaine.” This penalty obliged the offender to fast for seven days successively, on the Wednesday and Friday of which he was restricted to bread and water only. He was not permitted to leave his home during the period, except to attend divine service. The statutes of the Order laid down that on the Wednesday and Friday of his punishment he was to receive discipline at the hands of a priest (usually the vice-prior), in the conventual church of St. John, during the recitation of the psalm “Deus misereatur nostri,” &c. This latter portion of the punishment fell into disuse after the sixteenth century. The Quarantaine was similar to the Septaine, excepting that it lasted for forty consecutive days, during every Wednesday and Friday of which bread and water were to be the penitent’s only food. In either case the offending party was restricted from wearing his arms whilst under punishment.

If a more severe penalty was required than either of the above, imprisonment was resorted to, no limit to which was affixed by the statutes. Loss of seniority was another penalty to which offending members were frequently sentenced ; and if a still more severe punishment was necessary, they were deprived of their habit for a certain period, or for ever. The latter sentence

was equivalent to expulsion from the ranks of the fraternity. No punishment of death was recognised within their code; but if a Knight were guilty of a crime which was deemed of sufficient magnitude to require such a penalty, he was stripped of his habit as a preliminary measure, and then, as no longer remaining a member of the Order, he was transferred to the civil authorities, and received by their decree the punishment due to his crimes. The records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mention several instances of capital punishment which had been inflicted in this manner on quondam members of the Order. The most usual method of carrying out the last sentence of the law was borrowed from that adopted by the Turks in making away with the ladies of their harem upon suspicion of frailty, and consisted in fastening up the condemned individual in a sack and throwing him into the Marsa Musceit. The infliction of torture was never authorised by the statutes, but at the same time it was never forbidden, and the criminal records show that it was very commonly resorted to, in order to extort confession from suspected persons. No rank was sufficiently elevated to save a prisoner from this test. It will be remembered that during the second siege of Rhodes the chancellor D'Amaral was subjected to torture, in order to endeavour to elicit a confession of traitorous correspondence on his part; and that this was by no means a solitary instance. A careful study of the criminal documents now in the Record office of Malta will speedily show.

The eighteenth division of the statutes is devoted to an enumeration of the various acts forbidden to members of the Order, and the punishments which were to follow their perpetration. No member was to make a testa-

mentary disposition of more than the one fifth portion of his property ; the remainder reverting to the treasury of the Order. They were never to mix themselves up in the quarrels of secular persons, whether princes or private individuals ; they were not to interfere with the administration of justice by interceding for an offending brother. They were never to wander from their commanderies or priories, so as in the words of the statute "to make vagabonds of themselves." This regulation prohibited their leaving the precincts of their own commanderies or priories, except on good cause, and then with the written permission of the grand-prior in the case of a commander, or of the Grand-Master in the case of a prior. Any person connected with the Order finding an offender against this statute "enacting the vagabond," was bound to secure him, and give notice of his imprisonment to the grand-prior under whose jurisdiction he was. The same regulation held good as regarded the convent at Malta.

Members were strictly prohibited from making use of letters of recommendation, either to the Grand-Master or to members of his council, to secure priority of nomination to any office or dignity, under a penalty of the loss of ten years of seniority. No privateering expeditions against the Infidel were permitted without sanction previously obtained from the Grand-Master and council. This sanction was, however, always readily granted, and the time spent in such cruises was allowed to count as part of the necessary residence of the Knight in the convent, and towards his caravans. No safe conduct was to be given to any Infidel, or other corsair, except by the Grand-Master and council, who alone were authorised to establish truces with the natural

enemy of the Order. No member was to intermeddle in the wars of Christian princes, or to take any part therein, even on the side of his own native country.

Any member of the Order appearing in public without the distinctive dress of his profession, that is, without the cross in white linen cloth sewn upon his robe, was for the first offence to undergo the quarantaine; for the second, to be confined for three months in the tower; and, for the third, to be stripped of his habit. The following decree against turbulence in the inns might be promulgated and enforced with advantage in many instances at the present day: "If any of the brethren behave insolently and in a turbulent manner in the inns where they dine, and if amidst the tumult and noise they break the doors, the windows, the chairs, or the tables, or any articles of that nature, or if they upset and disarrange them with reckless audacity, they shall be punished by the Grand-Master and council, in such manner as they may decree, even to the loss of their seniority. If they conduct themselves still more outrageously, and beat the pages, the servants, or the slaves of the conventual bailiffs, for the first offence, if no blood be spilt, they shall be punished with the quarantaine; for the second, they shall be imprisoned in the tower; and, for the third, they shall lose two years' seniority. If, on the other hand, blood shall have been spilt, no matter how slight the wound may have been, for the first offence they shall be imprisoned in the tower for six months; and if the wound be serious and dangerous they shall lose seniority. If any member shall insult another in the palace of the Grand-Master, he shall lose three years' seniority, if he has it already, or if not, as soon as he shall have attained it; for an



insult in an inn he shall lose two years. If the disputants come to blows they shall be stripped of the habit; and, if either party be wounded, they shall lose their habit without remission, and if he be killed they shall be handed over to the secular power."

The following are the crimes for which the statutes decreed the loss of habit in perpetuity to members of the Order: "Those convicted of being heretics, sodomites, assassins, or thieves; those who have joined the ranks of the Infidel, amongst whom are to be classed those who surrender our standard, or other ensign, when it is unfurled in presence of the enemy; also those who abandon their comrades during the fight, or who give shelter to the Infidel, together with all who are parties to, or cognisant of, so great a treason." Privation of habit for one year was to be inflicted upon any one who, "when under arms, shall have left his ranks to plunder, also upon any one who brings an accusation against another without being enabled to substantiate his charge. A Knight who has committed a murder shall be deprived of his habit in perpetuity, and kept in prison, in order to prevent others from becoming so hardened as to commit a similar crime, and that the company of our brethren may be quiet and peaceable. Whoever wounds any person treasonably, in secret, or by malice prepense, shall lose his habit in perpetuity."

The question of duelling was one which was rather curiously dealt with in the statutes and customs of the Order. It was strictly forbidden by the former, and the severest penalties attached to any infringement of the law, which ran thus: "In order to check the impiety of those who, neglecting the safety of their souls, invite others to a duel, and expose their bodies to a cruel

death, we decree that if one brother provokes another, or if he defies him, either by speech or in writing, by means of a second, or in any other manner, and that the one who is called out does not accept the duel, in addition to the penalties decreed by the sacred council, and by the constitution of Gregory XIII. of blessed memory, the appellant shall be deprived of his habit in perpetuity, without any remission. If his antagonist accepts the challenge, even if neither party appears on the ground, they shall be nevertheless both deprived of their habits without hope of pardon. But should they both have proceeded to the place of assignation, even though no blood should have been spilt, they shall not only be deprived of their habit, but shall also be afterwards handed over to the secular power. In addition, we decree that whoever shall have been the cause of any such duel or defiance, or who shall have given either advice, assistance, or council, either by word or deed, or who upon any pretence whatever shall have persuaded any one to issue a challenge, if it shall be proved that he accompanied him to act as his second, he shall be condemned to lose his habit. The same penalty we likewise attach to those who shall be proved to have been present at a duel, or of having posted or caused to be posted a cartel of defiance in any spot whatever."

The above law relates only to a regular premeditated duel, but brawls and fracas are punished under the following statute: "If a brother strike another brother he shall be placed in the quarantaine; if he strike him in such a manner that blood be drawn elsewhere than from the mouth or nose, he shall be stripped of his habit. If he shall have attempted to wound him

with a knife, a sword, or a stone, and has not succeeded in doing so, he shall be placed in the quarantaine." This statute was moderated by a subsequent one, passed at a general chapter, during the rule of La Cassière, giving the Grand-Master and council authority to moderate the rigour of the penalty.

The laws against duelling were found to be so severe, and the impracticability of checking the practice so evident in a fraternity which embraced in its ranks so many young and hot-headed spirits, men as keenly alive to an affront as they were ready to resent it, and who regarded personal courage as the first of all human virtues, that some modification or evasion was essentially necessary. It became gradually tacitly recognised that duels might be held in a particular locality, set apart for that purpose, without incurring the above-mentioned penalties. It had been expressly stipulated that no fighting was permitted either upon the ramparts, or without the town. There exists however, in Malta, a street so narrow as to be called, *par excellence* "Strada Stretta," and this was the spot marked out as a kind of neutral territory, in the which irascible cavaliers might expend their superfluous courage. The fiction which led to this concession was that a combat in this street was to be looked upon in the light of a casual encounter, occasioned by a collision, owing to the extreme narrowness of the road. This street consequently became eventually the great rendezvous for affairs of honour. It was, in fact, the Chalk Farm of Malta, and numerous crosses carved in the walls on either side still mark the sites where encounters resulted in a fatal issue. The seconds posted themselves, one on either side, at some little distance from their principals, and, with their swords drawn,

prevented the passers-by from approaching the scene of strife until it had been brought to a conclusion.

The records of the criminal council for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries teem with entries of stabbing, wounding, and killing, most of which were the result either of premeditated duels, or of casual encounters. When they were the former, the punishment depended greatly upon whether the authorised spot had been resorted to, and if so, the penalty was comparatively trivial, being either a quarantaine, or two months' imprisonment.

The punishment for duelling being thus severe, it was necessary for the statutes to provide some protection to the peaceably disposed from the violence of ill temper, and the insults of either jealousy or hatred. We find, therefore, the following decree under the head of insults: "If a brother, in the heat of his anger, whilst quarrelling with another brother, shall make use of insulting language, he shall be punished by the 'quarantaine,' even though he shall subsequently admit that he has spoken falsely, and shall apologise for the insult. If he shall boldly give him the lie direct, he shall lose two years' seniority; and if he strikes him with a stick, or gives him a blow with his hand, he shall lose three years'."

The question of duelling having been disposed of, the statutes proceed to provide against the nuisance to respectable householders of midnight revellers disturbing their households. The following statute proves that fast young men in the middle ages committed very nearly the same follies as in the present day: "Whoever shall enter into the house of a citizen without being invited, and against the wish of the head of the family,

or who shall disturb the social gatherings of the people during their festivals, dances, weddings, or other similar occasions, shall lose two years of seniority, without hope of pardon. And if, either by day or by night, they do any damage to the doors or windows of the people, then, in addition to the above-named penalties, they shall suffer a rigid imprisonment, such as may be decreed by the Grand-Master and council. Any member of the Order joining in masquerades or ballets, shall suffer loss of seniority." This statute was still further defined by an addition made by the Grand-Master Claude de la Sengle :—"If any one shall be so bold as to damage doors or windows by night, or who shall stop them up with plaster, or stain them with dirt, or who shall throw stones at them, shall lose three years of seniority, leaving it to the discretion of the Grand-Master and council to decree a severer punishment."

The original profession of a Knight of the Order of St. John having included the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, the statutes, after having decreed such penalties as were necessary to check all transgressions of the two first of these vows, proceeded to deal with the last. The question of chastity was one not easily encountered in an Order constituted like that of the Hospital. On the one hand, as a religious fraternity, devoted to the service of God and practice of charity and all good works, it was impossible to recognise any license or infraction of the strictest laws of continence and chastity. The monk in his cloistered retreat, mortifying all sensual appetites by constant fasts and ever-recurring vigils, was not supposed to be more free from earthly passions than the Knight of St. John. We all know, however, how widely even the

secluded inmates of the monasteries constantly strayed from the strict paths of virtue, and it was not to be anticipated that the members of the military Orders, surrounded as they were with such vastly increased temptations, could have maintained themselves more free from vice and immorality. Composed of the youth of high and noble families, in no way secluded from female society, but mingling with the gayest of either sex, taught to look more upon military renown than ascetic piety as the rightful adornment of their profession, it was not to be expected that they would act rigidly up to the letter of the vow they had taken. The statutes, therefore, do not attempt to forbid a dereliction of chastity, but content themselves with checking all open display of immorality. "It has been very rightly ordained that no member of our brotherhood, of whatever position or rank he may be, shall be permitted to support, maintain, or consort with women of loose character, either in their houses or abroad. If any one, abandoning his honour and reputation, shall be so barefaced as to act in opposition to this regulation, and shall render himself publicly infamous, after having been three times warned by his superior to desist from this vice, we decree, after the expiration of forty days from the date of his first warning, he shall, if a commander, be deprived of his commandery, and, if a simple brother of the convent, he shall lose his seniority. If any member of our Order shall be so barefaced as to recognise, and publicly to adopt as his own, a child who may be born to him from an illegitimate connexion (such as is not recognised by law), and attempt to bestow on him the name of his family, we decree that he shall never hold either office, benefice, or

dignity in our Order. We further decree, that all associates of loose women, who may be ranked as incestuous, sacrilegious, and adulterers, shall be declared incapable of possessing any property, or of holding any office or dignity in our Order. And we designate as an associate of loose women not only those who are notorious evil-livers, and have had judgment passed on them as such, but also any one who, without any sense of shame or fear of God, and forgetting his profession, shall entertain and support a woman of doubtful character, notorious for her bad life and evil conversation, or who shall reside with her constantly."

These statutes were so ambiguously worded, and left so many loopholes for evasion, that it is not surprising they should gradually have become a dead letter. The presence of a large number of prostitutes within the convent became a public scandal at a very early period, and many Grand-Masters, even during the residence of the Order at Rhodes, sought, by the most rigorous statutes, to mitigate the evil. Prohibitions were, however, utterly powerless, and as the Order lost more and more of the religious enthusiasm which had prompted its early founders, so did the dissoluteness of their lives become more outrageously opposed to the principles of their profession. After the successful termination of the siege of Malta had left the fraternity in undisputed sovereignty of that island, and had raised their military renown to the highest possible pitch, they appeared to have become intoxicated with the admiration they had excited throughout Europe; and, throwing off all restraint, to have abandoned themselves to the wildest and most reckless debauchery.

At this period the city of Valetta was positively

teeming with prostitutes, and all women in the neighbouring countries, who considered themselves possessed of sufficient charms, and who were ready to make a traffic of their persons, flocked to that island as the spot where they could find the readiest market for their wares. The streets were thronged by the frail beauties of Spain, Italy, Sicily, and the Levant; nor were the dark-eyed moors of Tripoli and Tunis wanting to complete an array of seduction and temptation, such as might have proved too strong for aught but a saint to resist. Saints, however, there were none in the convent of Malta in those days, or if they did exist, it was in so slender a minority that the demireps and their followers had it all their own way. We have seen that the attempts of La Cassière to check this great and growing scandal were followed by a general revolt and his own imprisonment, which sentence was carried into effect amidst the derisive jeers of crowds of flaunting Cyprians whom he had in vain endeavoured, for decency's sake, to banish into the adjoining casals and villages.

This period may be marked as the worst and most openly and grossly immoral epoch in the history of the fraternity. The evil, to a certain extent, brought with it its own remedy; and, after a while, they became scandalised at the notoriety of their own debauchery, and the evil reputation which their orgies had brought upon them. Gradually, somewhat more of decency and moderation found its way into the convent, and the frail nymph, who might still desire to trade upon her charms, was compelled to maintain a little more privacy, and was no longer permitted to flaunt in the streets of Valetta in all the shame of open and abandoned



profligacy. Still the morality of the fraternity remained at a very low ebb, and up to the latest date, the society of Malta abounded with scandalous tales and sullied reputations. In this the Order of St. John was perhaps no worse than might have been anticipated, nor indeed than any other association of young unmarried men within a narrow circle. The vice prevalent in Valetta was probably no greater than that of any other town where the bulk of the population was young and unfettered by the obligations of matrimony. The error lay in supposing that a vow of chastity, rendered compulsory upon all seeking admission into the Order, could by any possibility act as a check upon the natural depravity of youth, unrestrained as it was in any other manner.

The annexed abstract gives an extract from the criminal records of the Order, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, showing a few of the most important and curious trials, with the punishments awarded by the council. This statement may be taken as a fair specimen of the class of crimes most frequent in the convent. Although but one or two of each description are here quoted, many of them were of frequent occurrence, the most constant being those of homicide from duelling and stabbing. Indeed, the entries of these two crimes appear interminable, and mark a most disorderly and quarrelsome spirit amongst the fraternity, which however is not perhaps to be wondered at, when it is remembered that youths of so many different nations were congregated together, who would ill brook even an idle jest, when uttered by a member of a rival language.

Name of Delinquent.	Crime.	Punishment.	Date.
<b>Cav. Giugliochico Bois Langue</b>	Theft of a golden chalice, of the value of 360 ducats, and other jewels, from the sacristy, which he pledged with the Jews	Deprived of his habit . . . .	June 7, 1526.
Cav. Giovanni de Cerdan . . . .	Slabbing Cav. Galcerano Torres . . . .	Do. . . . .	Feb. 11, 1531.
Cav. Galcerano Palan . . . .	Deserting from the convent . . . .	Do. . . . .	Aug. 21, 1532.
Cav. Carlo de Piscie and . . . .	Killing four men in a galley (vide Chap. XV.)	Do. . . . .	May 10, 1533.
Cav. Godofredo Regnault . . . .	Ringleaders in a tumult, and causing the death of the above four men	Do. . . . .	May 14, 1533.
Com. d'Orleans and . . . .	Sacrilege and theft of pearls and a ring from the chapel of Our Lady at Philermo	Do. . . . .	Jan. 10, 1536.
Antonio de Vareques . . . .	Creating a disturbance during the eve of Christmas-day, by disgracing themselves as ladies and mixing with the ladies during the midnight mass	To be imprisoned until the arrival in Malta of the Grand-Master	Oct. 29, 1536.
<b>Cav. Pietro de Onaya</b> (of the Castile language) and <b>Cav. Sanchio Longa</b>	Indebted to the treasury and disobedience to the orders of the Grand-Master	Deprived of his habit . . . .	Oct. 10, 1537.
<b>Cav. Giacomo de Spifami</b>	Injurious words and provocation to a duel	Six months' imprisonment . . . .	March 12, 1538.
Cav. Pietro de Felizer . . . .	Do. . . . .	Forty days' imprisonment . . . .	June 5, 1538.
Cav. Filippo Dalbio . . . .	Fighting a duel . . . . .	One year's imprisonment in the cage . . . .	June 3, 1538.
Cav. Francesco Marzella . . . .	Murder . . . . .	Deprived of his habit . . . .	Feb. 8, 1539.
Cav. Antonio de Castellan . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	May 20, 1539.
Cav. Ludovico de Gleney . . . .	Want of respect to the Grand-Master and council (vide Chap. XXII.)	To be placed in close arrest until the arrival of the Grand-Master, who added four months to the sentence	May 29, 1539.
Clement West (Turcopolier of England)	Breaking into a nunnery in the night-time	Six months' banishment to Gozo . . . .	Feb. 28, 1539.
Cav. Pietro Neglia . . . .	Embezzlement of money . . . .	Deprived of his habit . . . .	Oct. 3, 1541.
Cav. Giacomo Biadco . . . .	Sodomy . . . . .	Do. . . . .	
Cav. Marriano Serrano . . . .			

Cav. Ludovic de Media . . .	Killing Giovanni Negret . . .	Imprisoned for one year, and to pay 100 scudi to the children of the dead man	Oct. 3, 1548.
The Marshal Gaspar La Val- liere			
Cav. Simon de Losa (captain of cavalry)	Loss of Tripoli (vide Chap. XVI).	The marshal deprived of his habit and handed over to civil power; the others deprived of their habits only	Sept. 3, 1551.
Cav. Pietro de Ferrere (treas- urer)			
Cav. Antonio Fuster . . .	Killing Cav. Marino Tomasello in a duel	To lose two years of seniority . . .	March 28, 1552.
Cav. Carlo Savonier . . .	Theft of a slave . . .	To restore the slave, and imprisonment for two months	Aug. 8, 1552.
Cav. Oswald Massinbut . . .	Theft of jewels, plate, and other valu- ables	Deprived of habit, and handed over to civil power	Dec. 1, 1552.
Cav. Giovanni Grannal and Ludovico Madiani	Theft of a silver salver from the palace of Grand-Master d'Omedes	Deprived of habit . . .	Jan. 15, 1553.
Cav. Filippo de Amico . . .	Falsification of letters from Grand-Master for a sum of 3050 scudi	Do. . . . .	Aug. 16, 1554.
Cav. Alfonso de Madrigal . . .	Flight from convent, pending trial for loss of Tripoli (vide former entry)	Do. . . . .	Nov. 5, 1554.
Cav. Pietro de Ferrere . . .	Stabbing . . . . .	The quarantaine . . . . .	May 27, 1555.
Cav. Pietro Dalspone . . .	Murder . . . . .	Deprived of habit, and handed over to civil power	June 7, 1555.
Cav. Emanuel Villafrane . . .			
Cav. Ludovico Marsilla . . .	Stabbing . . . . .	The quarantaine, and to pay 50 scudi	July 4, 1555.
Cav. Carlo Fleury . . .	Rape of Gerolama Olivier, wife of Agos- tino	Imprisonment for one year . . .	Oct. 2, 1555.
Cav. Filippo Stagno . . .	Theft and sacrilege in church of St. Antonio	Deprived of habit, and handed over to civil power	July 12, 1564.
Cav. Giacomo Sandilandes . . .	Complicity with the above . . .	To undergo torture till the crime be confessed, and then to be deprived of habit and handed over to civil power	July 15, 1564.
Com. Vincenzo Lobello (serving brother)	Abandoning the convent and entering another Order (just prior to the siege of Malta)	Deprived of his commandery . . .	March 11, 1565.

Name of Delinquent.	Crime.	Punishment.	Date.
Cav. Giovanni de Pegna and Gaspar de Samano Cav. S. Clement (general of galleys) Cav. Leonardo Latre	Suspected authors of libels against the Grand-Master (vide Chap. XIX.) Loss of two galleys to the Turks	Ten years' imprisonment, with immu- nity to whoever betrays the author Deprived of his habit	Oct. 3, 1567. Feb. 18, 1570.
Cav. Pietro Diocris Cav. Antonio Melo Cav. Emilio Fossati Cav. Giovanni Perea Cav. Antonio Maria Ciugèi Cav. Gaspar Michal Cav. Ant. de Symona Francesco de Rogier Gaspare de Acton Robert Chavigni Cav. Pompeo Marnillo and Mugio Delizorri Sister Mary Grazia Grisoni, of the Order of St. John at Flo- rence	Theft and murder Violating Donna Speranza de Molino Introducing themselves in disguise and under feigned names to Cav. Giorgio Correa, attacking, and treacherously killing him Adultery, with violence Passing false money Poisoning Sister Porgia de Bartolini, of the same Order Perjury Incest Clipping money Becoming a Moslem	To be put to torture and then deprived of his habit Deprived of his habit Do. This was the first punishment carried into effect in the new con- ventual church of St. John at Valetta All deprived of their habits, except Chavigni, who received two years' imprisonment Deprived of habit Deprived of habit Do. To serve as a soldier on board the gal- leys for four years Deprived of his habit, and handed over to the civil power Deprived of habit	Oct. 9, 1570. April 26, 1575. July 24, 1577. May 25, 1784. June 22, 1784. Sept. 5, 1583. Aug. 11, 1586. Sept. 27, 1602. May 20, 1609. Sept. 23, 1611.

Of course, in many instances, these punishments became mere formal decrees, the delinquents being out of the reach of the Order at the time. Whenever the conduct of a member, once professed into the fraternity, became such as to render him unworthy to continue in the institution, he was, as a matter of form, arraigned before the council and stripped of his habit, even though he had previously absconded. There are several instances of this kind in the above list.

Before the islands of Malta and Gozo fell under the sway of the Order of St. John, through the act of donation granted by the emperor Charles V., they had been an appanage of the Spanish monarchy, and attached to the viceroyalty of Sicily. Their local government had consisted of a governor or hakem, who was commandant of the military within the islands, and was intrusted with ample powers to maintain public tranquillity; four giurati who acted under him as a council for all financial questions, and two catapani for all matters relating to food, the great bulk of which was imported from Sicily. An officer, named "il secreto," received the duties payable on imports, and another, named "il portolano," was the superintendent of the harbours. Once every year an assembly or parliament was convened, which was divided into the three classes of nobles, clergy, and commons. This assembly prepared lists of candidates for the various above-mentioned offices, and the viceroy selected from amongst those lists the persons by whom they were to be filled.

When the Knights of St. John superseded the government of the emperor, they maintained the leading features of the former administration. The assembly, it is true, soon became a dead letter, and the nomina-

tion to the various offices was made direct by the Grand-Master and council; still this selection was invariably from amongst the Maltese, and their ancient customs and privileges were interfered with as little as possible. Their code of laws remained in force, and was recognised by the fraternity, the duty of carrying it into effect being left almost entirely in the hands of the natives.

There were three legal courts, each presided over by a judge, selected from amongst the Maltese; the first for criminal causes, the second for civil matters, and the third for appeals from the other two courts, the last being the superior of the three. A Knight was, however, appointed, who presided over the proceedings of these three courts, which were combined under the name of the Castellany, but he in no way interfered with the administration of justice. He was replaced every second year by a fresh nomination. No member of the fraternity was, as such, amenable to the tribunals of the Maltese; but where his crimes rendered it advisable that he should be punished by sentence of those courts, he was stripped of his habit as a preliminary measure, and then handed over to their jurisdiction as a secular person.

Throughout the residence of the Order in Malta a very broad line of demarcation was drawn between themselves and the native population. The Maltese had always been a very aristocratic community; many of their old families had been ennobled at a very early epoch, and the whole power of government had invariably been vested in their hands. No more exclusive or oligarchical a community existed anywhere throughout Europe, and the relics of this state of things may even

now still be traced in the island. The Order of St. John, eminently aristocratic though it was in its own constitution, and naturally jealous of all encroachments upon that privileged class from which they themselves sprung, and from whom they had drawn all their power and all their wealth, appeared, in their connection with Malta, to have been actuated by more liberal ideas and views, and materially enlarged the basis of government by extending the field from which they selected their native employés. One natural result of this liberal policy was a slight alienation and coldness on the part of that class who had hitherto monopolised the entire governance of the island; and this coldness, coupled with the national reserve of the Maltese character, always acted to prevent any amalgamation between the two parties.

The Maltese, as such, were not admitted into the ranks of the highest class in the Order. Such of them as could bring forward the necessary proofs of nobility, and were otherwise eligible, could, it was true, become received as members of the Italian language, and some, even after marriage, upon condition of their wives being sent to Italy when about to become mothers; still the number who thus entered the fraternity was but trifling, and even they were not ranked in the same position as the other members of the language, being incapable of occupying the dignity either of Grand-Master, or conventual bailiff. The Order were consequently always regarded as foreigners by the natives, and but little friendship or cordiality was to be traced in their social intercourse. It must not, however, be inferred from this fact that the Maltese were dissatisfied with the rule of the Knights over them. That govern-

ance was certainly a despotism, and one of the very strongest class; still it was well suited to the habits of the people, and was usually wielded with great equity and moderation. Those feelings of liberty and freedom of personal action, which characterise the Anglo-Saxon temperament, do not exist in more southern latitudes, and the decrees and authority of the Grand-Master and his council met a ready and cheerful obedience from those who were neither anxious nor ready to undertake the onerous duty of ruling themselves. The Order placed themselves on a decided eminence over those they were called upon to govern, and when their rival interests came into collision it was but natural that the Maltese, as the weaker, should be compelled to give way. Still on the whole they had not much cause for complaint, and there can be no doubt that the transfer of their island to the Order of St. John had brought with it many very solid advantages to its inhabitants.

Instead of a few officials and a slender garrison, they now saw Malta made the nucleus of the most powerful and wealthy fraternity in Europe. Every land contributed its quota to the stream of wealth which commenced to pour into the barren and poverty-stricken island. The wretched hamlet of the Bourg became a considerable city, and its suburbs extended themselves over the neighbouring peninsula. Ere long a new city, exceeding in extent and magnificence anything which the wildest flight of imagination could have pictured in bygone years, sprang up, adorned with the inns and other public buildings of a fraternity whose ample revenue enabled them thus to beautify their capital. Stores of grain accumulated in the public magazines. Ramparts



and forts arose to protect the island from the piratical descents of the Infidel, and Malta, from having been considered for many ages only a barren and desolate rock, rose to be the most important fortress and flourishing community in the Mediterranean.

These were important privileges, and the Order, who had been enabled to confer such benefits on their new subjects, might well stand excused for a slight display of arrogance and despotism in the mode of their government. After all it was only with the very highest class, the most exclusive of the Maltese nobility, that the new government brought itself into ill repute. And with them it was not the despotism of the Order, but the liberalism which had opened the doors of office to a lower class than their own, which had engendered their disfavour. Below them there was a rising class, containing within its limits much of the ambition and talent of the island, and it was in this class that the council had sought for candidates to fill the official posts, previously invariably monopolised by the nobility. With them, therefore, the Order stood in high favour, and whilst on the one hand the old nobility held themselves aloof, and on the other the lower class of the population grovelled in uncomplaining submission to the sway of any power sufficiently energetic to compel their obedience, this section, comprising all the activity and talent of the country, became faithful adherents to the system by means of which their own emancipation from the dictation of the aristocracy had been secured.

Into this class of Maltese society the Knights of St. John found a ready and welcome admission. Even here, however, there were great distinctions drawn

between the various languages, some of which were far more popular than others. The French Knights did not by any means find favour with the fair ladies who swayed the empire of fashion within this coterie; they were too arrogant, self-sufficient, and boastful, ever to be received as chosen favourites, or to find a ready welcome into their domestic privacy. More than one case had occurred in which this boastful tendency on the part of Frenchmen, ever ready to imagine their own attractions irresistible, had led to the most unpleasant results, and had clouded the fair fame of ladies whose only fault had perchance consisted in permitting rather too free an offering of adulation on the part of their knightly admirers. By degrees, therefore, this national weakness had led to their being regarded with great coldness, and their advances being received with the utmost caution.

Whilst the French, however, were thus neglected, there were other languages whose members were more fortunate. The Germans, in particular, seem to have borne the palm of popularity. Their national reserve and phlegmatic temperament prevented them from falling into the errors of their more vivacious French brethren, and they were admitted to a footing of intimacy and freedom which the latter were never permitted to attain. The Spaniards were also very popular, and for much the same reason as had brought the Germans into favour; and unless the tales recorded on this head are very false, they were usually highly successful in their intercourse with the fair ladies of Malta.

With the lower orders the rule of the Knights was usually very popular. The works on which they were constantly engaged for the strengthening of their posi-

tion, yielded a continuous source of employment to the labouring class, and the ample stores of provisions retained in the magazines of Valetta secured them from the miseries of scarcity, which in olden times had so frequently been the scourge of the island. The Grand-Master also sought popularity with this class by providing them with amusements during their constant holidays. Their privileges in this respect were very numerous, and always maintained with the utmost regularity. The most entertaining of these festivals was the carnival, always celebrated in Malta with great splendour and variety of costume. The privilege of holding a carnival was granted by the Grand-Master, not only on the three days immediately preceding Ash Wednesday, but also whenever the Order desired to celebrate any event of unusual importance. These extra carnivals were called *Babarro*.

On Shrove Tuesday a *Cocagna* was given to the people. This was a vast structure reared in the square before the Grand-Master's palace, and decorated with flowers, flags, and ribbons. The *Cocagna* was hung with fruit and provisions of all kinds; live poultry, hams, eggs, sausages, &c., were mixed with wreaths of flowers and clusters of fruit, the whole presenting a most tempting display to the assembled multitude. At a given signal there was a general scramble, and the provisions became the property of those sufficiently active and fortunate to carry them off. A master of the ceremonies was appointed to superintend on this occasion, and to give the signal for onslaught. He was termed *Il Gran Visconti*, and for the day the administration of the police was intrusted to his care.

The great festival of the Order, St. John's day, was

naturally observed with much rejoicing. In the afternoon races were held for prizes, to be presented by the Grand-Master, and the peculiarity of these races consisted in the course selected for the purpose. The main street of Valetta, called the "Strada Reale," or Royal Street, extends in a straight line from fort St. Elmo to the Royal Gate, a distance of upwards of half a mile. This was the course over which the races were run, and being in the heart of the town, all traffic of every description had to be stopped during their continuance. On the 1st of May, the old custom of the greasy pole was introduced, which the Maltese were very expert in surmounting: this was likewise erected in front of the Grand-Master's palace.

In short, every effort appears to have been made by the government to render the population contented with their lot, so far as contentment could be ensured by a plentiful supply of amusement and festivity. In this they acted with a due discrimination as to the peculiar temperament of the Maltese people. Docile and tractable in the highest degree, they merely required the excitement of a little innocent recreation to quell any feeling of discontent which might have arisen against a government in which their interests were invariably compelled to yield to those of the fraternity, and where they had little or no voice in the legislation. That that government was, as a general rule, exercised beneficially, the rapid progress made by the island clearly proves; still there were doubtless many laws enacted which pressed hardly upon the natives. A little liberality on the score of sports and holidays prevented any ebullition of discontent at these political disadvantages; and by the adoption of these wise precautions the Order succeeded

in maintaining tranquillity amongst the population throughout their residence in the island.

Any description of the social organisation, or of the mode of life carried on under the Order of St. John, would be incomplete without some allusion to an institution established in their midst, and which has even in later days been the subject of much discussion and great differences of opinion amongst the statesmen of the various great European powers. Since the earliest ages it had been an invariable custom in Eastern warfare, that the prisoners taken in battle should be reduced into a state of slavery, and this system had been in full play long before the Crusades had introduced a Christian element into the warfare of Asia. A spirit of retaliation led to the establishment of a similar system on the part of the Christian inhabitants of Palestine, and the Turkish captives who fell into their hands invariably found themselves reduced to a state of most abject slavery. After their establishment in the island of Rhodes, the Knights continued the practice which ancient custom had legalised in their eyes, and both in that island and at Malta their galleys were invariably propelled by gangs of Turkish captives told off for that purpose, and driven to constant labour by the dread of punishment. A prison was established within the convent, where the slaves were placed when not employed on board ship, and whilst on shore they were constantly engaged either upon the fortifications or in the dockyards.

There can be no doubt that great cruelty was often practised against these unfortunate captives, and the treatment which they received at the hands of their Christian masters was often disgracefully barbarous. Their lives were held as of little or no value, and the

records teem with accounts of the thoughtless and barbarous manner in which they were sacrificed to the whims and caprices of their masters. During the first siege of Rhodes, a gang of these unfortunates were returning from their perilous labours in repairing the breaches made by the enemy's artillery in the ramparts. A party of young Knights chanced to meet them, and commenced amusing themselves at their expense. A slight scuffle ensued, owing to an effort made by the latter to shield themselves from their tormentors, when a body of the garrison who were patrolling near the spot, imagining that the slaves were rising in revolt, fell on them, and, without pausing for a moment to ascertain the truth of their suspicions, slew upwards of a hundred and fifty of these wretched and defenceless creatures before they discovered the error under which they had been labouring. So also we find it recorded, during the siege of Malta, that some hesitation having displayed itself on the part of the slaves in exposing themselves, during their pioneering labours, to a fire more than ordinarily deadly, the Grand-Master directed some to be hanged, and others to have their ears cut off; "*pour encourager les autres*," as the chroniclers quaintly and simply record. We find also an English Knight, named Massinberg, brought before the council in 1534, for having unwarrantably drawn his sword and killed four galley slaves, and upon being called for his defence, this turbulent Briton replied, "In killing the four slaves I did well, but in not having at the same time killed our old and imbecile Grand-Master, I confess I did badly." This defence was not considered satisfactory, and Massinberg was deprived of his habit for a period of *two days*, and was likewise sentenced to the loss of his commandery.

The Order not only retained their slaves for their own use; they at the same time sold to private individuals any number that might be demanded. The truth was, that the convent of St. John became eventually neither more nor less than a vast slave mart. When the demand was brisk, and the supply of slaves within the prison scarce, the cruisers of the Order scoured the seas; and woe betide the unfortunate Turk who came within the range of their vision. The war which they unceasingly waged against the maritime power of the Infidel, was maintained not so much for the glory of the struggle, or from religious conviction of its necessity, but because they found that by thus gratifying their privateering propensities, they were swelling at one and the same time their own private fortunes and the public coffers. Honour there was none; religion there was none; it was a purely mercenary speculation: and the only extenuation which the fraternity could offer for this degradation of the principles which had actuated their ancestors, was, that they were merely acting by way of reprisal. The northern coast of Africa was one vast nest of Infidel pirates, who scoured every corner of the Mediterranean, and whose detested flag was never seen without bringing with it all the horrors of bloodshed, rapine, and slavery. With a foe such as this, it was but natural that there should be but scant courtesy shown; and had the Order invariably confined their efforts to the extermination of this noxious swarm, the historian of the age would not have been too severe in his criticisms on their subsequent behaviour to the fallen foe. It is, however, much to be feared that, in their anxiety to keep the bagnio at Malta amply stocked, the Knights of St. John were by no means careful to dis-

criminate between the piratical corsair of Algiers or Tunis, and the peaceful merchant or mariner of the East, who was pursuing his vocation without injury to any one. There exists in the Record Office of Malta, amongst a number of letters written by the monarchs of England at different times to the Grand-Masters, one from Charles II. to Nicholas Cottoner, which bears upon this question, and clearly proves the traffic in human flesh which subsisted; and from which the Grand-Master appears to have been a purveyor, not only to the king of England, but also to those of France and Spain.

“ Charles the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most illustrious and most high prince, the Lord Nicholas Cottoner, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta, our well-beloved cousin and friend, greeting.

“ It having appeared to us a matter of interest not only to ourselves, but likewise to the whole Christian world, that we should keep in the Mediterranean Sea a certain number of galleys, ready to afford prompt aid to our neighbours and allies against the frequent insults of the barbarians and Turks; we lately caused to be constructed two galleys, one in Genoa and the other in the port of Leghorn. In order to man these, we directed a person well acquainted with such affairs to be sent, as to other parts, so also to the island of Malta, subject to the rule of your highness, in order *to buy slaves* and procure other necessaries. He *having purchased some slaves*, it has been reported to us that your highness's collector of customs demanded five pieces of gold of Malta money before they could be permitted to embark, under the title of toll; at which proceeding we were certainly not a little astonished, it appearing to us a novel arrangement,



and one contrary to the usual custom ; especially since it is well known to us that our neighbours and allies, the kings of France and Spain, are never accustomed to pay anything, under the title of toll, *for the slaves which they cause yearly to be transported from your island.* We therefore beg your highness, by the good and long friendship existing between us, to grant to us the same privilege in regard to this kind of commerce within the territories of your highness, as is enjoyed by both our said neighbours and allies ; which, although it ought to be conceded to us simply on account of our mutual friendship, and our affection towards your highness and the illustrious Order of Malta, still we shall receive so gratefully, that, if at any time we can do anything to please your highness, we shall be always ready to do it with all attention and most willingly. In the meantime, we heartily recommend your highness and all the members of the illustrious Order of Malta, as well as all your affairs, to the divine keeping.

“Given from our palace at Westminster on the 12th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1673, and of our reign the twenty-fifth. Your highness’s good cousin and friend, CHARLES Rex.”

From the terms of this letter it appears that the deportation of slaves for the use of the kings of France and Spain was of annual occurrence, and that the “merry monarch” of England craved to be admitted to the same privilege. The results of this traffic must have been most profitable, not only from the proceeds of such as were sold, but also from the labour of those who were retained by the Order themselves. No person can now contemplate the frowning mass of batteries and ramparts, or the yawning depths of the ditches which meet

the eye on all sides as the traveller enters the harbour of Malta, without perceiving that such stupendous works could only have been erected in a spot where material was abundant, and labour a mere drug. And so in truth it was in this instance. The island of Malta is one vast quarry, and the engineers under whose guidance the ramparts of Valetta were traced found that they could raise from the ditches a sufficient body of stone to complete the construction of their walls. The numerous gangs of slaves who were awaiting the requirements of the wealthy potentates of Europe were in the meanwhile amply earning the slender cost of their maintenance in the slaves' prison at Malta, by toiling at those vast undertakings which have raised Valetta to the position of one of the most powerful fortresses in Europe. The ramparts of that city have been reared amidst the anguish and toil of countless thousands, torn from their homes and their country, and condemned to drag out the remainder of their miserable existence as mere beasts of burden, labouring to rear those bulwarks which were to be employed against themselves and their country. No existence can be conceived more utterly cheerless or more hopelessly miserable than that of the Moslem captive, whose only change from their daily slavery on the public works was to be chained to the oar of a galley. Sometimes, however, it did happen that the fortune of war favoured these miserable wretches, and that the enslaved crew of a galley found themselves suddenly liberated from their thralldom, and their haughty masters, who had so long made them toil for their behoof, condemned in just retribution to the same miseries and the same hopeless degradation.

## CHAP. XXII.

THE ORDER IN ENGLAND. — ITS INTRODUCTION INTO SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. — DIVISION INTO LANGUAGES. — LIST OF GRAND-PRIORS OF ENGLAND. — THE TURCOPOLIERS. — THE BAILIFFS OF AQUILA. — GRAND-PRIORS OF IRELAND. — PRIORS OF SCOTLAND. — DISPUTED PRECEDENCE BETWEEN THE GRAND-PRIORS OF ENGLAND AND MESSINA. — FOUNDERS AND BENEFACTORS OF THE ORDER. — LIST OF ENGLISH KNIGHTS. — PRESENT POSITION OF THE LANGUAGE.

BEFORE once again reverting to the political and general history of the Order during the remainder of its residence in the island of Malta, it may not be uninteresting to enter into a few brief particulars more immediately concerning the language of England.

From the moment of the first establishment of the Order of St. John by Peter Gerard, at Jerusalem, the English element became incorporated with the main body. The Lord Jordan Brissett, in 1101, founded a house for the benefit of the hospital at Clerkenwell, then at some distance from London, though it has since been swallowed up by the giant strides of the modern Babylon. This establishment became the nucleus of the English branch of the Order, and was speedily enlarged by many other most valuable and important donations. Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, when on a visit to England in 1185, consecrated the church of

this establishment and raised it to the dignity of a priory.

Henry I., king of England, was a considerable benefactor to the young and thriving institution, and his example was followed by many of his subjects, whilst others hastened to enrol themselves as members of an Order which was fostered and supported not only by the pontiff, but by every potentate in Europe. When the community was made military, as well as hospitaller, under Raymond du Puy, the numbers of the chivalry of England who assumed the white-cross greatly accumulated, and that nation formed a most important element in the general body.

The first introduction of the fraternity into Scotland was due to the generosity and zeal of David I., king of that country, who, shortly after his succession in 1124, established a sacred preceptory of the Order of St. John at Torpichen, in Linlithgowshire, which continued to be the chief seat of the Knights Hospitaller in Scotland until the suppression of the Order in the sixteenth century. In the year 1153, just before his death, he confirmed by a royal charter the possessions, privileges, and exemptions with which the Order had become endowed in Scotland, and he looked with so great favour on this institution, as well as that of the Temple, that the author of the Book of Cupar records, that "*Sanc-tus David de præclara militia Templi Hierosolomitani optimos fratres secum retinens eos diebus et noctibus morum suorum fecit custodes.*" His successor, Malcolm IV., increased the privileges of the Hospitallers within his kingdom, and incorporated their possessions into a barony, freed from most of the imposts appertaining to the laity. William the Lion also followed in the foot-

steps of the two previous monarchs, and made sundry additions to the munificent foundation which they had established.

The Order was first introduced into Ireland through the munificence of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, who, almost immediately after the conquest of that country by the English, endowed them with a priory at Kilmainham, near Dublin, which, in after years, became the chief seat of the Order in Ireland. This donation was made in 1174.

The fraternity having thus introduced itself into all the three kingdoms of the British islands, continued to flourish and increase until it became, next to France, the principal support of the Order. In the commencement of the 14th century, the downfall of the Templars threw a vast additional amount of property into the hands of the Hospital, even after deducting that which they were never able to realise, owing to the interposition of the rapacious interlopers who had succeeded in obtaining possession of many of the Temple lands after their suppression. About this period was first introduced the division of the Order into languages, decreed at a general chapter held at Montpelier during the Grand-Mastership of Elyon de Villanova.\* In that council, the language of England was placed sixth in rank out of the seven divisions into which the Order was formed. The three French languages of Provence, Auvergne, and France; the Italian, and the Spanish, or Aragon language ranking above it; and the German language being placed below it. Shortly afterwards an

\* Bosio asserts that the chapter which decreed this division was held at Avignon in 1322. This difference of date and place is not important.

eighth division was made, called Castile and Portugal, which was also placed below the English. The dignities of Turcopolier, grand-prior of England, grand-prior of Ireland, and bailiff d'aquila, or of the eagle, were at the same time attached to the English language.

This chapter was held in the year 1329, and at that time John Builbrux was the Turcopolier of the Order, which post he continued to hold under the new régime. Leonard de Tybertis, who had been prior of Venice, had just been elected grand-prior of England, in the place of Thomas Larcher, whose extravagance and financial incompetence had brought the English property into a state of the greatest confusion, and who had resigned his office in the early part of that year.

The following is a list of the grand-priors of England from the date of the first establishment of a priory in Clerkenwell to the suppression of the English language. Many of the names comprised in this list will be alluded to more particularly when speaking of the English Knights generally.

### *Grand-Priors of England.*

The account of the Grand-Priors previous to the commencement of the fourteenth century is very incomplete and unsatisfactory. Very probably the names of many of the Conventual Priors of St. John of Clerkenwell are mixed up with them. I give the list as they occur in the Cott. MSS., as far as the name of *William de Tottenham*: from him to the conclusion of the roll the vouchers are to be found in the "Libri Bullarum," in the Record Office at Malta.

1. Garnier de Neapolis Is the first recorded Grand-Prior of England. He could not have been the Garnier de Neapolis, afterwards Grand-

Master, and who died of wounds received at the battle of Tiberius, A.D. 1187. An ancient MS. quoted by Paolo Antonio Paoli, in the possession of the Canon Smitmer, of Vienna, proves that he was living, and Prior of England, A.D. 1189. He was in all probability a brother.

2. Richard de Turk . Was living in the time of the first Prioress of Buckland, who is said to have held that dignity for sixty years. Ob. 16th August.
3. Ralph de Dynham, Ob. 13th May.  
or Dinant.
4. Gilbert de Vere . He bestowed on the Dames of Buckland a pension of a hundred crowns, charged upon his manor of Rainham. Ob. 13th August.
5. Hugh d'Alneto, or Ob. 13th November.  
Danet.
6. Alan . . . . Afterwards Bishop of Bangor: was probably only Conventual Prior of Clerkenwell. Ob. 19th May.
7. Robert the Treasurer Ob. 26th October.
8. Theodoric de Nussa, "There went from the Hospitallers' house or Nyssa. of Clerkenwell, in London, a great number of Knights, with banner displayed, preceded by Brother Theodoric, their Prior, a German by nation, who set out for Palestine with a considerable body of troops in their pay. These Knights, passing over London-bridge, saluted with their capuce in hand all the inhabitants that crowded to see them pass, and recommended themselves to their prayers."—*Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1237, p. 444.*
9. Robert de Mauneby Prior. Ob. 14th October.
10. Robert de Vere . . Was witness, as Conservator of the Hospital, in a charter dated Acre, 19th December, 1262. He gave to the Church

of Clerkenwell one of the six water-pots in which the water was changed into wine at the Marriage of Cana in Galilee, 1269. As Prior he visited the Convent of Buckland, to arrange some disputes, and died 15th February, 1270.

11. Peter de Hockham . Named in a bull of Pope Boniface VIII. A.D. 1295. Ob. 11th January.
12. Simon Bocard . . Ob. 3rd May.
13. Elias Singleton, or Smelhton. Ob. 27th April.
14. Stephen Fulburn . Ob. 1st January.
15. Joseph de Chauncy . He built the chapel of the Lord Prior in the Conventual House of Clerkenwell; temp. Edward I.
16. Walter . . . . Gained possession of the Preceptories of Quenyngton-Schenegaye, and other lands and tenements. Ob. 27th May.
17. William de Henley . Built the cloisters of the house of Clerkenwell, A.D. 128 $\frac{3}{4}$ , and ob. 4th February the same year.
18. Richard de Penley . Was Prior before 1307. Ob. 3rd August.
19. Robert de Dynham, or Dinant. Ob. 24th November.
20. William de Tottenham. The name of this Grand-Prior is written both *Cochal* and *Tothal*, but his real name as here given is proved by a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter Rainold, to *William de Tottenham*, Grand-Prior of the Knights-Hospitallers of Jerusalem, dated Lambeth, 17th July, 1314.—*Vide* Rymer and Du Puy, Hist. des Templiers. 4to. 1751. p. 478.—He died 12th October, 1318.
21. Thomas l'Archer. . Was removed from the office of Prior at the request of the King Edward II., being incapacitated to fulfil the duties from age and infirmities, A.D. 1329.
22. Leonard de Tibertis Named by some authorities *de Theobaldi*, being Prior of Venice. Was nominated



- by the Grand-Master De Villeneuve Visitor of the English Priory, and afterwards appointed Grand-Prior of England at the special request of the King Edward II., A.D. 1329–30.
23. Philip de Tame . . Was Prior of England, A.D. 1335, 10th Edward III., and died before A.D. 1358.  
(John de Dalton) . Is said by Paoli to have been called Prior of England in a bull of the Grand-Master Berenger, but as his name does not appear as such in any of the Libri Bullarum, he was probably only Prior of the Conventual Church of Clerkenwell.
24. John de Paveley . . Lieutenant-Prior and Turcopolier, named Grand-Prior of England in a bull of the Grand-Master, Roger de Pins, dated Rhodes, 14th October, 1358. Ob. 1371.
25. Robert de Hales . . Preceptor of Slebiche and Saundford; Bailli of Aquila. Nominated Grand-Prior of England *vice* Paveley, A.D. 1371. Beheaded by Wat Tyler's mob, A.D. 1381.
26. John de Redington . Preceptor of Ribestone; Bailli of Aquila. Nominated Grand-Prior of England on the death of Robert de Hales, by bull of the Grand-Master, John de Heredia, dated Rhodes, 18th November, 1381. Ob. 1399.
27. Walter de Grendon . Preceptor of Halstone. Named Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 18th October, 1400. Ob. 1416.
28. William Hulle . . Preceptor of Swynefield, Templecombe, and Quenyngton. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 16th July, 1417. Ob. A.D. 1433.
29. Robert Mallory . . Preceptor of Greneham, Balsal, and Grafton. Elected Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Anthony

Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 4th May, 1433.  
Ob. A.D. 1440.

30. Robert Boutil, or Preceptor of Melchebourne, Anstey, and Bootle. Trebighe. Made Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Jean de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 29th November, 1440. Ob. A.D. 1468.
31. John Langstrother . Preceptor of Balsal and Grafton ; Lieut.-Turcopolier ; Receiver-General of England ; Castellan of Rhodes ; Bailli of Aquila ; Seneschal of the Grand-Master ; Commander of Cyprus. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Jean Baptiste Orsini, dated Rhodes, 5th April, 1470. Made prisoner, and beheaded after the battle of Tewkesbury, by order of Edward IV. A.D. 1471. Buried in the Church of St. John, at Clerkenwell.
32. William Tornay . . Preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne ; Receiver-General of England ; Bailli of Aquila. Appointed Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, John Baptiste Orsini, dated Rhodes, 29th August, 1471. Ob. A.D. 1476.
33. John Weston . . . Preceptor of Newland and Dynemore ; Lieut.-Turcopolier ; Turcopolier. Appointed Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 24th July, 1476. Ob. A.D. 1489.
34. John Kendal . . . Preceptor of Willoughton, Halstone, and Ribestone ; Turcopolier. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 20th June, 1489. Ob. A.D. 1501.
35. Thomas Docwra . . Preceptor of Dynemore ; Lieut.-Turcopolier ; Prior of Ireland ; Turcopolier. Elected Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson,

- dated Rhodes, 6th August, 1501. Ob. A.D. 1527.
36. William Weston . . Preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne; Turcopolier. Named Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Philip Villiers de Lisle Adam, dated Corneto, 27th June, 1527. Died of grief for the dissolution of the Language of England, A.D. 1540. Buried in the Church of St. John of Clerkenwell.
37. Thomas Tresham . . Appointed Grand-Prior of England by a Royal Charter of Queen Mary, dated Greenwich, 2nd April, 1557.
38. Richard Shelley . . Turcopolier, 2nd April, 1557. Named Grand-Prior of England on the death of Thomas Tresham, A.D. 1566; supposed to have died at Venice, circ. 1589-90.
39. Andrew Wyse . . Bailli of Aquila, 1588. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by papal brief, A.D. 1593. Ob. A.D. 1631.
40. Henry Fitz-James . . Natural son of King James II. of England. Nominated Grand-Prior of England on visiting Malta, by bull of the Grand-Master, Gregorio Caraffa, A.D. 1687; quitted the habit of the Order, and resigned the Grand-Priory, A.D. 1701.

*Titular Grand-Priors of England.*

41. François Astorg de Segreville. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by his uncle, the Grand-Master, Loubens de Verdale, by bull dated Malta, 22nd April, 1591, but obliged to resign the dignity on protest to the Pope of the Bailli of Aquila, Andrew Wyse; created instead Bailli of Aquila, 8th June, 1593.
42. Cesare Ferretti . . Assisted at a Chapter-General, A.D. 1612, as Prior of England, Andrew Wyse still living.

43. Giovanni Battista Nari. Elected Grand-Prior of England by papal brief, A.D. 1631.
44. Alessandro Zambeccari. Nominated by papal brief, dated Rome, 9th May, 1639, Grand-Prior of England.
45. Geronimo Alliata . Elected Grand-Prior of England, by papal brief, dated Rome, 5th June, 1648.
46. Stefano Maria Lomellino. Named by papal brief Grand-Prior of England, dated Rome, 19th June, 1654.
47. Giulio Bovio . . . Commander of San Giovanni di Tortona and Orvieto. Appointed Grand-Prior of England by brief of Pope Clement XI., dated Rome, 11th July, 1701. Ob. A.D. 1706.
48. Francesco Maria Ferretti. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by brief of Pope Clement XI., dated Rome, 11th December, 1706; registered in Council, 26th March, 1707. Resigned the Grand-Priory.
49. Nicolo Giraldin . . Appointed Grand-Prior of England by papal brief dated Rome, 9th August, 1726; registered in Council, 18th August, 1732.
50. Peter Fitz-James . Nominated Grand-Prior of England by papal brief. No date given.
51. Buonaventura Fitz-James. Grand-Prior of England, named by papal brief; registered in Council, 13th May, A.D. 1734; resigned the dignity and the habit, A.D. 1755.
52. Giovanni Battista Altieri. Appointed Grand-Prior of England by brief of Pope Benedict XIV., dated Rome, 20th September, 1755; registered in Council, 23rd October, 1755. Resigned the dignity, being appointed Grand-Prior of Venice.
53. Girolamo Laparelli . Grand-Prior of England, living at Catania, A.D. 1806.

*Turcopoliers of the English Language.*

The Turcopolier was the title peculiar to the head of the venerable language of England: he was commander of the Turcoples or Light Cavalry, and had also the care of the coast defences of the two islands of Rhodes and Malta. Upon the death of the Turcopolier Nicholas Upton, A.D. 1551, it was determined by the council that no more Turcopoliers should be elected till the religious troubles in England should be satisfactorily arranged; which decree was confirmed by papal briefs, and the office of Turcopoliers at the same time incorporated with the dignity of Grand-Master, in the years 1583, 1584, and 1613.

1. Peter de Sardines . Turcoplerius: was witness to a charter of the Abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, in Jerusalem, granting the casal of Montdisder to the Knights-Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, A.D. 1248.
2. John de Buisbrox, or Braibroc. Was nominated Turcopolier at a General Chapter held at Montpelier, on the 24th October, 1329–30, under the Grand-Master Elion de Villeneuve, when the grand dignities were attached to the eight Languages, that of Turcopolier being confirmed to England.
3. John de Paveley . Named Turcopolier in a bull, dated A.D. 1335, Grand-Prior.
4. William de Midleton Preceptor of Ribestone and Mount St. John: named Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, Raymond Berenger, dated Rhodes, 28th January, 1365.
5. Richard de Overtone Preceptor of Mount St. John, Receiver of England; named Turcopolier in a brief of Pope Gregory XI., dated Avignon, December, A.D. 1375.

6. Brian de Grey . . . Named Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, John de Heredia, dated Rhodes, 22nd February, 1385-6, confirming to him the Bailliage of Aquila for life, and the Preceptory of Beverley in commendam. Ob. 1389.
7. Hildebrand Inge . . . Preceptor of Buckland, and Receiver-General of England: nominated Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, John de Heredia, dated Rhodes, 20th October, 1392.
8. Peter de Holte . . . Prior of Ireland: appointed Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, Philibert de Naillac, confirming to him also the Priory of Ireland for ten years, dated Rhodes, 2nd August, 1396. Ob. A.D. 1415.
9. Thomas de Skipwith . . . Preceptor of Beverley and Schengaye: named Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 10th September, 1417. He resigns the Turcopoliership on being appointed Commander of Cyprus, 1421. Ob. A.D. 1422.
10. Thomas Launcelyn . . . Preceptor of Baddesley, Dalby, and Rotheley: appointed Turcopolier on resignation of Thomas de Skipwith, by bull of the Grand-Master, Anthony Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 3rd October, 1421. Ob. A.D. 1442.
11. Hugh Midleton . . . Preceptor of Willoughton and Beverley: Bailli of Aquila; made Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, Jean de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 19th June, 1442. Ob. A.D. 1449.
12. William Daunay . . . Preceptor of Dynemore: elected Turcopolier on the death of Hugh Midleton, by bull of the Grand-Master, Jean de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 18th June, 1449. Ob. 1468.

13. Robert Tong . . . Preceptor of Mount St. John : named Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, John Baptist Orsini, dated Rhodes, A.D. 1468 ; resigned the Turcopoliership on being nominated Bailli of Aquila, A.D. 1471.
14. John Weston . . . Preceptor of Newland and Dynemore : appointed Turcopolier, on mutition of Robert Tong, by bull of the Grand-Master, John Baptist Orsini, dated Rhodes, 16th October, A.D. 1471 : afterwards Grand-Prior of England.
15. John Kendal . . . Preceptor of Willoughton : elected Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 14th March, 147 $\frac{2}{7}$ , on the elevation of John Weston to be Grand-Prior ; and whom he also succeeded in that dignity, 1489.
16. John Bosvile . . . Preceptor of Temple-Bruer and Quenyngton : nominated Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, Rhodes, 20th June, A.D. 1489. Ob. A.D. 1494.
17. Thomas Docwra . . . Preceptor of Dynemore, Prior of Ireland : named Turcopolier in a brief dated Rhodes, 14th October, 1495 ; succeeded to the Grand-Priory of England, A.D. 1501.
18. Thomas Newport . . . Preceptor of Newland and Temple-Bruer ; Receiver of the Common Treasury : made Turcopolier, *vice* Docwra ; nominated Grand-Prior, A.D. 1501 ; Bailli of Aquila by mutition, 1502.
19. Robert Daniel . . . Preceptor of Swinefield : nominated Turcopolier, by brief of the Grand-Master, Cardinal Pierre d'Aubusson ; Rhodes, 30th March, 150 $\frac{3}{4}$ .
20. William Darell . . . Preceptor of Willoughton ; Lieutenant-Turcopolier : named Turcopolier in a bull of Emeri d'Amboise, Grand-Master,

dated Rhodes, 5th February, 150~~7~~<sup>8</sup>.  
Ob. A.D. 1519.

21. John Bouth, Bouch, Preceptor of Quenyngton, Anstey, and  
or Buck Trebigh; Receiver-General: named Turcopolier in succession to William Darell, A.D. 1519. Was slain, at the third and most desperate assault on the bulwark of England, at the siege of Rhodes, A.D. 1522.
22. William Weston . . Preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne, &c. : elected Turcopolier in the Chapter held in Candia after the expulsion of the Order from Rhodes, 1523. Commanded the grand carracque of the Order; made Grand-Prior, A.D. 1527.
23. John Rawson . . . Preceptor of Swinefield; Prior of Ireland: nominated Turcopolier by bull of Philip Villiers L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master, dated Corneto, 27th June, 1527. Was reappointed Prior of Ireland, resigning the dignity of Turcopolier.
24. John Babington . . Preceptor of Dalby and Rotheley; Prior of Ireland; Receiver-General: elected Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, L'Isle Adam, dated, "From our Priory House of the Hospital in England," 4th June, 1528; Bailli of Aquila by mutition, 153~~4~~.
25. Clement West (de- Preceptor of Slebeche; Receiver of the  
prived) Common Treasury: named Turcopolier by bull of L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master, dated Malta, 7th January, 153~~4~~. Deprived of the habit and dignity for insubordinate conduct, A.D. 1533.
26. Roger Boydel . . . Preceptor of Halstone, Baddesley, and Mayne: appointed Turcopolier, *vice* Clement West, deprived February, A.D. 1533. Ob. March, 1533.
27. John Rawson, Junior Preceptor of Quenyngton; Receiver of the Treasury: nominated Turcopolier by



- bull of the Grand-Master, L' Isle Adam, dated Malta, 19th April, 1533. Resigned that dignity, and elected instead Bailli of Aquila, 1534-5.
- Clement West (re- stored) Was restored to the habit and the dignity of Turcopolier, 15th February, 1534; and again deprived and imprisoned, A.D. 1539. Ob. A.D. 1547.
28. Gyles Russel . . . Preceptor of Baddesfort and Dingley; Lieutenant-Turcopolier; Captain of Il Borgho: nominated Turcopolier, *vice* West, deprived A.D. 1539. Ob. A.D. 1543.
- (Oswald Massing-berd, Lieutenant-Turcopolier) Lieutenant-Turcopolier, so named, *vice* Russel, dead: nominated Prior of Ireland under certain conditions, A.D. 1547.
29. Nicholas Upton . . Preceptor of Ribestone: elected Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, John d'Omedes, dated Malta, 5th November, 1548. Died of a *coup-de-soleil*, received whilst repelling a landing of the Turks on the Island of Malta, A.D. 1551.
- (Oswald Massing-berd, again) Lieutenant - Turcopolier: so nominated again on the death of the Turcopolier Upton. Confirmed Prior of Ireland, A.D. 1555.
30. Richard Shelley . . Preceptor of Slebeche and Halstone: nominated Turcopolier by charter of Mary, Queen of England, dated Greenwich, 2nd April, 1557; afterwards Grand-Prior, 1566.

### *Titular Turcopoliers.*

- Don Pedro Gonsalez de Mendoza Son of the viceroy of Naples: named Turcopolier by papal brief, A.D. 1576; resigns the dignity, 1578: nominated Prior of Ireland, A.D. 1582.
- François de l'Espinay-St. Luc Appointed Turcopolier by brief of Pope Pius V. while yet in his noviciate. On protest from the whole Order, the ob-

noxious appointment was revoked, A.D. 1606.

Johann Baptist von Bailli of the Anglo-Bavarian language :  
Flackslanden elected Turcopolier, registered in council,  
7th November, 1782, Emmanuel de  
Rohan, Grand-Master ; Bailli of Aquila  
by mutition, 1794.

The Bailliage of Ecle, Eycle, Egle, Eagle, or Aquila, a preceptory situated about seven miles from the city of Lincoln, was granted to the Knights-Templars by King Stephen, about 1139. At the suppression of that Order it passed into possession of the Knights-Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

*Baillis of Aquila, or of the Eagle.*

1. Robert Cort . . . The first-named Preceptor of the Eycle in the report of the possessions of the Knights-Hospitallers, made by the Grand-Prior of England, Philip de Thame, to the Grand-Master Elion de Villeneuve. A.D. 1338.
2. John de Anlaby . . Called Preceptor of Eycle, in a grant to him of certain Commanderies by the Grand-Master Dieudonné de Gozon. Bull dated Rhodes, 1st August, 1351.
3. Robert de Hales . . Preceptor of Beverley and the Ecle ; so called in a bull of the Grand-Master, Roger de Pins, dated Rhodes, 1st June, 1358 ; afterwards Grand-Prior of England.
4. John de Dingley . . Preceptor of Dalby and the Ycle : named in a bull of Raymond Berenger, Grand-Master, dated Rhodes, 20th February, 1364.
5. John de Maneby . . Preceptor of the Eagle : named in a grant of the Grand-Master, d'Heredia, dated

Rhodes, 18th November, 1381, as having died that year.

6. John de Redington . Received the Bailliage of the Eagle, to hold as a "fifth Commandery," being at this time Grand-Prior of England, by grant of the same Grand-Master. Bull dated Rhodes, 18th November, 1381.
7. Brian de Grey . . Preceptor of Beverley; Turcopolier: receives for life a grant of the Bailliage of Aquila, resigned by the Grand-Prior, Redington. Bull dated February, 138 $\frac{5}{8}$ . Heredia, Grand-Master. To hold with the office of Turcopolier.
8. Henry Crownal . . Preceptor of Willoughton: succeeded to the Bailliage of Aquila on the death of Brian de Grey, September, 1389. Ob. A.D. 1433.
9. William Poole . . Preceptor of Dynemore and Garrewayes: nominated Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Anthony Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 19th July, 1433; resigned the dignity 1438, and died the same year.
10. Hugh Midleton . . Preceptor of Beverley: made Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 23rd January, 143 $\frac{3}{8}$ ; Turcopolier by mutation, 1442. Ob. 1449.
11. WilliamLangstrother Preceptor of Quenyngton: appointed Bailli of Aquila, by bull dated Rhodes, 19th June, 1442, John de Lastic, Grand-Master. Ob. A.D. 1463.
12. John Langstrother . Preceptor of Beverley, Balsal, Ribestone, &c.; Lieut.-Turcopolier, &c.: created Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 28th February, 146 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; promoted to the Grand-Priory of England, A.D. 1470; beheaded 1471.
13. William Tornay . . Preceptor of Dalby and Rotheley; Receiver-General: nominated Bailli of

- Aquila, bull dated Rhodes, 5th April, 1470, John Baptist Orsini, Grand-Master ; Grand-Prior of England, 1471. Ob. 1476.
14. Robert Tong . . . Preceptor of Mount St. John ; Turcopolier : mutitioned Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Orsini, dated Rhodes, 29th August, 1471. Ob. A.D. 1481.
15. Thomas Green . . . Preceptor of Schenegaye : nominated Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 11th July, 1481. Ob. A.D. 1502.
16. Thomas Newport . . . Preceptor of Newland, &c. ; Receiver-General of England ; Turcopolier : transferred to the Bailliage of Aquila, by mutition, bull dated Rhodes, 10th March, 1503, d'Aubusson, Grand-Master. Drowned on the Coast of Spain hastening to the relief of Rhodes, besieged by the Turks, A.D. 1522.
17. Thomas Sheffield . . . Preceptor of Beverley ; Receiver-General of England ; Seneschal of the Grand-Master : named Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, L'Isle Adam, dated Messina, 4th May, 1523. Ob. at Viterbo, A.D. 1524.
18. Alban Pole . . . Preceptor of Newland, Ossington, and Winklebourn : appointed Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, L'Isle Adam, dated Viterbo, 26th August, 1524. Ob. A.D. 1530.
19. John Babington . . . Preceptor of Dalby, &c. ; Prior of Ireland ; Receiver-General of England ; Turcopolier : made Bailli of Aquila, by mutition, bull dated Malta, 7th January, 1534. Ob. A.D. 1534.
20. John Rawson, jun. . . Preceptor of Quenyngton ; Receiver-General ; Turcopolier ; Bailli of Aquila, bull dated Malta, 15th February, 1534, Pierre de Ponte, Grand-Master.

21. Pedro Felices de la Nuça . . Commander of the Language of Aragon : created Bailli of Aquila, by charter of Mary, Queen of England, dated Greenwich, 2nd April, 1557. Was slain at the siege of Malta, A.D. 1565.
22. Oliver Starkey . . Commander of Quenyngton ; Lieutenant-Turcopolier : Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre de Monte, Malta, 3rd October, 1569. Ob. 1588, buried in the vault of the Grand-Masters in the Conventual Church of Saint John, the only Knight of the Order so distinguished.
23. Andrew Wyse . . Nominated Bailli of Aquila on death of Oliver Starkey, being the only English Knight in the Convent, Malta, 27th April, 1588 ; Loubens de Verdale, Grand-Master ; was afterwards Grand-Prior of England, 1593. Ob. A.D. 1631.

*Titular Baillis of Aquila.*

24. François d'Astorg de Segreville . . Appointed Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Verdale, dated Malta, 8th June, 1593. Ob. A.D. 1612.
25. Luis Mendez de Vasconcellos . . A Portuguese Commander of the Language of Castile : named Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Alof de Vignacourt, Malta, 29th August, 1612 ; afterwards Grand-Master.
26. Michel de Pontailler-Thallemey . . Nominated Bailli of Aquila, by brief, dated Malta, 20th February, 1622. Ob. A.D. 1630.
27. Jean de Bernois-Villeneuve . . Appointed Bailli of Aquila, on the death of Thallemey, 13th June, 1630. Ob. A.D. 1656.
28. Ottavio Bandinelli . . Named Bailli of Aquila, by papal brief, Rome, 22nd April, 1656.
29. Jacques de Sparvier-Corbonneau . . Nominated Bailli of Aquila, by brief, 14th May, 1671, Grand-Commander, 1672.

30. Don Diego Bragamon- Made Bailli of Aquila, by brief of Pope Clement X., 22nd May, 1673. Ob. A.D. 1690.
31. Don Emmanuel de Tordesillas Created Bailli of Aquila, by papal brief of Alexander VIII., 20th September, 1690 Ob. A.D. 1702.
32. Richard de Sade- Mazan Commander of Puysmaison : named Bailli of Aquila, by brief of the Pope, Clement XI., 18th August, 1702 ; registered in Council 11th September, 1702 ; Grand-Commander, 1714.
33. Antonio Domenico Bussi Commander : appointed Bailli of Aquila, by brief of Pope Clement XI., dated Rome, 23rd June, 1714 ; registered in Council 28th July, 1715.
34. Francesco de Guedez-Pereira A Commander of Portugal ; Vice-Chancellor : nominated Bailli of Aquila by papal brief, dated Rome, 22nd March, 1755.
35. Henri François de Guiran la Brillane Elected Bailli of Aquila, by papal brief of Pius VI., Rome, 18th May, 1781 ; registered in Council, 12th July, 1781.
36. Norbert von Törring Commander of Erding, of the Anglo-Bavarian Language : named Bailli of Aquila, by brief of Pope Pius VI. ; registered in Council 10th September, 1790 ; afterwards Lieutenant-Turcopolier, 1792.
37. Johann Baptiste von Flachslanden Turcopolier (Titular) of the Language Anglo-Bavarian : nominated Bailli of Aquila, by brief of Pius VI. Pope ; registered in Council 26th February, 1793.

### *Priors of Ireland.*

No mention occurs of a Prior of Ireland before the chapter-general of the Order held at Montpellier, A.D. 1329-30, Elion de Villeneuve, Grand-Master.

1. Roger Weillam . . Was present as "Prior Hibernia prioratûs" at the General Chapter held at Mont-

- pellier, Elion de Villeneuve, Grand-Master, presiding, A.D. 1329-30.
2. John l'Archer . . . Preceptor of Dalby and Mayne; Prior of Ireland: named in a bull of the Grand-Master Dieudonné de Gozon, dated Rhodes, 28th October, 1351.
  3. Thomas de Burle . . . Preceptor of Dynemore and Barrowe: named Prior of Ireland in a bull dated Rhodes, 15th February, 1365; Raymond Berenger, Grand-Master.
  4. William de Tabney . . . Named Prior of Ireland in a bull of the Grand-Master d'Heredia, dated Rhodes, 24th March, 138 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Was present as Prior of Ireland at a General Council, 2nd August, 1382.
  5. Peter de Holte . . . Was Prior of Ireland previous to 1396. On being nominated Turcopolier, by bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, the 2nd of August of that year, he was therein confirmed Prior of Ireland for ten years longer. Resigned the Priory of Ireland 1410; and died A.D. 1415.
  6. Thomas le Bouteler . . . Named Prior of Ireland in a bull of the Lieutenancy of the Grand-Master de Naillac, Rhodes, 12th May, 1410. Ob. A.D. 1420.
  7. Richard Paule . . . Preceptor of Templebruer: nominated Prior of Ireland by bull of the Grand-Master de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 31st October, 1420. Resigned the Priory of Ireland, 1422.
  8. William Fitz-Thomas . . . Appointed Prior of Ireland by a bull of the Grand-Master Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 24th June, 1422.
- (Maurice Fitz-William) The Priory of Ireland was seized upon and wrongfully usurped, without any nomination of the Grand-Master and Council, on the death of William Fitz-Thomas, the Prior, by Maurice Fitz-William. He

being shortly after deprived by the unanimous act of the Irish Knights, the nomination of a successor was left in the hands of the Grand-Master and Council, A.D. 1440.

9. Edmond Asheton . . Preceptor of Anstey and Trebigh: was nominated to the vacant Priory of Ireland by the Grand-Master Jean de Lastic; bull dated Rhodes, 12th July, 1440. Ob. A.D. 1442.
10. Hugh Middleton . . Preceptor of Willoughton and Beverley; Bailli of Aquila; Turcopolier: nominated Visitor of the Priory of Ireland by bull dated Rhodes, 20th November, 1442. Afterwards confirmed Prior, as appears by a bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 12th September, 1450.
- ( Thomas Talbot) . . Was nominated Administrator of the Priory of Ireland 1446-9. Owing to his mal-administration, and letters written from the King Henry VI., from the Council of the Irish Commanders, and from the Chapter of the Priory of Dublin, he was removed from his office.
11. Thomas Fitz-Gerald Confirmed Prior of Ireland, at the request of the Irish Commanders, by bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 10th September, 1450. Ob. A.D. 1453.
12. Thomas Talbot . . Appointed Prior of Ireland, notwithstanding his former deprivation, on the death of Fitz-Gerald, by bull, dated Rhodes, 1st February, 145 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; De Lastic, Grand-Master. Was again deprived for mal-administration, 1459.
13. James Keating . . Commander of Clontarf and Kilmainhambeg: nominated Prior of Ireland, *vice* Talbot, deprived, 21st October, 1459; and confirmed by bull of the



- Grand-Master Raymond Zacosta, dated Rhodes, 9th July, 1461. Was deprived of the Priory, for mal-administration and disobedience, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 18th December, 1482.
14. Marmaduke Lumley. Preceptor of Templecombe: nominated Prior of Ireland, *vice* Keating, deprived, by bull, dated Rhodes, 28th December, 1482; Peter d'Aubusson, Grand-Master. Ob. A.D. 1494.
15. Thomas Docwra . . . Preceptor of Dynemore, &c.: appointed Prior of Ireland by bull of the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 24th October, 1494. Resigned the Priory 1495, having been mutitioned Turcopolier.
16. Robert Eure . . . Preceptor of Slebeche: made Prior of Ireland A.D. 1496. Deprived of the Priory (suspended), for misgovernment and debts, by bull of the Grand-Master Emeri d'Amboise, Rhodes, 8th May, 1511. Ob. at Rhodes, 1513.
17. John Rawson . . . Appointed Lieutenant-Prior, and Administrator of the Priory of Ireland, by bull of the Grand-Master, dated 8th June, 1511. Confirmed Prior by another bull of the same, Rhodes, 15th March, 1513. Resigned the Priory of Ireland on being mutitioned Turcopolier, 27th June, 1527.
18. John Babington . . . Preceptor of Dalby and Rotheley, &c.: nominated Prior of Ireland by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated Corneto, 27th June, 1527. Resigned the Priory on being named Turcopolier, exchanging dignities with John Rawson, re-appointed Prior of Ireland, 1528.
19. John Rawson (again) Resumed the Priory of Ireland by request of the King, Henry VIII. Confirmed by bull of the same Grand-Master, dated

from "Our Priory House of the Hospital in England," 4th June, 1528; and re-confirmed by an additional bull of the same, dated "Dover near the Sea, in England, in domo qua in itineris Hospitali sumus," 5th June, 1528. Ob. A.D. 1547.

20. Oswald Massingberd Lieutenant-Turcopolier: appointed Prior of Ireland on the death of Rawson, by bull of the Grand-Master John d'Omedes, Malta, 27th August, 1547; on condition that he, Massingberd, should not assume the title, or the Grand-Cross, till legally in possession of his Priory. The Priory being confirmed to him by Queen Mary, he was allowed the dignity, by bull of the Grand-Master Claude de la Sangle, dated Malta, 2nd August, 1554. He afterwards resigned the Priory into the hands of Commissioners appointed by Elizabeth, 3rd June, 1558.

### *Titular Priors of Ireland.*

21. Maturin de l'Escut Named Prior of Ireland A.D. 1573. Ob. at Romegas. Rome, 1582.
22. Don Pedro Gonzalez Confirmed Prior of Ireland by bull of the de Mendoza. Grand-Master Loubens de Verdale, Malta, 27th July, 1582. Resigned the Priory of Ireland on being mutilated to the Bailliage of Negropont, 1607.
23. Don Diego Brochero Nominated Prior of Ireland by papal brief, A.D. 1609. Appointed Grand-Chancellor A.D. 1613.
24. Don Michaele Cal- Appointed Prior of Ireland, 1613. Ob. deron. A.D. 1621.
25. Don Prosper Colonna Nominated Prior of Ireland, A.D. 1621. Ob. A.D. 1655.
26. Angelo della Ciaja . Created Prior of Ireland by papal brief, dated Rome, 25th February, 1666.

27. Pietro Ottoboni, Cardinal . . . Made Prior of Ireland by brief of the Pope Alexander VIII., A.D. 1690.
28. Antonio Maria Buoncompagni Ludovisi . . . Created Prior of Ireland by brief registered in the Council, 24th November, 1741.
29. Francesco Carvalho Pinto . . . Commander of Portugal : nominated Prior of Ireland by brief of Pope Pius VI.; registered in Council, 20th June, 1792.

### *Priors of Scotland.*

There are very few records to be found regarding the Priors of Scotland, or Preceptors of Torphichen, as they are usually styled; none are to be met with in the archives preserved in Malta before the year 1386. The names of the first four preceptors are borrowed from various authorities.

1. Archibald . . . . Named "Magister de Torphichen" in a charter of Alexander, Great Steward of Scotland, dated 1252.
2. Alexander de Welles . . . Swore fealty to king Edward I. of England, as "Prior Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Jerusalemitani in Scotiâ," A.D. 1291. His name also occurs in the Ragman Roll, as "Gardeyn del' Hospital de Seint Jehan de Jerusalem en Ecoce." He was slain at the battle of Falkirk, 22nd of July, 1298.
3. Ranulph de Lyndsay . . . Is said to have succeeded the Prior Welles, and to have ruled the Order in Scotland till after the year 1315.
4. William de la More . . . Supposed, from charters, to have lived in the reign of David II.
5. Edward de Brenne . . . Named Prior of Scotland and Receiver-General, in a bull of the Grand-Master Heredia, dated Rhodes, 5th of June, 1386, granting a lease of the lands of Torphichen, vacant by death of David de Marr, to a certain Richard de Cornel.

6. John de Bynnyngge . A bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 24th July, 1410, grants the Bailliage of Scotland for five years to John de Bynnyngge. He being bound to pay certain responsions specified.
7. Henry Livingston . Named Prior of Scotland, and Preceptor of Torphichen, in a bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, regarding the payment of arrears of responsions, dated Rhodes, 5th September, 1449. Ob. A.D. 1462.  
 (William Hulles) . A bull of the Grand-Master Fluvian, dated  
 (Robert Mallory) Rhodes, 8th May, 1433, complains of the non-payment of responsions, mortuary dues, and other imposts, by the Prior of Scotland, and appoints Robert Mallory, Grand-Prior of England, Administrator of the Priory of Scotland, to hold that office as his predecessor, William Hulles, Grand-Prior of England, had held it before him.
8. William Meldrum . Is named administrator of the Priory of Scotland in a bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 9th January, 1453, by which he is summoned to Rhodes to account for his mal-administration. In another bull of the same, dated 24th November, 1454, he is called Preceptor of Torphichen.  
 (Patrick Skougall) . Administrator of the Priory. On the nomination of William Knolles, he petitions the Grand-Master and Council for the dignity of Prior, asserting that Knolles had been unjustly appointed in his place. The council decide against him, but grant him an indemnity, by bull, dated Rhodes, 3rd September, A.D. 1473. John Baptist Orsini, Grand-Master.
9. William Knolles . . Nominated Prior of Scotland, *vice* Livings-

- ton, dead, by bull of the Grand-Master Orsini, dated Rhodes, 22nd December, 1466. Resigned the Priory A.D. 1504; and died before the 24th June, A.D. 1510.
- (Patrick Knolles) . . . Named coadjutor of his uncle, William Knolles (in a bull cited below), who was incapacitated by age and infirmities from governing the Priory. Ob. ante 1500.
- (Robert Stuart d'Aubigny.) . . . Nephew of the Lord Bernard d'Aubigny: appointed coadjutor of the Prior William Knolles, in place of Patrick Knolles, dead, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 17th March, 150½.
10. George Dundas . . . Appointed Prior of Scotland, on the resignation of William Knolles, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Amboise, dated Rhodes, 1st July, 1504. Ob. A.D. 1532.
11. Walter Lyndsay . . . Received into the Order by the Turcopolier, William Weston, 31st December, 1525. Nominated Prior of Scotland by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated Malta, 6th March, 153½.
12. James Sandilands . . . Named Prior of Scotland in a bull of the Grand-Master d'Omedes, dated Malta, 2nd April, 1547. Having adopted the Protestant faith, he surrendered the possessions of the Priory to the government, and receiving a grant of them to himself, with the title of Lord Torphichen, founded the existing family bearing that name.
13. James Irvine . . . Is said to have succeeded Sandilands in the nominal dignity of Prior of Scotland; an old poem of the times also mentions a *David Seton* as the last who bore that title, towards the end of the sixteenth century.
14. David Seton . . . Is said to have been the last Prior of Scotland, and to have retired to Germany

with the greater portion of his Scottish brethren, about 1572-73. In an old poem of that period he is mentioned as the head of the Scottish Hospitallers. The poem is entitled "The Holy Kirke and his Theeves." After apostrophising Sir James Sandilands for his treachery to the Order, it proceeds thus :—

" Fye upon the traitor then,  
 Quha has broucht us to sic pass,  
 Greedie als the knave Judas !  
 Fye upon the churle quwhat solde  
 Halie Erthe for heavie golde ;  
 But the Order felt na losse,  
 Quhan David Setonne bare the Crosse." &c.

David Seton is said to have died about 1591 ; and to have been buried in the Church of the Scotch Benedictines at Ratisbonne. He was of the noble house of Wintoun.

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It appears from the correspondence of Mary Queen of Scots, recently published by Prince Alexander Labanoff, that a project was formed in 1580, for wresting Ireland from the domination of England, and transferring it to the Order of St. John ; but the Grand-Master declined the alluring bait, being well assured of the impossibility of maintaining any secure hold on the country, even should the conspiracy have succeeded so far as to obtain possession of it in the first instance.

All the historians of the Order of St. John who have treated upon the subject of the relative ranks of the different dignities in the chapters-general and other assemblies, have made an error in the position which they allot to the grand-prior of England. They have, one

and all, placed him twenty-fifth upon the list,\* whereas a document is in existence in the record office of Malta, which proves that in 1566 it was decided his place should be above both the prior of Messina and the castellan of Emposta, which would fix him in the twenty-second place.† As this document, which was written by Oliver Starkey, secretary to La Valette, who was present during the debate, gives an interesting insight into the method adopted during the sixteenth century for deciding delicate points of etiquette, it may be as well to annex a translation of it. It ran as follows:—

“On occasion of the dispute and controversy which arose between the most illustrious and very reverend the priors of England and Messina concerning their pre-eminence, namely, which of the two should take precedence of the other at the meetings of council, at public assemblies, and other solemn congregations of this Order, the very reverend and most illustrious the Grand-Master, with his venerable council, appointed a commission, consisting of the very reverend Fr. Antonio Cressini, prior of the church, Fr. Pietro Maréchal, and Don Fernando del Arcon, lieutenant to the High Chancellor, in order that they, having inquired into the pretensions and allegations of both parties, and having consulted and examined the documents which they should respectively produce from the registry, might

\* This would correspond with No. 26 in the list enumerated in the preceding chapter of this work; the difference being caused by the insertion in that list of the Turcopolier as No. 8, whereas this dignitary is omitted in all former lists, owing to the suppression of the language.

† Or 23rd in the preceding list.

make a just and unbiassed report to the council, who, having executed the orders which were given to them, reported to the said very reverend Grand-Master and his council that, having heard all which the priors and their procurators had alleged in defence, and in favour of their own cause, and having carefully considered the statements contained in the documents from the registry produced by them, they discovered that the priors of England, both in the general chapters and in the ordinary assemblies of this Order, had been accustomed to take precedence, not only of the said priors of Messina, but also of the castellani d'Emposta, who precede the said priors of Messina, and who take precedence of several other members of the Order. Whence it came to pass that the very reverend the Grand-Master and his venerable council, having heard in profound silence the report of the said commissioners, and having discussed the contents of the documents produced, as to whether they were or were not explicit upon the point in question, unanimously agreed that the said priors of England should take precedence of the priors of Messina. Moreover, to remove all cause of dispute, which it was foreseen might in many ways arise, if any decree should be published regarding this precedence, it was resolved that no sentence should be recorded, the more so, as, in contesting the right of pre-eminence, it was generally acknowledged that the documents produced by authority from the registry, in conformity with the regulations and ancient custom of this convent, form in themselves the most equitable and most dispassionate sentence that could possibly have been anticipated. It therefore seemed proper to the whole council that the most illustrious and very reverend the Grand-Master, in order



to intimate this right of pre-eminence, should proceed as follows: namely, that after summoning the contending parties into his presence and that of his council, the very reverend the Grand-Master should assign to each his place, without the use of any words, and should allot by gesture the place of greater pre-eminence to the prior of England, and the place of less eminence to the prior of Messina; without, however, in any way prejudicing any claims which he should at any future time lawfully make and support in favour of his pretensions: which command the most illustrious the Grand-Master carried into execution, and having summoned the said priors into his presence, and into that of his council, said unto them, ‘Sir Knights, we, having listened attentively to the reports of the commissioners, and having subsequently discussed together all the arguments and reasons which each of you have respectively produced from the registry in favour of your pre-eminence, do ordain and require that you, the prior of England, should sit in that place, and you, the prior of Messina, in that other place, without prejudice to any further claims;’ pointing to the places with his finger where they were to be seated. The position assigned to the prior of England was the more distinguished, because it was immediately below the marshal, who is second bailiff of the convent; and that of the prior of Messina was inferior, from being below that of the admiral, who is the fourth in rank amongst the bailiffs of the convent. In which decision the said priors acquiesced; and having each kissed the cross held by the Grand-Master, in token of obedience, they occupied the seats allotted to them without making any reply. And when, shortly after, they were called upon to vote concerning a matter that was being dis-

cussed by the council, the prior of England spoke first, and after him the prior of Messina. When the proceedings of the council had been terminated in the manner above described, a considerable number of Knights who were waiting outside, and were, on this occasion, more numerous than usual, in consequence of the interest excited by the controversy, entered the hall on the door being opened, and found the councillors seated and the priors each in his appointed place, so that whilst the vice-chancellor was collecting the documents and memorials of the sitting, as is customary, it was publicly noticed that the prior of England was the second from the left hand, and the prior of Messina the third from the right hand of the most illustrious and most reverend the Grand-Master; which scene, besides narrating as above, I thought proper to represent in painting, as well to preserve a memorial of so wise and prudent a decision, as that so excellent an example should be imitated whenever controversies arise respecting pre-eminence, which pre-eminence is so honourable to the reputation, and absolutely necessary for the peace of the convent. Thus it is.

J. OLIVER STARKEY."

This Knight, who was himself an Englishman, was naturally jealous of the honours and prerogatives of his language, then rapidly vanishing from the ranks of the Order, and eneroached upon by members of the other nations. He was, therefore, determined that, although no registry was made of this decree, it should not be lost sight of in after years, and consequently wrote the elaborate report above quoted, without which the matter might speedily have been forgotten, and the same claims again set up by the succeeding priors of Messina, or

some other dignitary. Not content with the written description of the scene, Starkey appears, by what he has stated in this document, to have summoned the art of painting also to his aid, to record permanently the triumph of his language, and to have had recourse to canvas, as well as to paper, for the information of posterity. What has become of the picture of this scene is not known, nor is it very clear, by what he states above, whether Starkey was himself the artist, or whether he merely engaged some one skilled with the brush to perpetuate the triumph. In this case the paper appears to have done its duty more clearly and distinctly than the canvas, and to have left a record, which is still available to the historian, to correct the error which had crept into the Order during its later years, when there was no one present to take up the cudgels for the unfortunate language of England, and, like Sir Richard Shelley, the hero of the above scene, to insist on being placed in his proper rank.

The following list comprises the principal founders and subsequent benefactors to the Order of St. John within the English language, from the date of its first establishment:—

Lord Jordan Brisset . . Who founded the House at Clerkenwell for the Order in 1101; which establishment was subsequently raised into a Priory by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185. This institution remained the chief seat of the Order in England, until its final suppression in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

King Henry I. . . . . Founded three Houses for the Order.

King David I. of Scotland Founded the Sacred Preceptory of the Order of St. John at Torpichen, in Linlithgowshire; which continued to be the

- chief seat of the Order in Scotland, till its final suppression in that country in the middle of the sixteenth century.
- King Malcolm IV. of Scotland** Incorporated all the possessions of the Order in that country into a barony, free of all courts, customs, tolls, &c.
- Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, commonly called Strongbow** Founded, cir. 1174, the Priory of St. John at Kilmainham, near Dublin; which, after the suppression of the Knights-Templars in the beginning of the fourteenth century, became the chief seat of the Order in that country.
- King William (surnamed the Lion) of Scotland** Added to the donations originally made by his brother and grandfather.
- William Earl of Pembroke, called "The Great Earl"** Founded, cir. 1196, the Commandery of St. John and St. Bridget at Wexford; which was the chief seat of the Order in Ireland, until it was removed to Kilmainham in 1313.
- Sir Walter de Lacy, Lord of Midie** Founded, in the twelfth century, a Commandery of St. John at Kilmainham-beg, in the county of Meath, Ireland.
- King Henry II. . . .** Concentrated the Sisters of the Order into a Priory at Bucklands, in Somersetshire. He also founded in Ireland the Commandery of St. Congal, near Clontarf.
- Sir Gilbert de Borard .** In the twelfth century, founded the Commandery of Killergy, in the county of Carlow, Ireland.
- Sir Hugh de Lacy . .** About the same time, founded the Commandery of St. John the Baptist, in the territory of Ardes, county of Down, Ireland.
- William de Burgo . .** Whose wife Juliana, in the year 1185, gave the whole of the parish and manor of Little Mapplestead, in the county of Essex, to the Order of St. John.
- Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford** Made a grant of land to the Order in the twelfth century.
- Lord Osbert de Glafden** Did the same.

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| Richard Cœur de Lion,<br>King of England | } | Did the same.  |
| William de Ferrers, Earl<br>of Ferrers   |   |  |
| The Earl of Chester                      |   |  |
| William Longsword, Earl<br>of Salisbury  |   |  |
| Sir Morice Fitzgerald                    | . | In the thirteenth century, founded the three<br>Commanderies of Kilbegs, Kilheel, and<br>Tully, in the county of Kildare, Ireland.   |
| King Alexander II. of<br>Scotland        |   | In a charter, dated at Edinburgh on the 3rd<br>of June, 1231, gives "To God and St.<br>John, and the Brethren of the Hospital<br>of Torphiphyn, all previous donations of<br>property, licences, customs, &c.; ordain-<br>ing that the same should subsist in per-<br>petuity, for the love of God and for the<br>benefit of the souls, as well of those that<br>had gone before him, as of those who<br>should follow him." |
| Sir Alexander de St.<br>Helen's          |   | In the thirteenth century, founded the<br>Commandery of Morne, in the county of<br>Cork, Ireland.  |
| King Alexander III..                     | . | In 1266, granted a new charter to the<br>Order, confirming all their existing pri-<br>vileges, &c.   |
| Robert the Bruce, King<br>of Scotland    |   | Conferred many tokens of his royal favour<br>on the Order, for the services they had ren-<br>dered him in the battle of Bannockburn.   |
| King James I. of Scotland                |   | Granted letters of administration under the<br>great seal, 14th October, 1421, in favour<br>of Thomas Gudwyn and John Lidall, to<br>all the lands and possessions of the<br>Hospital of St. John within his kingdom.   |
| King James II. of Scot-<br>land          |   | Confirmed the benefactions of former<br>monarchs.  |
| King James III. of Scot-<br>land         |   | Did the same.  |
| King James IV. of Scot-<br>land          |   | Did the same. He also created the barony<br>and regality of Torphichen into a tem-   |

poral lordship, and ordained that, "virtute officii," the successive Preceptors should take their places as Peers of Parliament, by the name and title of Lord St. John's.

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| King Henry VII. of England   | In 1502 was elected Protector of the Knights of Rhodes, in consequence of his writing a letter to the Pope, in which he thus expressed himself:—"I will be as redie to the defense of the Christen Faithe as any prince cristened; and in this behalf nother to spare goods, richesse, nor men, nor yet in my own propre person, yf it be nede." |
| King Philip of Spain, King Consort of England, together with Queen Mary of England | Restored the Order of St. John by a royal charter, dated 2nd April, 1557, and constituted the Grand-Prior and his brother Knights a corporation, with a common seal, and a perpetual succession.*  |

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This branch of the subject cannot be more appropriately closed than by annexing the names of some of those amongst the English Knighthood of the Order, who have in any way rendered themselves celebrated or notorious. It will be perceived that many of these took part in the various struggles which disturbed England, as well during the civil wars of the Roses, as in those so constantly maintained against Scotland. In these acts they were undoubtedly violating one of the fundamental laws of their Order; still, so far from drawing down blame on themselves, they appear frequently to have realised princely rewards.

\* Vide Appendix, No. 18.

Roberto de Ricardo; He lived in the commencement of the Anglice, Robert Fitz-twelfth century, and is named as a contemporary of Gerard. Richard, son of Eustace Fitz-John, called, in the pedigrees of the Lacys, Claverings, and other families of a similar descent, "Robert the Hospitaller"

Garnier de Napoli . . First Grand-Prior of England, at the time when that language was visited by the Master, Roger des Moulins, and the Patriarch, Heraclius. He is not to be confounded with the *Garnier de Napoli*, or de Syrie, who became Master of the Order in 1187, upon the death of Roger des Moulins, and who was killed at the battle of Tiberias in that same year, although all the historians of the Order have fallen into that error. The Grand-Master had been Turcopolier, and was, in all probability, brother to the Grand-Prior. The English name was, probably, Gardiner. That they were two different persons is clear, from the following extract of a manuscript in the possession of the Canon, Francis Smitmer, of Vienna (an original MS.):—"Omnibus Sancte Matris Ecclesiæ filiis tam presentibus quam futuris, Garnerius de Neapoli, Prior et totum Capitulum fratrum Hospitalis Hierosolomitani in Anglia, eternam in Domino salutem. Novit universitas vestra quod nos tenemur servire et divina celebrare cotidie in capella Villelmi filii Nigelli apud Leverling salvo jure ecclesiæ de Pecham in omnibus quod ut firmiter observetur presenti scripto et sigilli nostri testimonio curavimus confirmare testibus fratre Alano,

fratre Mathon, fratre Roberto de Lindes, et preceptore Eanted, fratre Roberto filio Riccardi, fratre Hugone de Chahull, fratre Ilberto de Viluton, fratre Henrico de Noel, Walton Clerico. Anno Domini Incarnationis MCLXXXIX., apud London Ordinatio Fr. Garnerii de Neapoli, Prioris in Anglia." This document proves that Garnier was exercising the office of Grand-Prior of England two years after his namesake, the Grand-Master, had been killed at Tiberias.

Sir Walter Levinge . . . A Knight of St. John, and companion-in-arms of Richard Cœur de Lion in Palestine.

Sir Henry Bayntun . . . Knight of St. John, son of Sir Henry Bayntun, Knight-Marshal to Henry II.: killed in Bretagne in 1201.

Theodore de Nuzza . . . Grand-Prior of England, cir. 1230. The Grand-Master, Bertrand de Comps, having, in 1237, invoked assistance from the west to recruit the diminished ranks of his fraternity in Palestine, a body of 300 Knights, headed by De Nuzza, left their Priory at Clerkenwell, with the Banner of St. John unfurled, and accompanied by a considerable body of armed stipendiaries. Their ranks were also swelled by the presence of Prince Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Simon de Monfort, Earl of Leicester, and William Longspée, son of the famous Earl of Salisbury. Their arrival in Jaffa induced the Sultan of Egypt to offer the most advantageous terms of peace to the Christians.

Archibald . . . . . Grand-Preceptor of Scotland. Although he was not the first who held sway in Scotland, there are no records remaining



of his predecessors. His name is mentioned in a charter of Prince Alexander, Grand-Steward of Scotland, dated 1252, as "Archibaldus, Magister de Torpichen." During his tenure, the establishment at Torpichen was raised into a Barony and Regality of St. John, and Preceptory of Torpichen.

**Alexander de Welles** . Whose name appears among those who swore fealty to Edward I., King of England, in the chapel of Edinburgh Castle, July, 1291, as follows: — "Alexander, Prior Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolomitani, in Scotia." And also in the Raguel Roll sworn at Berwick on the 28th August, 1296, there stands, "Frere Alexandre de Wells, Gardeyn del Hospital de Seint Johan de Jerusalem en Ecoce." He was killed at the battle of Falkirk, on the 22nd July, 1298; Sir William Wallace having previously made the Preceptory of Torpichen the head quarters of his army for some months.

**Randulph de Lindesay** . Succeeded Alexander de Welles as Grand-Preceptor of Scotland after the battle of Falkirk, and continued to hold that office until after the battle of Bannockburn had placed Robert Bruce's family upon the throne of Scotland. It was at this time that, by a bull of Pope Clement VII., and a canon of the Council of Vienna, the whole of the Templar lands in Scotland were transferred to the Hospital, comprising Temple on the South Esk, Balantradoch in Mid Lothian, Aboyne and Tulloch in Aberdeenshire, Aggerstoune in Stirlingshire, St. Germans in East Lothian, Inchynan in Renfrewshire, Derval in Ayrshire, Dinwoodie in Anandale, Red-Abbey-Sted in Roxburgh-

- shire, and Temple Liston in West Lothian. This Preceptor was a member of the noble house of Lindsay, Earls of Crawford, and premier Earls of Scotland.
- William de Tothale** . . . Grand-Prior of England, 1301. He was summoned to the various parliaments of King Edward I. and King Edward II. as the first Baron of the Realm. During his sway the Templar lands in England were transferred to the Hospital.
- William More** . . . . Grand-Preceptor of Scotland during the reign of King David II. He granted a charter of the Temple lands of Cowanston, in the county of Lanark, to Adam Pakok. In this charter, which was granted "*communi consilio et assensu fratrum nostrorum*," he is entitled "*Willelmus More, Custos Hospitalis Sancti Johannis de Torpheyne*."
- Robert de Culter** . . . Was Procurator of the Hospital at Torpichen about the same time, and is mentioned as such in the foregoing deed.
- Sir Giles de Argintine** . A Knight of the Hospital, who gained great renown in the Holy Land during the later years of Christian domination there. He was killed at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, having first succeeded in rescuing Edward II. from the perils of that disastrous conflict.
- John Builbrux** . . . . Was the first Turcopolier of the English language, having been the holder of that dignity at the time when the General Chapter at Montpelier, in 1329, divided the Order into seven languages, and appropriated the Turcopoliership to the English branch.
- Thomas Larcher** . . . Grand-Prior of England. In spite of the great accession of wealth consequent on the suppression of the Templar fraternity, and the transfer of their lands to

the Hospital, this dignitary succeeded in involving the finances of his Priory into such hopeless confusion, that a successor was nominated in 1329 to take the administration out of his hands. The reckless manner in which he granted pensions and created other encumbrances would, had he not been suspended, have eventually annihilated the whole of the property which the Order possessed in England.

- Leonard de Tybertis** . . Originally Prior of Venice. Being a man of extreme tact and skill in administration, was nominated to succeed Larcher in the Priory of England, in order to unravel the tangled web which had become so complicated under his predecessor. In this difficult task he succeeded admirably. He was appointed to the Priory in 1329.
- Philip de Thame** . . . Succeeded Tybertis in the Priory of England. In the year 1338 he made a report to the Grand-Master, Elyon de Villanova, of the state of the Order's property in England, which document has been amply referred to in a preceding chapter of this work.
- William Middleton** . . Is mentioned as holding the office of Turcopolier at a General Chapter held at Rhodes in 1366.
- Sir Robert Hales** . . Grand-Prior of England. He was in the suite of the Grand-Master Heredia, when, in 1377, he escorted Pope Gregory XI. from Avignon to Civita Vecchia, on the occasion of the transfer of the seat of papal government from the former place to Rome. Under his priorate, the Order sustained a severe loss by the destruction of the Priory of Clerkenwell by fire, in 1381, during the insurrection of Wat

Tyler. "This building, in its widely varied decorations, both internally and externally, is said to have contained specimens of the arts, both of Europe and Asia, together with a collection of books and rarities, the loss of which in a less turbulent age would have been a theme for national lamentation." The fire lasted for eight days, and the building was completely destroyed. The Prior's residence at Highbury was also burnt, and he himself lost his life, as is shown by the following extract from the patent granted by King James to Sir Edward Hales, a descendant of the Prior's, making him Earl of Tenterden. "Robert Hales, formerly Lord High Treasurer of our kingdom of England, and Prior of the Hospital, who, upon account of a most prudent advice which he gave to our predecessor, King Richard II., had, on a popular sedition, by the fury of the mob, his head struck off."

Sir John de Radyngton . There is a record that, on the 23rd September, 1383, this Prior swore fealty to King Richard II., and at the same time enjoined the king not to allow his obedience and loyalty to prejudice in future the ancient privileges of the Order to which he belonged.

Sir Henry Livingstone . Preceptor of Torphichen, and chief of the Order in Scotland in the reign of King James II. He was one of the noble family of Livingstone, which embraced no less than three peerages amongst its members, viz. the Earldom of Linlithgow, the Earldom of Callendar, and the Viscounty of Kilsyth.

Sir Patrick Skougall . . In a charter to Temple lands, dated 20th October, 1560, is designated Knight-

Commendator of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland, and Master of Torphichen.

- Sir William Knolls . . . Grand-Preceptor of Scotland. He was Lord Treasurer under King James IV., who raised him to the peerage, under the title of Lord St. John's, which dignity devolved upon each of his successors till the Reformation. He was killed at the battle of Flodden Field, 11th September, 1513.
- Sir John Langstrother . . . Was Bailiff of Aquila in 1466. He had been the bearer of a letter from Grand-Master de Lastic to King Henry VI., and took part with the house of Lancaster in the wars of the Roses. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471, and was put to death in cold blood by order of King Edward IV. His near kinsman and predecessor in the Bailiwick of Aquila was Sir William Langstrother, who held that rank at a General Chapter which sat at Rome on the 22nd February, 1446. Both of these dignitaries were buried in the church of St. John at Clerkenwell.
- Sir John Weston . . . Held the offices of General of the Galleys, Turcopolier, and Grand-Prior of England successively, attaining the latter title in 1482.
- Sir Thomas Delamere . . . A Knight of St. John: was High Sheriff of Berkshire in 1473.
- Sir Henry Stradling . . . Was the third generation of his family who visited Jerusalem and became a Knight of St. John. His father, Sir Edward, who married Jane, grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, and his grandfather Sir William, both did the same. The family was settled at St. Donats in Somersetshire.

Sir John Kendall . . . Was Turcopolier in 1477, and Grand-Prior of England in 1489. He was present at Rhodes during the siege of 1480.

Sir James Heting, or Keating. Was Grand-Prior of Ireland at the time of the siege of Rhodes in 1480; and was deprived of his dignity for not hastening thither when summoned.

Sir Marmaduke Lumley Was present at the siege of Rhodes in 1480, and dangerously wounded. He was made Grand Prior of Ireland in the place of Keating.

Sir John Vaquelin, Commander of Carbouch

Sir Thomas Bem, Bailiff of the Eagle

Sir Henry Haler, Commander of Badsfort

Sir Thomas Ploniton

Sir Adam Tedbond

Sir Henry Batasbi

Sir Henry Anulai

Sir Thomas Docwra, or Docray.

} Were all killed at the siege of Rhodes in 1480.

Turcopolier in 1498, and Grand-Prior of England in 1501; was the second son of Richard Docray of Bradsville, in the county of York, and his wife Alice, daughter of Thomas Greene, of Gressingham, in the same county. He was present at the siege of Rhodes in 1480. During his priorate the new establishment at Clerkenwell, which was built to replace that burnt by Wat Tyler's mob in 1381, was completed. It had been 123 years in construction, and Camden speaks of it when finished as follows:—"This house, increased to the size of a palace, had a beautiful church with a tower, carried up to such a height as to be a singular ornament to the city." The only portion of the original building not destroyed in 1381 was the gatehouse, and

that is still standing, a venerable relic of the first establishment of the Order in these kingdoms. Docray possessed considerable talents in diplomacy, and a princely revenue. These advantages weighed so strongly in his favour that when, in 1521, he was a candidate for the office of Grand-Master, in opposition to L'Isle Adam and the chancellor d'Amaral, he only lost the election by one vote, in spite of the entire French influence, which was brought to bear in favour of L'Isle Adam. He died in 1527.

Sir Leonard de Tybertis .	} Were all present at the siege of Rhodes in 1480.
Sir Walter Viselberg .	
Sir John Bucht . . .	
Sir John Besoel, or Boswell . . . . .	

Sir George Dundas . . Second Lord St. John's and Grand-Preceptor of Scotland: elected in 1513. The signature "G. Lord Sanctis Joany's" appears in the notarial deed of the engagement of the Scottish Lords to the queen, dated 1524. His schoolfellow, Hector Boece, thus describes him, "*Georgius Dundas Grecas utque Latinus literas opprime Doctus, Equitum Hierosolomitatorum intra Scotorum regnum Magistratum multo sudore (superatis emulis) postea adeptus.*"

Sir John Bouch, or Buck Turcopolier, said to be of the family of Hanely Grange, in the county of Lincoln, was one of the Knights selected by L'Isle Adam to act as lieutenants under him at the siege of Rhodes in 1522. He was killed on the 17th September of that year, in resisting an attack made on the English bastion by Mustapha.

Sir William Onascon . . Commanded at the English quarter in the

above siege. (Query, was he not Sir William Weston?)

Sir Henry Mansel . . . Was in the Grand-Master's suite, and killed during the above siege.

Sir Nicholas Hussey . . . Was Commander of the English bastion at the above siege. He was afterwards one of the commissioners despatched by L'Isle Adam to inspect the islands of Malta and Gozo, in 1528.

Sir John Ransom . . . Was present at the siege of Rhodes. He was afterwards made Turcopolier; and eventually, at the special request of King Henry VIII., Grand-Prior of Ireland. He died in 1547.

Sir Thomas Sheffield. . .

Sir Nicholas Farfan . . .

Sir William Weston . . .

Sir William Tuest (Query West) . . . . .

Sir John Baron . . .

Sir Thomas Remberton .

Sir George Asfely . . .

Sir John Lotu . . . . .

Sir Francis Buet . . .

Sir Giles Rosel . . .

Sir George Emer . . .

Sir Michael Roux . . .

Sir Nicholas Usel . . .

Sir Otho de Montselli .

Sir Nicholas Rubert . .

Sir Thomas Newport . . . A member of a distinguished Shropshire family: was Turcopolier of the Order in 1500. During the siege of Rhodes in 1522 he persisted in embarking from Dover in a violent storm, and was lost at sea with all his forces.

Sir Alban Pole . . . Was a member of a distinguished Derbyshire family. He was Commander of Mount St. John in 1520, and afterwards became Bailiff of Aquila.



- Sir John Babington . . Was second son of Thomas Babington, in the county of Derby, and of Editha, daughter of Ralph Fitz-Herbert, of Norbury, in the same county. He was Commander of Dalby and Rothely, and subsequently held the offices of Bailiff of Aquila, and Grand Prior of Ireland, successively.
- Sir John Molystein . . Was Chancellor of the Provincial Chapter of the English language in 1526.
- Sir Walter Lindsay . . Was third Lord St. John's, and Preceptor of Scotland. He was Justice-General of Scotland during the reign of King James V., and died in 1538.
- Sir William Weston . . Grand-Prior of England, temp. Henry VIII. By an act passed in 1533, it was made lawful for Viscounts, the Pryour of Seint John of Jerusalem, and Barons, to wear in their dublettes or sleveless coates, clothe of golde, sylver or tynsel. This decree clearly marks the rank of the Grand-Prior of England as inferior to viscounts, but superior to barons. During his rule commenced the quarrel between Henry VIII. and the Pope, which led to the Reformation. In this quarrel the Order of St. John, who had always proved themselves true and obedient sons of the Church, sided with the Pope, and resisted the divorcement of Queen Katharine. The result was the complete destruction of the Order in England. A bloody persecution set in, lasting from 1534 to 1540, which ended in the utter annihilation of the fraternity, and during which many Knights perished on the scaffold. In April, 1540, an act passed both Houses of the Legislature, vesting in the Crown all the possessions, castles, manors, churches,

houses, &c., of the Order of St. John. Out of this revenue, pensions to the amount of 2870*l*. were granted to the late Lord Prior, and to other members of the Institution. Henry granted the site of the Priory and its precincts to John, Lord Lisle, as a reward for his services in the capacity of High Admiral. In 1549, the Church of St. John, which had long been considered one of the greatest ornaments of London, was destroyed, and the materials employed by the Lord Protector Somerset, in the construction of Somerset House. The old gateway, which survived the former destruction of the main building, in the time of Wat Tyler, was again spared, and still remains, almost a solitary relic, on the site where the White Cross fraternity for so many centuries had dwelt in peace and honour. The pension which Henry so liberally granted to Sir William Weston out of the latter's own confiscated property, was not long enjoyed. The venerable Prior, broken-hearted at the utter annihilation of his Order, and unable to bear up against the calamities which had befallen the Institution, died of grief on Ascension Day, 1540, in the very year when his pension was first granted to him. He was buried in the Chancel of St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, where an altar tomb in the architectural style of the age, representing him as an emaciated figure lying upon a winding sheet, was erected over his remains. Sir William Weston was the last Grand-Prior of England, who could be considered legitimately entitled to that rank, until the time when Queen Mary

restored the Order for a brief space, when, as will be seen presently, two fresh accessions were made to that dignity. In 1798 his tomb was opened, and the mouldering remains within were found in an attitude not unlike that of the figure upon the tomb. He had been present at the siege of Rhodes, in 1522, where he had greatly distinguished himself.

Sir Clement West . . Turcopolier of the Order, rendered himself notorious by the turbulence and disrespect of his conduct. In the General Chapter held in 1532, he argued that the proxies for the Grand-Priors of England and Ireland, and for the Bailiff of Aquila, should not be admitted to vote, and the assembly having decided against that opinion, he broke out into the most unseemly and blasphemous language, calling the Procurators Saracens, Jews, and bastards. The latter then preferred a complaint against him, and, when called upon for explanation, he merely stated that it was impossible for him to know whether they were Jews or not, for that they certainly were not Englishmen. The Council thereupon enjoined him to ask pardon, but this he energetically refused to do, and, flying into a violent passion, began cursing and swearing most vehemently, and, throwing his mantle upon the ground, said that if he deserved condemnation at all, he ought to be deprived of his habit, and put to death. Thereupon he drew his sword, and left the Council chamber, to the great scandal of all present. In consequence of this behaviour he was deprived of his habit, and of the dignity of Turcopolier. As soon as this news reached England, great

exertions were made to restore West to his office. The Knight John Sutton was despatched by the Grand-Prior of England, and the Duke of Norfolk, to beg that he might be reinstated. From the letters which this envoy presented to the Council, on the 23rd February, 1533, it appeared that the feeling in England was, that West had been unjustly condemned, and that a bad feeling had sprung up against him, owing to his wearing an Order appertaining to the King of England. The Council, feeling much aggrieved at so foul a calumny, the Grand-Master directed a commission to inquire into the whole business, consisting of the English Knight Sir Edward Bellingham, the Italian, Aurelio Bottigella, and the Aragonese, Baptiste Villaragut, and at the same time expressed himself in the highest terms of King Henry VIII., whom he considered as one of the special protectors of the Order. This, it must be remembered, was in the commencement of 1533, the year before Henry began those proceedings against the fraternity which for ever deprived him of all claim to such a title. The report of these commissioners is not in existence, but by a decree dated 26th April, 1533, West was reinstated in his former dignity of Turcopolier, he having shown signs of repentance. The lesson thus bestowed upon this turbulent Knight appears to have been utterly thrown away, for in 1537 he was again placed under arrest for acts of disobedience, and for provoking another Knight to fight a duel, and, in 1539, he was placed in arrest by a decree of the Council, for

disrespect to their body, pending the return of the Grand-Master, who extended that arrest for four months, and finally he was again deprived of the dignity of Turcopolier, on the 3rd September of that year, at the instance of the English Knights then in the Convent. He had, however, evidently been held as a person of consideration, for, on the death of Peter Dupont, in 1534, he was nominated Lieutenant of the Grand-Mastery during the interregnum.

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|--------------------------|---|--|
|                          |   | All perished on the scaffold during the persecutions under Henry VIII. The portrait of Fortescue is still to be seen in St. John's Church, at Malta, with a sprig of palm in his hand, an emblem of his martyrdom.   |
| The Commander Ingley     | }   |  |
| Sir Adrian Forrest . .   |   |  |
| Sir Adrian Fortescue . . |   |  |
| Sir Marmaduke Bowes      |   |  |
| Sir Thomas Mytton . .    | }   | Both died in prison at the same crisis.  |
| Sir Edward Waldegrave    |   |  |
| Sir Richard Bell . . .   | }   | Abandoned their country and retired to Malta, in preference to abjuring their profession as Knights of St. John.   |
| Sir James Bell . . .     |   |  |
| Sir John Noel . . .      |   |  |
| Sir Gyles Russell . . .  |   |  |
|                          |   | Turcopolier in 1539. At the death of this Knight in 1543, it was decreed by the Council that there should be no further nomination to the office of Turcopolier, until the Catholic religion should once again be re-established in England. Sir Nicholas Upton was, however, allowed to exercise the office under the title of Lieutenant of the Turcopolier. |
| Sir Nicholas Upton . .   | Lieutenant of the Turcopolier, as above stated, in 1543. He was the second son of John Upton of Lupton, in the county of Devon, and Anne Cooper, a member of a Somersetshire family. He attained so high a distinction in the fraternity, for his knightly and gallant conduct, that his Lieutenantcy of the Turcopolier- |  |

ship was converted into the Turcopolier-ship itself, as will be seen by the following decree, dated 25th November, 1548: "It being consonant with reason that those generous Knights of our Order whose remarkable purity of life and manners recommend them, whose virtues adorn them, and whose glory is rendered greatly and widely famous by the deeds done by them in defence of the Catholic faith, should be called to the highest grades of honour and dignity, so that having received the rewards due to them, they may feel themselves recompensed for their constant labours, and may become further excited to still greater exertions, so as to deserve at a future period still more distinguished rewards, we have raised our beloved Knight, Nicholas Upton, to the dignity of a Turcopolier of his language." Under date of the 11th July, 1548, only four months before the above decree was made, it is recorded that the Commander and Acting Turcopolier, Nicholas Upton, was in such impoverished circumstances as to be unable to defray some trifling expenses connected with his Language, which, by his office, devolved upon him; and that he was compelled, for the purpose of settling these debts, and for the payment of the passage to England of an authorised person to recover some property of which the English Language had been unjustly deprived, to give in pledge a silver basin, for the sum of fifty scudi (4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) The poverty of Upton continued so great, that this basin remained in pawn until, at his death, it was redeemed by the proceeds of the sale of

his personal effects. Sir Nicholas Upton died in 1551, from the effects of a *coup-de-soleil*, which he received whilst gallantly resisting an attempted descent upon the island of Malta by Dragut. His little band of 30 Knights and 400 native volunteers succeeded in thwarting the designs of the piratical Infidel, though he himself lost his life in the effort. The Grand-Master John d'Omedes declared his death to be a national loss; and, in company with many others of the fraternity, wept whilst following his beloved remains to their last home.

Sir Oswald Massinbert . Was the second son of Sir Thomas Massinbert of Sutton, in the county of Lincoln, and of Joan, daughter and heiress of John Braytoft of Braytoft, in the same county. He was appointed Prior of Ireland in 1547, at the request of Cardinal Pole; and Turcopolier on the death of Sir Nicholas Upton, 1551. Massinbert appears, like Clement West, to have been a man of a most violent and insubordinate temper, and to have been in continual trouble whilst resident in Malta, either with the Grand-Master, or with his brother Knights. On one occasion he was brought before the Council for the murder of four slaves; and the amount of protection which these unfortunates were in the habit of receiving at the hands of that tribunal may be gathered from the fact, that the only punishment awarded to Massinbert for this dastardly act, was deprivation of his habit for two days, and the loss of his dignity as Commander for a short period. The following entry appears also amongst the manuscript records of

the Council, under date of the 30th August, 1552: "The Right Reverend Lord the Grand-Master and Venerable Council, having heard the report of the Commanders deputed to inquire into the complaint preferred by the noble Paolo Fiteni against the Lord Lieutenant of the Turcopolier, Brother Oswald Massinbert, for having forcibly entered his house, and violently taken therefrom a certain female slave with her daughter, whom he had recently purchased from the Order, and for having struck him with his fist; and also having heard the said De Massinbert in contradiction, who pretended that the above-mentioned Paolo could in no way have purchased the female slave, as she had previously been branded with certain marks in his name, as is customary and usual on similar occasions, and that therefore the preference in the purchase of the said slave appertained to him, De Massinbert; do now, after mature deliberation, condemn the said De Massinbert to restore the above-mentioned female slave with her daughter to Fiteni, and order that they shall be restored accordingly. In continuation, as regards the force and violence used, they furthermore decree that he shall remain and be kept for two months within his own residence, and that for this period he shall not be permitted to leave it."

Sir George Dudley . . Had been professed a Knight of St. John in the year 1545, but had shortly after become a Protestant, and abandoned the fraternity, taking to himself a wife, and committing other similar enormities. In the year 1557, however, the seceder



became penitent, and on the 12th October demanded pardon for his errors of the Grand-Master and Council. This favour was only granted after it had been proved, to the satisfaction of the said Council, that George Dudley had become, through his humiliation and prayers, absolved from his apostasy and the other crimes by him committed, and reconciled and restored to the bosom of the holy mother church. He was, therefore, re-admitted into the fraternity, and on the 11th of the following May it was decreed, "that on account of the poverty of the Brother George Dudley, at present the only English Brother of the venerable Language of England, permission should be granted for him to sue for, exact, and recover all the revenues and rents of houses belonging to the said Language existing in the new town of Valetta, from any and all of the tenants, and to give receipts for the same so long as the venerable Language be congregated and exist in the Order."

Sir Thomas Tresham . Was nominated Grand-Prior of England at the restoration of the Order in that country by the Royal Charter of Queen Mary, dated 2nd April, 1557, and as such was summoned to the first and second parliaments of Queen Elizabeth. In the year 1559, however, Queen Elizabeth again destroyed the Order of St. John within her dominions, on which occasion Tresham the Prior, Shelley the Turcopolier, and Felix de la Nuca the Bailiff of Aquila, retired from the country. Tresham proceeded to Malta, where he died in 1561.

Sir Richard Shelley . . Was the second son of Sir William Shelley

of Michaelgrove, in Sussex, and of his wife Alice, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Belknap of Knowle, in the county of Warwick. He was appointed Turcopolier of the Order at the same time that Tresham was nominated to the Priory of England. On the death of the latter he succeeded to the post of Grand-Prior. The Order having, however, before this time again become suppressed by Queen Elizabeth, he had left England and retired to Spain. Whilst there, he refused to take up the title of a Priory which no longer existed, but insisted upon being still considered as the Turcopolier of the English nation, being, as he said, "*Dominus natus*," and having a seat in the House of Peers, where he ranked next to the Abbot of Westminster, and above all the lay Barons. In 1561 he obtained permission from the King of Spain to proceed to Malta, then threatened by the Turks; but whilst on the road for that purpose, he received a command from the Grand-Master La Valette to return to England, and take up the duties of his Priory. He did not remain there very long, since on the 16th August, 1566, he is found in Malta, where he had a dispute concerning his pre-eminence with the Prior of Messina, as has been already mentioned. After the death of La Valette he retired to Venice, where he was employed in sundry commercial negotiations for the fraternity. The exact time of his death is uncertain, as also was his age at that moment; but in a letter dated from Venice in 1582 he speaks of himself as being "three score and eight years of

age, and his health infirm." He was both the last Turcopolier and the last Grand-Prior of England.

**Sir Peter Felice della Nuca** Was Bailiff of Aquila when the Order of St. John was restored in England by Queen Mary. At its suppression in 1559 he retired to Malta, where he remained till the siege of that island in 1565. On this occasion he greatly distinguished himself, and was killed in Fort St. Michael.

**Sir Oliver Starkey** . . Was Latin Secretary to the Grand-Master La Valette, and was present with him throughout the siege of Malta. He appears to have thoroughly enjoyed the confidence of his chief, and to have been held in high estimation by all the members of the convent. He was the author of the following lines, which were placed on La Valette's tomb :—

*Ille Asiæ Libyæque pavor, Tutelaque quondam  
Europæ, Edomitæ sacra per arma getis  
Primus in hac alma quam condidit urbe sepultus  
Valetta Cæterno dignus honore jacet.*

He was reduced to so great destitution whilst in Malta that a pension of a hundred scudi (8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) was awarded to him out of the public treasury. He was buried at the side of the chief he had loved and served so well, in a subterranean chapel under the church of St. John, in Valetta, Malta; in which chapel also repose the remains of L'Isle Adam, and a few more of the Grand-Masters of that period.

**Sir James Sandilands** . Was second son of Sir James Sandilands, of Calder, and Marieta, daughter of Archibald Forrester, of Costorphine. He was recommended to the Grand-Master by Sir Walter Lyndsay, third

Lord of St. John's, and Preceptor of Torphichen, as a person well qualified to succeed him in those dignities. At his death, therefore, Sandilands was appointed in his place, as fourth Lord of St. John's. He was the intimate personal friend of John Knox, and by the persuasion of that Reformer, he renounced the Catholic religion in 1553. He, however, continued for some time longer to maintain his office and dignities. In 1560 he was sent by the congregation Parliament of Scotland to France, to lay their proceedings before Francis and Mary; when the cardinal of Lorraine loaded him with reproaches, accusing him of violating his obligations as a Knight of a Holy Order, and notwithstanding all his efforts to soothe the prelate, and the most assiduous endeavours to recommend himself to the queen, he was dismissed without any answer. After this, feeling himself no longer authorised to retain his office, he resigned the entire property of the Order of St. John into the hands of the crown; when, on condition of an immediate payment of ten thousand crowns, and an annual duty of five hundred marks, the queen, on the 24th January 1563-4, was pleased, in consideration of "his faithful, noble, and gratuitous services to herself and her royal parents," to erect them into the temporal lordship of Torphichen, creating him Lord of St. John, and giving him the lands and baronies of Torphichen, and Listoun, Balintrod, Thankertoun, Denny, Maryculter, Stanhouse, Gultna, &c. He afterwards married Janet, daughter of Murray, of

Polonaise ; but had no issue, and at his death in 1596, his title, and the possessions which he had plundered from the Order, devolved on his grand-nephew, James Sandilands, of Calder. The present holder of the title, also a James Sandilands, is the seventh in descent from this Knight.

This closes the list of the most celebrated amongst the Knights of the English language, which was now utterly annihilated ; and although every now and again Englishmen still entered the Order, and although the titles of Grand-Prior, and Turcopolier, as also the Bailiwick of Aquila, were conferred ; still, as the dignities were merely nominal, the holders of them have not been included in this list. The language remained thus practically defunct, until the year 1782, when the Grand-Master de Rohan revived it, and combined it with that of Bavaria, under the title of the Anglo-Bavarian language. Long prior to this, however, at the close of the sixteenth century, the Pope, who was still not without hopes of seeing the fair land of England return under his sway, had directed that the dignity of Turcopolier should be united to that of the Grand-Mastery, in order that the successive chiefs of the Institution might hold it in trust, in case the language should ever be revived. This occurred during the Grand-Mastership of Hugh de Verdala.

In the commencement of the eighteenth century, we find the following letter from James (the Pretender), son of James II., ex-king of England. The contents may well raise a smile, seeing that they are from a king without a throne, directing the Grand-Master not to nominate without his approval to dignities which in

reality no longer existed. The whole affair was, in fact, a perfect shadow.

"To my cousin, the Grand-Master of Malta. My cousin,—Having recently requested the Pope to have the kindness, on the opportunity presenting itself, not to dispose of the grand-priories of my kingdom, nor to grant coadjutors to the present Grand-Prior without previously hearing what I might have to represent to him on that head, his holiness answered he had told your ambassador that he would allow the Order to act for itself in all affairs which regarded it; so that all such matters depending on the Order, it is with full confidence that I address myself to you, requesting that I may be treated with the same consideration as is shown towards other princes on similar occasions. No way doubting, after all the marks of your attention and friendship which I have received, but that you will confer on me this further favour, which will engage me so much the more to entertain the most perfect esteem and friendship for your Order and your person in particular. On which I pray God to have you, my cousin, in his holy and worthy keeping. Rome, 14th September, 1725. Your affectionate cousin, JAMES R."

The overthrow of the Order generally, by its expulsion from Malta, merely placed all the other languages in the same position as that of England, and did not in any way affect the latter. In the years 1826 and 1827, however, three several instruments of convention were signed in Paris by the languages of France, with the consent of those of Spain and Portugal, authorising a reorganisation of the venerable language of England. In pursuance of this convention, on the 29th January, 1831, a Chapter of the Knights then forming the English

language was held, at which an envoy extraordinary was present from the continental languages, on which occasion the late Sir Robert Peat was elected grand-prior of England, and the language regularly re-organised. On the 24th February 1834, proceedings were taken before Sir Thomas Denman, Chief Justice of England, when the Grand Prior formally revived the corporation of the English language, under the royal letters patent of King Philip and Queen Mary; and took the oath "de fideli administratione." And since that period the vacancies in the dignities of the Order have been regularly filled up. They are at present occupied as follows:—

- Lieutenant-Turcopolier . The Hon. Sir Henry Dymock, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, 17th Hereditary Champion of the English Crown.
- Grand-Prior of England The Hon. Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, Bart., Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, Knight-Marshal of Her Majesty's Household.
- Preceptor of Scotland . The Chevalier Sir James Burnes, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
- Prior of Ireland . . . Sir Charles Routledge O'Donnell, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
- Lieut.-Bailiff of Wales . Edward G. L. Perrott, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
- Bailiff of Aquila . . . Sir John Philippart, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
- Lieut.-Bailiff of Aquila . Major Sir Warwick Hill Tonkin, Knt., Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
- Grand-Secretary . . . The Hon. Sir Richard Broun, Bart., Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
- Chancellor . . . . The Chevalier Williams, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.

Grave doubts exist as to the legitimacy of this revived

branch of the English language. The authorities in supreme governance over the Order at Rome deny its validity, and refuse to recognise it as an integral branch of the venerable Order of St. John. It would be well, therefore, if such steps could be taken as should decide the question, and remove the uncertainty which at present exists on the matter.



## CHAP. XXIII.

ALOF DE VIGNACOURT. — ECCLESIASTICAL DISPUTES. — THE AQUEDUCT.  
 — ANTHONY DE PAULE. — GENERAL CHAPTER. — ELECTION OF  
 LASCARIS. — DISPUTES WITH THE SPANISH AND FRENCH MONAR-  
 CHIES. — COTEMPORARY DESCRIPTION OF A NAVAL ACTION. — EX-  
 PULSION OF THE JESUITS. — COMMENCEMENT OF THE FLORIANA.  
 — ACQUISITIONS IN THE WEST INDIES. — OPPOSITION OF THE  
 GRAND-INQUISITOR TO THE ELECTION OF REDIN. — THE BROTHERS  
 COTTONER. — THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CANDIA. — DISPUTES  
 WITH THE BRITISH ADMIRAL ON THE SUBJECT OF SALUTES. —  
 THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COTTONERA AND THE LAZARETTO. —  
 DEATH OF NICHOLAS COTTONER.

THE seventeenth century opened with the accession of Alof de Vignacourt to the dignity of fifty-second Grand-Master of the Order of St. John. This Knight, at the age of seventeen years, had joined the ranks of the fraternity at Malta, in 1564, at the time when they were expecting an immediate attack from the Infidel ; and in the following year he passed through all the dangers and fatigues of the celebrated siege under La Valette. He was subsequently named governor of Valetta ; and, as his services increased, so he rose in dignity, until he attained the post of grand-hospitaller ; and at the death of Garces, in 1601, he was raised to the vacant office of Grand-Master.

The cabals and disputes which disturbed the rule of his predecessors, appear to have calmed down under this chief ; and although upon several occasions dissatis-

faction and turbulence still made themselves manifest, the peace of the convent was never materially affected. Several naval exploits of more or less importance graced the annals of his reign. Descents of a successful character were made upon the Mahometans in Barbary, Patras, and Lepanto in the Morea, and upon Lango, one of the former possessions of the Hospitallers in connection with the island of Rhodes. Laiazzo and Corinth also witnessed the daring inroads of the adventurous Knights, who realised from these various expeditions a vast amount of plunder, and stored the prisons of Malta with a considerable addition to the number of their slaves.

That these exploits bore in any degree upon the general issue of the struggle between Christianity and Mahometanism, is more than the most partial historian of the Order could venture to assert. The days when the Knights of St. John were content to expend their energies and pour out their hearts' blood in the defence of their faith, without regard to worldly acquisitions, and the amount of booty their warfare would produce, had long since passed away. Now they no more sought, in open field, and by well-directed energy, to crush the foe against whom their profession engaged them to maintain a constant warfare; but, looking rather to their personal enrichment than the public advantage, they strove, by means of such isolated and plundering exploits as those referred to above, to gain for their convent and themselves a plentiful store of booty, and a rich reward for their privateering efforts.

Enraged at these repeated aggressions, the Turks endeavoured, in their turn, to carry the war into the enemy's country; and, in 1615, they made a descent

upon Malta, with sixty galleys, and disembarked 5000 men upon the island. Due precautions had, however, been taken by the inhabitants, who all retreated into the town upon the approach of the foe; and the Turks gained nothing by their attempt, being driven ignominiously back into their ships by the forces of the fraternity.

The rule of Vignacourt, like those of his predecessors, was disturbed by the pretensions of the bishop of Malta. This ecclesiastic, whose name was Cagliares, having during one of his numerous disputes with the Grand-Master and council had recourse to a personal visit to Rome, to enforce his pretensions, a deputy was appointed by him to maintain the interests of his see during his absence. The arrogance of this deputy far exceeded even that of his principal; and the more youthful and hot-headed amongst the Knights were unable to restrain their indignation at the intolerable assumption of his conduct. A band of these malcontents attacked the bishop's palace by night, threatening to throw the offending functionary into the Marsa Musceit; and it was with no little difficulty that De Vignacourt was enabled to rescue him out of their hands. He despatched the obnoxious priest to the Pope, with a complaint of his conduct, and a request that he might be subjected to due reproof; but Paul V., who was bent upon supporting the clergy in their pretensions against the Grand-Master, took a very high tone in the matter, and so far from yielding to the request which De Vignacourt had preferred, he acquitted the bishop's nominee of all blame, and called upon the Grand-Master and council, under pain of his anathema, to make due reparation for the indignities to

which he had been subjected. Resistance was totally in vain, and Vignacourt was compelled to submit to this new degradation, and to restore the insolent churchman to his position and dignities within the convent. Similar scenes occurred with the grand-inquisitor, and the incessant disputes which originated with these rival dignitaries, rendered the office of Grand-Master by no means a bed of roses.

The name of Vignacourt has, in Malta, become inseparably connected with the aqueduct which he caused to be constructed in that island. Destitute as the cities of Valetta and Vittoriosa are of all natural springs, the inhabitants were, before Vignacourt's time, compelled to depend for their water supply entirely upon tanks, and, in the event of a dry winter, were sorely distressed during the following summer. To obviate this evil, and to prevent for the future all further distress on the score of water, Vignacourt constructed a very fine aqueduct, connecting the city of Valetta with a spring of water in the Bengemma hills, in the vicinity of the Città Notabile. This aqueduct, which is upwards of nine miles in length, carries the water into every part of the city, and supplies the fountains which succeeding Grand-Masters have caused to be erected in different convenient situations. A worthier monument this, and a nobler memorial, than the proudest trophy of war, or the most costly sculptured tomb. The gratitude of posterity will recall the memory of Vignacourt, so long as Valetta exists, as the founder of one of the most useful and enduring works which that city possesses.\*

\* The following account of the reception of Alexandre Monsieur, natural son of Henry IV. of France, by Gabrielle d'Estrees, into the

The same fate attended this Grand-Master as that which befell La Valette; and he was seized with an attack of apoplexy whilst hunting, in the month of August 1622, and died on the 14th of September in

Order, on the 2nd of February, 1604, is extracted from Miss Pardoe's "Life of Marie de Medicis:"—

"The king having decided that such should be the career of the young prince, was anxious that he should at once assume the name and habit of the Order; and he accordingly wrote to the Grand-Master to request that he would despatch the necessary patents, which were forwarded without delay, accompanied by the most profuse acknowledgments of that dignitary. In order to increase the solemnity and magnificence of the inauguration, Henry summoned to the capital the grand-commanders (qy. priors) both of France and Champagne, instructing them to bring in their respective trains as many other commanders and Knights as could be induced to accompany them; and he selected as the scene of the ceremony the church of the Augustines; an arrangement which was, however, abandoned at the entreaty of the Commander de Villeneuve, the ambassador of the Order, who deemed it more dignified that it should take place in that of the Temple, which was one of their principal establishments. At the hour indicated the two sovereigns accordingly drove to the Temple in the same carriage, Alexandre Monsieur being seated between them; and on alighting at the principal entrance of the edifice, the king delivered the little prince into the hands of the grand-prior, who was there awaiting him, attended by twelve commanders and twelve Knights, by whom he was conducted up the centre aisle. The church was magnificently ornamented; and the altar, which blazed with gold and jewels, was already surrounded by the Cardinal de Gondy, the papal nuncio, and a score of bishops, all attired in their splendid sacerdotal vestments. In the centre of the choir a throne had been erected for their majesties, covered with cloth of gold; and around the chairs of state were grouped the princes, princesses, and other grandees of the court, including the ambassadors of Spain and Venice, the constable, Duke de Montmorency, the chancellor, the seven presidents of the parliament, and the Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost.

"The coup d'œil was one of most extraordinary splendour. The

that year, at the age of seventy-five. His successor, Louis Mendes de Vasconcellas, survived his election only six months, having been nearly eighty years of

whole of the sacred edifice was brilliantly illuminated by the innumerable tapers which lit up the several shrines, and which, casting their clear light upon every surrounding object, brought into full relief the dazzling gems and gleaming weapons that glittered on all sides. The organ pealed out its deepest and most impressive harmony; and not a sound was heard throughout the vast building as the grand-prior, with his train of Knights and nobles, led the youthful neophyte to the place assigned to him. The ceremony commenced by the consecration of the sword and the change of raiment, which typified that about to take place in the duties of the prince by an entrance into an Order which enjoined alike godliness and virtue. The mantle was withdrawn from his shoulders, and his outer garment removed by the Knights who stood immediately around him; after which he was presented alternately with a vest of white satin, elaborately embroidered in gold and silver, having the sleeves enriched with pearls; a waist belt studded with jewels; a cap of black velvet, ornamented with a small white plume, and a band of large pearls; and a tunic of black taffeta. In this costume the prince was conducted to the high altar by the Duke and Duchess of Vendôme, followed by a commander to assist him during the ceremony; and they had no sooner taken their places, than Arnaud de Sorbin, bishop of Nevers, delivered a short oration, eulogistic of the greatness and excellence of the brotherhood of which he was about to become a member. The same prelate then performed a solemn high mass; and when he had terminated the reading of the gospel, Alexander Monsieus knelt before him, with a taper of white wax in his hand, to solicit admission to the Order. He had no sooner bent his knee than the king rose, descended the steps of the throne, and placed himself by his side, saying aloud that he put off for awhile his sovereign dignity that he might perform his duty as a parent, by pledging himself that when the prince should have attained his sixteenth year he should take the vows, and in all things conform himself to the rules of the institution. The procession then passed out of the church in the same order as it had entered; and the young prince was immediately put into possession of the income arising from his commandery, which was estimated at 40,000 annual livres."

age at the time of his nomination. It appears about this time to have been the practice of the fraternity to elect none but the most aged Knights to the supreme dignity, with a view to the post becoming again the more rapidly vacant. A more suicidal policy for their own interests could scarcely be conceived. Old men, worn out by a long life of excitement and enterprise, could scarcely be expected to retain sufficient energy to enable them to conduct, with prudence and skill, a government fraught with so many difficulties, both from within and without, as that of Malta. Where inflexible determination and vigorous promptitude in action were the essential requisites to a successful government, these decrepit and enfeebled veterans, sinking almost into their dotage, were utterly incapacitated; and it is mainly owing to this fact that the power of the Grand-Master, and the vitality of the Order itself, suffered so rapid and marked a diminution.

In pursuance of the same short-sighted policy, Vasconcellas was replaced, in 1623, by Anthony de Paule, grand-prior of St. Gilles; a Knight aged seventy-one at the time of his election. De Paule's rule is marked in the annals of the Order as celebrated, because in it the last general chapter was held which was convened, until the latter end of the eighteenth century. The unpopularity of these great councils had been constantly augmenting, and the difficulty of maintaining the magisterial authority within their jurisdiction so great, that no Grand-Master after De Paule ventured to summon into existence a council where he himself had so little weight and influence. Upon this occasion, the Pope had insisted that the Inquisitor should take his seat as president of the chapter. De Paule and his

council remonstrated that it was diametrically opposed to the constitution of their Order that a stranger should assume the title and dignity of president in their chief assembly; and that the community at large would never tolerate the intrusion. The Pope, however, was obstinate, and insisted upon his appointment being acquiesced in. The aged Grand-Master, who had not sufficient energy to support him in a broil with the court of Rome, yielded the point without further remonstrance; and, as it was highly probable that the younger members would, by more open measures, resent the intrusion thus forced upon them, he sent the great majority out of the island on a cruise, and held the chapter during their absence.

The statutes of the Order were all revised during this session; and, as it was the last that was held till near the close of the eighteenth century, the laws thus amended remained the code in force up to the period of its dissolution.

Much dissatisfaction was caused by the repeated interference of the pontiff with the patronage belonging to the Order in the language of Italy. Vacancies were constantly bestowed by him on his own relatives and dependents, without the slightest regard to the claims of seniority or the wishes of the council; and the Italian Knights became so discontented at this glaring misappropriation of their just rights, that they broke out into open mutiny, and refused to perform any of the duties of their profession, or to take their turn of military duty, on the plea of the injury which was being inflicted on their interests. Many abandoned Malta entirely, and, returning to their homes, threw off the habit of the Order in disgust. Redress was sought



for in vain, and the Grand-Master was forced to submit to the usurpation thus made upon his most valued immunities and privileges.

Throughout his reign expeditions, similar in character to those organised under Vignacourt, constantly took place. Useless for all national purposes, and partaking largely of a piratical character in their mode of conduct, they served only to irritate the Turks, without in the slightest degree enfeebling their power. The Knights of Malta were fast degenerating into a race very similar in character and pursuits to the piratical hordes who swarmed within the harbours of Algiers and Tunis; and their departure from the noble and disinterested conduct of their predecessors was painfully apparent in every detail of their administration. The worldly prosperity, however, of those over whom they held sway was materially increased; and the influx of wealth, consequent on the many rich prizes which they annually seized, had raised the island of Malta to a position of opulence and commercial importance, such as for centuries she had been a stranger to. In the year 1632 a census was held of her population, and the numbers then recorded as present in the island amounted to 51,750 souls. When L'Isle Adam, a hundred years previously, had first established his convent home there, the population barely exceeded 17,000. They had consequently nearly tripled themselves within a century, beneath the flourishing sway of the Order of St. John, notwithstanding that they had during that interval undergone the fearful losses entailed by the siege under La Valette.

Antoine de Paule died on the 10th of June 1636, at the advanced age of eighty-five years, and in accordance

with the policy already alluded to, he was succeeded by a Knight aged seventy-six years at the time of his appointment. This was John Paul de Lascaris Castellar, a Knight of Provence, and bailiff of Manosque at the time of his elevation to the supreme dignity. It was not long ere he discovered that he had exchanged a very lucrative and dignified sinecure for an office which was by no means equally desirable.

A fierce war was at this time raging between the monarchs of France and Spain ; and many Knights of both countries, contrary to the express terms of their statutes, took part in the struggle. The French element, from its number, naturally preponderated greatly in the convent, and the sympathies of the Order leant visibly towards that country. In revenge for this partiality, the viceroy of Sicily, espousing the interests of his master the king of Spain, forbade the exportation of grain to Malta. As that island was almost entirely dependent on Sicily for its supply of provisions, this prohibition inflicted all the evils of positive starvation upon it, and the Grand-Master was driven to mollify the offended Spaniard by a strict enforcement of neutrality between the belligerent powers. In pursuance of this resolve, he caused a French vessel of war to be fired upon, which being commanded by one of his Knights, had ventured to anchor in the channel between Malta and Gozo. Pacified by this act, the viceroy removed his embargo on the exportation of corn ; but, on the other hand, the king of France was so irritated at the open insult shown to his flag, that he prepared to seize all the possessions of the Order in France, and to annex them to his crown domains. Fortunately, Lascaris was enabled to make such explanations in the

case as proved to the king that he had only acted in the manner to which he was bound by his statutes, and the treaty under which he held Malta, and the affair was at length accommodated, and himself and convent left at peace.

In 1538, an action was fought between the six galleys of the Order and a Turkish fleet of three large vessels of war, which were engaged in convoying a number of merchant ships from Tripoli to Constantinople. In this engagement the Knights were completely successful, and captured the whole Turkish flotilla, including their convoying ships; not, however, without the loss of many of their most distinguished captains. In 1640, six Barbary pirates were captured from the harbour of Goletta by the general of the galleys; and in 1644, three galleys under Piancourt overcame a large and formidable galleon after a most desperate conflict. In this affair the Turks lost 600 men, and amongst the captives was a sultana from the imperial seraglio, who was then on a pilgrimage to Mecca. This loss so incensed the sultan, that he despatched a herald to Malta, threatening instant war.

Lascaris, upon this, took prompt measures to ensure the security of his island. Knights were summoned from all quarters to assist in the defence, and volunteers in great numbers flocked to the island, anxious to share in the renown of a second siege of Malta. Amongst these was the Count D'Arpajou, who brought at his own expense a reinforcement of no less than 2000 men. The Order were so grateful for this munificent aid, that they unceremoniously elected the count commander-in-chief over all the forces in the island, a post hitherto always held by the grand-marshal. The alarm of in-

vation having proved vain, the Grand-Master, at the departure of D'Arpajou, conferred several honorary decorations on himself and his descendants in commemoration of his zeal for their welfare.

The naval war with Turkey was, however, by no means suspended; for the Turks having turned their forces against the Venetian island of Candia, the galleys of Malta hurried promptly to their succour. Naval combats constantly occurred, in which the superiority of the Knights over their opponents was usually very decided. In 1656, an engagement of greater importance than usual took place between the combined fleets of Venice and Malta on the one side, and that of the Turks on the other. In a cotemporary newspaper, called the "*Mercurius Politicus*," published in London, there is the following graphic account of this action, which may be regarded as a type of most of those about this period, of constant occurrence between the rival fleets. It runs as follows:—

"London, September 1656: from Venice, August 15 stili novo.—The particulars of our last victory are now brought hither by the *Sieur Lazaro Mocenigo*, who entred here on the 1st of this month, in a Turkish galley which was taken from those Infidels, and all the men in her had turbans on their heads. At his arrivall the people declared an extraordinary joy. All the shops were shut up, and the duke, accompanied by the senators, went and sang *Te Deum*, and the ringing of bells continued till next day in all churches. On the third day, a soleinn mass was celebrated by the duke and senators in the church of *St. Marke*, where all the ambassadors of princes were present. And that the rejoycing might extend to the very prisons, the senate

took order for the releasing of all persons imprisoned for debt, and some of the banditi were also set at liberty.

“ In the meantime the said Sieur Mocenigo, who had contributed so much of prudence and courage to the gaining of this victory, had first the honor of knighthood conferred on him by the senate, with a chain of gold 2000 crownes value, and then was declared generallissimo, in the room of the late slain Lorenzo Marcello, in memory of whom it is ordered there be a publick service celebrated next week at the publick charge.

“ Now that so renowned a victory may in some measure be known, take the following relation:—

“ *A particular relation of the manner of the late victory obtained by the Venetians against the Turk.*

“ After the Venetian fleet had made a month’s stay at the mouth of the Dardanelles, to wait for and fight the enemy, in the meanwhile arived the squadron of Malta, which consisted of seven galleys. On the 23rd of June last past, the Captain Bassa appeared in sight of the castles, his fleet consisted of twenty-eight great ships, sixty galleys, nine galeasses, and other small vessels.

“ The navy of the republick was composed of twenty-eight great ships, twenty-four galleys, and seven galeasses, to which joyned (as was said before) the galleys of Malta, commanded by the lord prior of Roccelia. The navy of the republick kept in the narrowest part of the channel, so that the Turks could not come forth without accepting the battel which was offered.

“ At the beginning, the Captain Bassa raised two

batteries upon land on both sides the river, the one on the part of Natolia, the other on the part of Grecia, thinking thereby to oblige our ships and galeasses to forsake their station, and so facilitate their own going forth. The courage of the Venetian, resisting their shot with undaunted boldness, rendered the advantage they had taken unprofitable; whereupon the Captain Bassa, who had express order to attempt going out, upon the 26th of the same month, in the morning, favoured with a pleasant north wind, made all his greatest ships to advance in good order, but (whether they durst not expose themselves, or for what other reason, is not known) they withdrew behind the point of Barbiera, and thither also the Captain Bassa repaired with his galleys.

“About ten of the clock it pleased God to send a small north-west wind, which occasioned the Venetian navy to move; and the honorable Eleazer Mocenigo (who having finished the charge of a captain of a galley, would needs continue with the fleet as a volunteer, and commanded the left wing) found means to advance with ‘The Sultana of St. Marke,’ wherein he was, and passing beyond the Turkish fleet, endeavoured to hinder its retreat, keeping the mouth of the channel, and fighting valiantly.

“The battel being thus begun, the captain-general, Laurence Marcello, accompanied with the general of Malta, came up, intermingling with the rest of the Venetian commanders and vessels, fell to it pel mel. After the Turks had used their utmost endeavour to avoid the fight, being hemmed in by the Venetian fleet, and having no place left to escape, they were forced to fight with the more eagerness because they had lost all

hope of making a retreat, and so commended their safety to the conflict, whereby they gave means to the Venetians the more to exalt their triumph and glory over their enemies, all the enemy being totally routed by the sword, by fire, and by water, the Captain Bassa only saving himself with fourteen galleys, which hath crowned the republick with one of the greatest victories that ever was heard of in former times.

“The number of the enemies’ dead cannot be known nor discovered among so many ships and galleys taken and consumed by fire and water; about the shore there were seen huge heaps of dead bodies, and in the bay of a certain little valley there appeared so great a quantity of carcases that it caused horror in the beholders.

“The number of Christian slaves freed on this occasion is near upon five thousand. That of the Venetians’ men killed and wounded doth not amount to three hundred, which makes the victory memorable to all ages.

“The battel lasted from ten a clock in the morning until night; but the burning of the greatest part of the enemies’ fleet continued for two daies and two nights; on the first whereof the Venetians were forced to maintaine the fight, to subdue some Turkish vessels which stood out upon defence.

“The Venetians having reserved some of the enemies’ ships of all sorts in memory of the successe, besides eleven which those of Malta had taken, it was resolved upon by the Venetian commanders to burn the rest, to free themselves from the trouble of sailing with so numerous a fleet, and to keep their owne in readiness for all attempts.

“Three Venetian ships were burnt, two in the fight

and one by some other accident which is not well known, and their fleet received no other damage.

“The onely thing to be deplored in this successe was the losse of the Captain-Generall Marcello, who was killed with a cannon-shot, and four men more who were next to him, after that with his own galley he had subdued a potent sultana, and (by the grace of God) seen the Turkish fleet in confusion, dispersed, defeated, and by consequence the great victory secured, and her upon the point of surprising another sultana. His soule hath received her reward in heaven, and his name will live with perpetuall glory in the memory of the world.

“Eleazer Moccenino by a new musquet-shot lost one of his eies, as he at first was attempting to prevent the Turks’ passage, notwithstanding which hee never failed to doe great things the whole time of the conflict.

“The valour, courage, and magnanimity wherewith all the Venetians and Malteses did behave themselves on this occasion may better be understood by the action than by discourse.”

No action of greater importance than this had occurred since the memorable day of Lepanto, and the Maltese galleys, although not numerous, appear to have nobly done their duty on the occasion, as the eleven vessels captured by them and borne off in triumph to Malta, amply testify. Whilst these maritime successes were attesting the naval superiority of the Order of St. John, and increasing the renown in which they were held throughout Europe, their convent still remained the scene of acrimonious dispute and internal discord. The inquisitor, the bishop of Malta, and the Jesuits, all sought their own advancement at the sacrifice of the authority of their common sovereign the Grand-Master.



In order to withdraw from their allegiance as many of the inhabitants as possible, the bishop was in the practice of "granting the tonsure" to any person who demanded that distinction. By this mark, and without adopting in any other way the functions of the clergy, they claimed exemption from all other authority than that of the ecclesiastical body, the superintendence of which was vested in the bishop. They secured immunity from all the imposts and duties to which the laity were liable, and their position became so favourable with respect to their fellow-subjects, that they flocked in vast numbers to the bishop, for reception into the favoured band.

Had this state of things been suffered to continue, the Grand-Master would eventually have found himself completely denuded of all power in the island of which he was nominally the sovereign; and he remonstrated with the Pope upon so outrageous an assumption on the part of his subordinate. Urban VIII., who was at that time pontiff, could not deny the justice of Lascaris' complaint, and he issued instructions to the bishop, to forbid him from granting in future the privileges of the tonsure to any but such as were *bonâ fide* ecclesiastics. The embroilment with the Jesuits had likewise gradually culminated to an open breach, in consequence of the arrogance and grasping ambition which had rendered them odious to the members of the institution. The quarrel which led to their expulsion originated in the frolic of some young Knights, who, during the carnival of 1639, disguised themselves in the habit of Jesuits, and in that garb were guilty of many scandals and disorders in the town.

The reverend fathers, highly irate at this open profanation of their distinguishing costume, complained

bitterly to the Grand-Master and council, who caused the offending members to be arrested and lodged in prison. The public feeling had gradually become so excited against the disciples of Loyola, that this wholesome act of severity, just and necessary though it was, was very ill received, and a tumult arose, in the course of which the prison was broken open, the culprits released, and the Jesuits' college pillaged and ravaged from top to bottom. The insurgents were so exasperated, and possessed so great power from their numbers within the island, that the expulsion of the Jesuits was decreed, and with the exception of four, who contrived to conceal themselves, the remainder were compelled to leave the island. This relief was, however, but temporary, and it was not long before the reverend brethren once more returned to the scenes of their former domination.

Meanwhile the Pope, who doubtless considered he had secured the eternal gratitude of the fraternity by his prohibition to the bishop, demanded the assistance of the Maltese galleys in a war in which he was engaged against several of the minor Italian princes, who had formed a league against his aggressions. To this request Lascaris and his council were weak enough to accede, directly opposed, though it was, to the fundamental principles of their institution. The princes, justly irritated at this breach of neutrality on the part of the Order, confiscated their possessions in their respective territories, nor did they withdraw the embargo till ample satisfaction and apology had been tendered.

Whilst thus engaged in political disputes which materially affected the prosperity of his Order, Lascaris did not neglect the internal improvement of his convent,

and the island over which he ruled. The new city of Valetta was, as has already been stated, protected by a line of ramparts on the land side, enclosing the city, and cutting off the lower portion of the peninsula of Mount Sceberras from the main land. Not, however, deeming this single line of works a sufficient defence on the land side, the only point from which an attack was to be feared, Lascaris engaged an eminent Italian engineer named Florian, to construct an advanced front, which should yield an additional protection to the weak point.\*

This work, which was commenced under Lascaris, was not completed till the year 1721, and the suburb which it encloses has received the name of Floriana, after that of the engineer who superintended and designed the work. Florian was admitted into the Order by Lascaris, as a reward for the zeal and talent which he had displayed.

Malta was also indebted to this Grand-Master for the magnificent public library which he established in 1650, and which gradually increased until it attained proportions exceeded by but few of the public libraries of Europe. This rapid augmentation was the result of a very wise decree, that at a Knight's death his books should not be sold with the rest of his property for the benefit of the treasury, but should be forwarded to the public library to swell its extent, or in the case of duplicate copies, to be exchanged for some other work.

In 1652 the Order of St. John, for the first time, obtained possession of property in the new hemisphere. A Knight named Poincy, who had established himself in the island of St. Kitt's, as commandant for a com-

\* Vide Appendix No. 19.

pany of merchants, who held the island under a grant from the crown of France, persuaded the Grand-Master and council to make a purchase of the island, which he represented as capable of adding materially to the wealth of the treasury. The cost of this purchase amounted to 5000*l.*, in virtue of which payment the Order was invested with all the property contained in the island, including slaves, provisions, and stores; and the transfer was confirmed by letters patent from the king of France, Louis XIV. De Poincy was appointed to the superintendence of this property, which was raised to the rank of a bailiwick, and efforts were made to secure the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe upon similar terms, but without success.

The results which De Poincy had foretold were never realised; the treasury received no return for the outlay which had been made; and when, ten years later, the new bailiff died, it was found that the debts which he had incurred in carrying on the government of the island, amounted to nearly as much as the entire value of the property. They, therefore, hastened to disemburthen themselves of an acquisition rich in nothing but debt and embarrassments; and the unfortunate speculation was brought to a close by a sale, which was effected in 1665, to a company of French merchants, under whose hands the plantations became a far more lucrative investment. It must, indeed, seem strange to the modern reader to learn that two hundred years since, the island of St. Kitt's was purchased for 5000*l.*, and was, moreover, discovered to be a losing speculation at that price. At the present time, even allowing for the depreciation in the value of property in the West Indies, it might be expected to realise at least one hundred times the amount

paid for it by the Knights of St. John. Such speculations were never in accordance with the principles of their institution, and it would by no means have reflected credit on them, had they degenerated into a mercantile association, increasing their revenues by a traffic extracted from the produce of a West Indian plantation. The degeneracy of the Order had caused a decline in the general estimation in which they were held, sufficiently marked, without any further downward impulse being given by their assumption of a character so unsuited to their chivalric association. They therefore may be considered to have acted far more judiciously in the sale of 1665, than in the original purchase of 1652.

That event, however, was not the act of Lascaris, who died on the 14th of August 1657, at the extraordinary age of ninety-seven years. His end had been so long anticipated, that cabals and intrigues without number had been set on foot with respect to his successor. On the one hand appeared the prior of Navarre, Martin de Redin, who had exerted such influence in the convent as to have secured a very large party in his own favour; whilst in strong opposition to him was the grand-inquisitor Odi, who cherished an inveterate antipathy to the Spanish Knight, and sought by every means in his power to thwart him in his designs. Redin had been recently appointed viceroy of Sicily by the king of Spain, and was absent in the seat of his government at the moment when Lascaris breathed his last. His party, however, within the convent were too powerful for the inquisitor to resist, although he made every effort for that purpose. He had even secured from the pontiff a brief, in which his holiness declared that any Knight who had been guilty of having either

canvassed or bribed, or who had employed promises or threats to secure his election, should be ineligible for the post of Grand-Master. In pursuance of this decree, he denounced Martin Redin and proclaimed to the council of election that he was, from his various malpractices and simony, excluded from competition for the vacant dignity. The electors disregarded this notification, and were probably not averse to taking the opportunity of proving to the inquisitor, whose dictatorial interference in the government had long been most distasteful, that his remonstrances were unheeded. Redin was duly proclaimed Grand-Master, and Odi, having vainly protested against the election, appealed, as a last resource, to the Pope. The Grand-Master did the same, and mollified his holiness by expressing his perfect readiness to resign his office if he were personally obnoxious to the court of Rome.

The Pope was, however, far too politic to proceed to extremities against a Knight who so strongly possessed the favour of the powerful king of Spain as to have been by him nominated his viceroy in the kingdom of Sicily. He, therefore, confirmed the election, recognised Redin as the legitimate chief of the Order of St. John, and completed the mortification of the inquisitor by requiring him to be the personal herald of his own discomfiture, and directed him to announce, both to the Grand-Master and council, the papal acquiescence in the nomination which had been made. Whether Redin had made use of any underhand influence at the court of Rome to secure his election is unknown, but it is very certain that he was not ungrateful to the Pope for his ratification of the choice of the convent; for he shortly afterwards nominated the Prior de Bichi, the

Pope's favourite nephew, to one of the richest commanderies in the Italian language, in open violation of the rights of seniority, and further presented him with a diamond cross of the value of 1200 crowns. Nor did he stop here, for, during his brief rule, he continued to provide for various members of the pontiff's family to the detriment of older and more worthy candidates. It may, therefore, well be credited that the accusations originally preferred against him by the inquisitor were, in all probability, but too well founded.

He did not remain long in his government, nor were his immediate successors more fortunate, several changes occurring during a very brief space. Redin died in the early part of 1660, and was followed by Annet de Clermont, bailiff of Lyons, who only enjoyed his position for three months, when he also died from the effects of a wound which he had received at the capture of Mahometa during his younger days, and which opened afresh at this period. He was in his turn replaced by Raphael Cottoner, bailiff of Majorca, who swayed the baton of his Order for three years, dying in 1663, at the age of sixty-three years, having, during his brief administration, endeared himself with all classes of his subjects.

He was succeeded by his brother, Nicholas Cottoner, who had attained the office of bailiff of Majorca when it had been vacated by his brother, and now replaced him in the supreme dignity. Only once before in the annals of the Order had two brothers been nominated in succession to the Grand-Mastership, the two Villarets having attained to that honour. On the present occasion the pre-eminent virtues of the noble brothers Cottoner amply justified the honours which were conferred

upon them. A century had now elapsed since Europe had rung with acclaim at the brilliant defence the Order had made in their island stronghold of Malta, the last effort of their palmy days. Since then their decline had been sensible and rapid, so that, in 1663, Nicholas Cottoner found himself ruling over a fraternity whose internal organisation and general position in public estimation was widely different from what it had been during the days of La Valette.

The history of a nation will always be found strongly to resemble the life of an individual. We have the early struggles of youth when it first emerges from the feebleness of childhood and only becomes gradually conscious of its own increasing strength. Then the first flush of manhood, with all the eager excitement of hope and the prospect of a brilliant future. This again is followed by the vigour and determination which marks the prime of life, rejoicing in all the pride of ambition gratified and position attained. From this point commences the decline both of man and people. At first the degeneracy appears but slight, and only here and there are apparent traces which show that Time, the destroyer of all earthly things, is working his will. As years roll on these symptoms become more marked, until at length the fact can no longer be disguised that a great change has been wrought, and that old age is approaching. Still, ever and anon appear flashes of the old spirit, marking the soul which once had burned within the enfeebled frame, but these evanescent returns of pristine vigour become gradually less and less distinct, until at length all is merged in the helpless idiocy of second childhood. It is very painful to mark this blighting change in the career of those whom God has



gifted with pre-eminence in this mortal stage, and well is it for the memory of a great man when he is called away before time has had an opportunity of laying his effacing fingers upon that which has gained the admiration and homage of mankind. Who is there that cannot recall instances in the history of every nation where men have, in the decay of old age, become striking exemplifications of this sad fact? Nor is it less apparent in the career of the nations themselves. We have traced the history of the Order of St. John throughout its brilliant and promising youth in Palestine. The vigour of manhood in its prime and strength was to be witnessed during its residence at Rhodes, and the siege of Malta marks the epoch when that prime had reached its highest point. We have traced the descent, at first gradual, but afterwards more rapid, in the century which succeeded that event, and we have now arrived at a period when only rare and intermittent flashes appear to testify to the remains of that heroic spirit which animated the first brethren of the Hospital.

One of the last, and certainly the most glorious, feat of arms in which the Knights of Malta were engaged, was the defence of Candia. It has already been mentioned that in the year 1644, the galleys of the Order captured a galleon, in which was a sultana of the imperial harem and her infant son. The prize was taken into the port of Candia, where the young mother, who had left Constantinople on a pilgrimage to Mecca, died from the effects of a slow poison, administered to her before her departure by one of the rival beauties of the serail. The child was brought to Malta, where he was tenderly nurtured by the Grand-Master Lascaris and educated in the Christian religion. He eventually took

holy orders and became a Dominican friar under the name of Father Ottoman. After a life spent in travelling throughout Europe, he returned to Malta as prior of Porto Salvo, and died there in 1676.

The capture of his sultana had caused Ibrahim the most lively indignation, and he had menaced the most speedy vengeance upon the island of Malta. His wrath, however, was diverted against Candia, principally, as the Venetians asserted, on account of the shelter which she had yielded to the Knights and their prize. Whatever may have been the immediate subject of quarrel, the Venetians and the Turks had ever held the most unfriendly relations towards each other, and it required but a spark at any moment to kindle the bitterest war between them. Certain it is that before the close of 1644, the island had been invaded by a Turkish force, and that from that moment the war between the rival powers had raged with unceasing animosity on that spot. The Knights rendered the most loyal assistance to the Venetians in this strife, as by their profession they were indubitably bound to do; and if, as is alleged, it was by an act of theirs that the horrors of war were brought down upon the unfortunate island, they were doubly bound to aid in the struggle.

Throughout the remainder of the rule of Lascaris, as also through those of his three successors, the war continued to rage and the chiefs of the Hospital maintained their support both by sea and by land. The Turks had, however, gradually attained the upper hand, and when, in 1663, Nicholas Cottoner assumed the dignity vacant by the death of his brother Raphael, the defence of Candia had commenced to assume a most

unfavourable aspect. He nevertheless continued to afford such aid as lay within his power. The assistance which his predecessors had afforded during the lengthened struggle had been gratefully acknowledged by the doges of Venice. We have a letter from Bartuccio Valerio, the then doge, dated on the 9th of December, 1656, addressed to the Grand-Master Lascaris, in which he implores the Order to continue their usual aid to withstand the attacks of the Turks on the island of Candia, which were becoming more fierce and unrelenting than ever, knowing well that the extremity of the peril would be an additional inducement to the noble Knights of Malta, to endeavour both by sea and land to gain back what had been lost, not only owing to their own thirst for glory, but also from their zeal for the general interests of Christianity. Another letter was addressed to Raphael Cottoner, in 1661, by the doge Dominico Contarini, in which he states that in that protracted war the sacred cross of Malta has ever been ready and faithful under all circumstances to the standard of St. Mark, and that the Venetian republic will not be slow in expressing her gratitude for the brilliant and glorious deeds of the Order, which are worthy of the sincerest esteem and love.

The closing action of the war was the siege of the capital, which withstood for twenty-seven months the efforts of the Turks. Irritated at the protracted duration of the war, the grand-vizier Achmet had in person led a numerous army against the island and commenced the siege of the town of Candia. Assistance was, in this crisis, rendered by almost every nation in Europe. Reinforcements poured into the city from all quarters, and amongst others a body of sixty Knights and three

hundred men arrived from Malta. The defence of this town was for a period of twenty-seven months protracted with an obstinacy and determination that gained for it a celebrity fully equal to that of Malta, although it was not destined to meet with so prosperous a termination. Step by step the Turk advanced and won his way past the more advanced of the bulwarks. The effusion of blood on both sides was fearful, but the superiority of the besiegers in men and materiel enabled them to secure the advantage. At length it was resolved by a desperate sally to endeavour to turn the fortune of the struggle. The Duke de Noailles, who was in command of the French contingent, undertook this operation, but expressly stipulated that none but Frenchmen should be concerned in the attack. This sally was effected in the middle of August 1669, and failed completely. The French were driven back into the town with great slaughter, the Duke de Noailles was wounded, and his second in command, the Duke of Beaufort, killed. The situation of the town now became utterly desperate, and after a long consultation and a warm debate, Noailles determined on abandoning the contest; and, in pursuance of this resolve, embarked his forces on the 20th of August, and left the city to its fate.

The Maltese contingent had by this time become so fearfully reduced in numbers, owing to the casualties of a protracted siege, in which they had occupied a very exposed post, that they were no longer in a position to maintain themselves, and therefore retired from St. Andrew's gate, which they had hitherto succeeded in defending, and made preparations for following the example of the French, deeming all hope of further

resistance futile. St. Andrew's Gate was blown up, and the Order embarked on the 29th of August, leaving the town almost entirely unprotected, and on the 6th of September it capitulated, and from that day the island of Candia passed for ever into the possession of the Infidel.

The reputation for valour which the Knights of St. John had established of old did not in any degree suffer by their conduct during this memorable siege. The commandant Morosini thus alluded to their departure in a despatch to his government:—"I lose more by the departure of these few, but most brave warriors, than by that of all the other forces." Brussoni, in his "*Guerra dei Turchi*," also states, "Among the objects that they seemed most to admire, was the Grand-Master of Malta, and whenever he passed, they viewed him with extraordinary veneration, and looking on St. Andrew's Gate, where his Knights had stood, they wondered, and expressed to each other their high respect." The Grand-Master here alluded to must have been the Knight in command of the Maltese contingent, since Cottoner did not in person appear in Candia, the duties of his government being far too onerous and responsible to admit of his engaging in the character of a simple warrior in any case in which the defence of his own island was not concerned. The republic of Venice entertained so high a sense of the services rendered by the Order during this war, that they passed a decree authorising all Knights within their territories to appear armed in every locality, a privilege which they did not concede to their own subjects.

The prosecution of the Candian war had not prevented the Order from continuing those cruises which

had rendered their flag so redoubtable in the Mediterranean. In 1664, they joined with a French force under the Duke de Beaufort (afterwards killed in Candia), in an expedition against Algiers; but the result of this attempt was unfortunate, and the Knights were compelled to return to Malta. This mishap was, however, speedily atoned for by a succession of triumphs, in which the names of Tremincourt, Crainville, and Hocquincourt attained for themselves the most brilliant renown.

The fate of Tremincourt was a sad termination to so glorious a career, but added a yet brighter lustre to the fame of his memory. His vessel having, during a tempest, been shipwrecked on the African coast, he was captured by the Moors, and the fame of his exploits having become well known to the sultan, he was forwarded to Adrianople to be disposed of in accordance with the imperial will. Mohammed IV. was at that time on the Ottoman throne, and was so taken by the high reputation and noble bearing of the youthful Tremincourt, that he made him the most flattering and tempting offers to induce him to abandon his religion, and enter the Ottoman service. The hand of a princess of the imperial line was offered to him, together with a very high rank in their service; but these inducements were not sufficient to tempt the noble youth to forsake the religion of his fathers. From persuasion, Mohammed turned to cruelty, and endeavoured by a series of hardships, indignities, and even tortures, to divert Tremincourt from the firmness of his resistance. Harsh measures did not, however, prove in any degree more successful than promises, and at length Mohammed, irritated to the last point at his obstinate refusal,

directed his head to be cut off, and his body to be cast into the sea as unworthy of any more suitable burial. Thus did this gallant young Knight, whose deeds had already enrolled him amongst the heroes of his Order, end his brief but brilliant career, by a death which placed him in the number of those who had sealed their constancy to the religion of their fathers with their blood.

Although all connection between the kingdom of England and the Order of Malta had ceased from the time when the property of the Knights throughout that kingdom had been abolished, and the language itself annihilated in the Order, still a constant interchange of correspondence appears to have taken place on matters connected with the navigation of the Mediterranean, and other subjects of a similar nature, between Charles II. and the Grand-Master. A dispute on a matter of etiquette appeared at one time likely to have disturbed the amicability of these relations. Charles had despatched into the Mediterranean a squadron, commanded by Sir John Narbrough, and, in order to secure for them a hospitable reception in case they touched at Malta, he forwarded a letter, of which the following is a translation, to the Grand-Master : —

“Charles II., by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most eminent prince, the Lord Nicholas Cottoner, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta, our well-beloved cousin and friend—Greeting.

“Most eminent prince, our well-beloved cousin and friend. The military Order, over which your eminence

most worthily presides, having always used its power to render the navigation of the sea safe and peaceable for Christians, we in no way doubt that our ships of war, armed for the same purpose, will receive from your eminence every office of friendship. We therefore are desirous of signifying to your eminence, by these our letters, that we have sent a squadron of our royal fleet to the Mediterranean sea, under the command of Sir John Narbrough, Knight, to look after the safety of navigation and commerce, and to oppose the enemies of public tranquillity. We therefore amicably beseech your eminence, that if ever the above-named Admiral Narbrough, or any of our ships cruising under his flag, should arrive at any of your eminence's ports or stations, or in any place subject to the Order of Malta, they may be considered and treated as friends and allies, and that they may be permitted to purchase with their money, and at just prices, and to export provisions, and munitions of war, and whatever they may require, which, on similar occasions, we will abundantly reciprocate to your eminence and to your most noble Order.

“In the meantime we heartily recommend your eminence to the safeguard of the most high and most good God.

“Given from our palace of Whitehall, the last day of November 1674.

“Your highness's cousin and friend, CHARLES Rex.”

In accordance with the instructions he had received, Sir John Narbrough in due course made his appearance at Malta, but a dispute seems to have arisen upon the subject of salutes ; the admiral declining to salute the



town, unless he were assured of an answer, whereas the Order were unwilling to pay that compliment to the British flag. The Grand-Master wrote a letter of complaint upon the subject of this grievance to the king of England, and Charles replied in the following terms :—  
“We know not how it came to pass that our admiral in the Mediterranean sea, Sir John Narbrough, Knight, should have given such cause of complaint as is mentioned in your eminence’s letters, addressed to us under date of the 5th April, as to have refused to give the usual salute to the city of Malta, unless, perhaps, he had thought that something had been omitted on the part of the Maltese which he considered due to our dignity, and to the flag of our royal fleet. Be it, however, as it may, your eminence may be persuaded that it is our fixed and established intention to do and perform everything, both ourselves and by our officers, amply to show how much we esteem the sacred person of your eminence, and the Order of Malta. In order, therefore, that it should already appear that we do not wish greater honour to be paid to any prince than to your eminence, and to your celebrated Order, we have directed our above-mentioned admiral to accord all the same signs of friendship and goodwill towards your eminence’s ports and citadels as towards those of the most Christian and Catholic kings ; and we no way doubt your Order will equally show that benevolence towards us which it is customary to show to the above-mentioned kings, or to either of them.

“ Given in our palace of Whitehall, on the 21st day of June 1675. Your eminence’s good cousin and friend,  
CHARLES Rex.”

This letter does not appear to have produced the desired result, as may be gathered from the following letter of Sir John Narbrough's, the original of which is now in the record office at Malta.

“ To the most eminent prince, the Lord Nicholas Cottoner, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta.

“ Most eminent Sir,

“ After the tender of my humble service, with my hearty thanks for the manifold favours vouchsafed unto my master, the king of Great Britain, &c., and for your highness's extraordinary kindness manifested to myself; and, most eminent sir, since your favour of product (qy. pratique), I have sent on shore one of my captains to wait upon your highness with the presentment of this my grateful letter, and withal to certify to your eminence that I did, and do expect a salute to be given by your highness to my master's flag, which I carry, correspondent to the salutes which you give to the flags of the king of Spain and the king of France, which are carried in the same place, it being the expectation of the king my master.

“ Formerly your eminence was pleased to make some scruple of my command as admiral, which I humbly conceive your highness is fully satisfied in since you received the last letter from the king of Great Britain.

“ Sir, I have, since my arrival at your eminence's port, often employed the consul Desclaus to wait upon your highness concerning the salutes, but have not received any satisfactory answer thereto, which I now humbly desire may be returned unto me by my officer; and withal, that your eminence will be pleased to honour me with your commands, wherein I may serve

you, which shall be most cheerfully embraced, and readily performed by

“Most eminent Sir,

“Your highness’s most humble

“And faithful servant,

“JOHN NARBROUGH.

“On board H. M. S. ‘Henrietta,’ Malta, October 17, 1675.”

What this complaint of Sir John Narbrough’s consisted in is not very clear, since, by the annexed extract from the journal of the Rev. Henry Teonge, chaplain on board H. M. S. “Assistance,” one of Narbrough’s squadron, there appeared no reluctance on the part of the town to return their salute, or at all events they consented eventually to do so, and that after considerable rudeness and unnecessary bluster on the part of the captain of the “Assistance,” such as in the present day would not have been patiently tolerated by the weakest power. “August 1st, 1675. This morn wee com near Malta; before wee com to the cytty, a boate with the Malteese flagg in it coms to us to know whence wee cam. Wee told them from England; they asked if wee had a bill of health for prattick, viz., entertaynment; our captain told them he had no bill but what was in his guns’ mouths. Wee cam on and anchored in the harbour betweene the old towne and the new, about nine of the clock; but must wait the governour’s leasure to have leave to com on shoare, which was detarded because our captain would not salute the cytty, except they would retaliate. At last cam the consull with his attendants to our ship (but would not com on board till our captain had been on shoare) to tell us that we had leave to com on shoare,

six, or eight, or ten, at a time, and might have anything that was there to be had; with a promise to accept our salute kindly. Whereupon our captain tooke a glass of sack, and drank a health to king Charles, and fyred seven gunns; the cytty gave us five againe, which was more than they had don to all our men of warr that cam thither before."

It is evident from the date of this entry, which was the 1st of August 1675, that this condescension on the part of Malta, although, according to Mr. Teonge, it was more than had ever been yielded previously, did not satisfy the punctilious admiral, since he penned the letter given above, the date of which is seven weeks subsequent to that incident. That the Grand-Master did eventually yield to the demands of the admiral, and salute his flag to his heart's content, is clear by the following extract from Teonge's diary, under date February 11th, 1676.

"Sir John Narbrough cam in from Trypoly, and four more ships with him. The noble Maltese salute him with forty-five gunns; he answered them with so many that I could not count them. And what with our salutes, and his answers, there was nothing but fyre and smoake for almost two hours."

Indeed, the behaviour of the townspeople appears throughout to have been cordial and courteous, as witness the following extracts.

"August 2, 1675.—This cytty is compassed almost cleane round with the sea, which makes severall safe harbours for hundreds of shippes. The people are generally extremely courteouse, but especially to the English. A man cannot demonstrate all their excellencys and ingenuitys. Let it suffice to say thus much of this

place, viz. : Had a man no other business to invite him, yet it were sufficiently worth a man's cost and paines to make a voyage out of England, on purpose to see that noble cytty of Malta, and their works and fortifications about it. Several of their knights and cavaliers cam on board us, six at one time, men of sufficient courage and friendly carriage, wishing us good successe in our voyage; with whom I had much discourse, I being the only entertainer, because I could speak Latine, for which I was highly esteemed, and much invited on shoare again.

"August 3.—This morning a boate of ladys, with their musick, to our ship's syd, and bottels of wine with them. They went severall times about our ship, and sang several songs very sweetly; very rich in habitt, and very courteous in behaviour; but would not come on board, though invited; but having taken their frisks, returned as they cam. After them cam in a boat four fryars, and cam round about our ship, puld off their hatts and capps, saluted us with congjes, and departed. After them cam a boat of musitians, playd severall lessons as they rowed gently round about us, and went their way.

"August 4.—This morning our captain was invited to dine with the Grand-Master, which hindered our departure. In the meantime wee have severall of the Maltese com to visit us, all extremely courteous. And now wee are preparing to sail for Trypoly. *Deus vortat bene.*

"Thus wee, the 'Assistance' and the new Sattée,  
Doe steare our course poynt blanke for Trypoly;  
Our ship new rigged, well stord with pigg and ghoose-a,  
Henns, ducks, and turkeys, and wine cald Syracosa."

This civility on the part of the Order of St. John and

the Maltese towards the fleet of Sir John Narbrough was amply requited, since the expedition to Tripoli alluded to in the above quaint stanza ended in the liberation of a large body of Christian slaves from their bonds in that principality, amongst whom were fifty Knights, who were restored to their homes by the gallant English. The Grand-Master, on the 7th April 1576, wrote to Charles II. a letter expressive of his gratitude for the eminent service thus rendered to his fraternity, to which Charles made the following reply.

“Most eminent prince, our most dear cousin and friend. Our well beloved and faithful Sir John Narbrough, Knight, latterly admiral of our fleet in the Mediterranean sea, conveyed to us your eminence's letters, written under date of the 7th of April last, which being most full indeed of affection and gratitude on your part, we received and perused with equal feelings and satisfaction. The acknowledgments of benefits conferred by us, which your eminence so frequently expresses, causes us also to return similar thanks to your eminence, and to the whole of your sacred Order, for all those offices of humanity and courtesy with which you assisted our above-mentioned admiral, and other our ships stationed in that sea, of which we shall always preserve the memory indelibly engraved in our hearts. It is equally a source of pleasure to us that our arms have been of help to your eminence and to your Order; and if the expedition had been of no other benefit, we consider it ample compensation in having restored to their homes so many persons, celebrated through the whole Christian and Infidel world, who were recovered from the power and chains of the barbarians.

“ May your eminence continue to desire that we should freely divide the glory of rendering peaceful the Mediterranean sea with the illustrious Order of Malta.

“ May the most good and great God sustain and preserve your eminence with all your religious Order.

“ Given from our palace of Whitehall, the 28th day of October 1676. Your eminence’s good cousin and friend, CHARLES Rex.”

The Grand-Master appears to have taken advantage of the powerful support of the English fleet to secure the liberation of another member of his Order, a German Knight named Robert von Stael, who was languishing in chains under the bey of Algiers. The letter which he addressed to Charles upon this subject was dated on the 15th of August 1678, when the English were preparing for a fresh expedition against the Algerines. It produced the following reply from the easy-going monarch of England.

“ Most eminent prince, our well beloved cousin and friend. The thanks which your eminence, by your letters, written under date of the 15th of August last, returns to us on account of the fifty Knights of your Order liberated by our assistance from the slavery of the barbarians, could hardly be more acceptable to us than the prayers adjoined to the above-mentioned letters for the liberation from the slavery of the Algerines of another member of your holy Order, the German, John Robert A. Stael. We in consequence, in order that we may not appear to be wanting either in the will or in affection towards your eminence, have communicated our orders to our well beloved and faithful subject, Sir

John Narbrough, Knight, commanding our fleets in those seas, that if the city of Algiers should be constrained to agree to a treaty of just peace and submission by the force of our arms, assisted by divine help, he should use every effort in his power so that the liberty of the said John Robert A. Stael be obtained. Your eminence is already well aware of the fidelity and zeal of our above-mentioned admiral, and we have no doubt that he will willingly and strenuously observe our orders on that head. It remains for us to heartily recommend your eminence and the whole of your military Order to the safeguard of the most high and most good God.

“Given from our palace at Whitehall, the 2nd day of November, in the year of our Lord 1678. Your eminence’s good cousin and friend, CHARLES Rex.”

The English fleet was, at this period, of the most vital assistance in aiding to check the depredations of the Infidel corsairs of Africa, and was then establishing the first seeds of that supremacy in the Mediterranean, which they have since succeeded in rendering so indisputable. It is not, however, probable that either Charles or Narbrough dreamt that the time would ever arrive, when the island fortress, whose batteries showed such reluctance to pay due honour to the flag of England, should become one of the most valuable possessions of that country, and that her banner would one day wave over those walls which then neglected to pay her the respect due to her position amidst the nations of Europe.

The conclusion of the siege of Candia left the Turks at liberty to pursue their aggressions in other quarters; and as the Order of St. John had, during that war,



rendered the most vital assistance to the Venetians, Cottoner commenced to dread lest his island should now be called upon to bear the brunt of the sultan's indignation. He therefore lost no time in taking measures for the further security of Malta, and for that purpose invoked the aid of a celebrated Italian engineer, named Valperga. With his assistance, and under his direction, a most stupendous work was projected and commenced, which was intended to enclose the two peninsulas of the Bourg and Senglea in one vast enceinte. This line, which formed a complete semicircle, and enclosed a vast area in front of both peninsulas, was little short of three miles in length, and included nine bastions, with two demi-bastions at the extremities.\*

Great opposition was raised to the undertaking of this work, owing to the vast expenditure which its prosecution would involve; and, indeed, the whole design was such as to render it open to much criticism. Cottoner, however, was determined, and backed as he was by the opinion of so eminent an engineer as Valperga, he carried his point, and the works were commenced. For ten years they were prosecuted with undiminished energy, but at the expiration of that time they were discontinued from want of funds; eventually, however, they were resumed until the enceinte was completed. The Order did not ever really accomplish the entire task laid down by Valperga, and when the island passed into the possession of the British crown, the lines of Cottonera, as they have always been called in honour of their original promoter, were still unfinished. A large sum has been voted by the English parliament for

\* Vide Appendix No. 19.

their perfect completion; and several alterations and additions have been made to the original design, tending materially to strengthen them, and to enable a garrison, such as the British government are prepared to maintain in Malta, to defend themselves, at all events upon certain points of the extended enceinte. Within three or four years, therefore, the work, commenced in 1680, will become perfected, after the expiration of 180 years from its first commencement.

Many additions were also made to the fortifications of the Floriana, which were considered to have been left by Lascaris in a very defective state; and in order to protect the entrance to the grand harbour more perfectly than the castle of St. Angelo was able to effect, a new fort was erected on the extreme point of land at its entrance, opposite to the point Dragut. This fort received the name of Ricasoli, a commander of that name having made a donation towards it of 30,000 crowns.

Whilst these works were being carried out to complete the protection of the island from the invasion of the Infidel foe, Cottoner did not neglect such measures for the benefit of his community as he deemed most necessary for their welfare. The system of quarantine being at that time a recognised principle, and being considered the only effectual means of protecting the inhabitants on the Mediterranean sea coast from the scourge of the plague, then so prevalent in the East, as, indeed, also in Europe, Cottoner established a lazaretto upon the small island which stood within the Marsa Musceit. This establishment was fitted in the most complete way for carrying out the purposes to which it was dedicated, and, until late years, it has been

invariably used for enforcing the regulations of quarantine. Happily, however, a more enlightened policy has demonstrated the utter inutility of restrictive measures of this nature, in checking the admission and propagation of disease; and the quarantine laws, which for so many years were maintained with the most intolerable rigour, have gradually given way before the enlightenment of the age, until, in Malta at all events, the lazaretto has become converted to other and more useful purposes. During the transit of the expeditionary force from England, at the commencement of the Russian war in 1854, the three battalions of Her Majesty's foot guards, who formed a part of that body, were quartered in the lazaretto during their stay in the island.

It is curious to contemplate the changes which less than two centuries had brought forth within the island of Malta. The lazaretto was originally constructed by an Order pledged to an unceasing warfare against the Turkish empire. From that Order the English nation had seceded at the period of the Reformation, and had struck a severe blow to its prosperity by the alienation and confiscation of all its English property. Later still, the French nation, who had formed so preponderating an element within the fraternity that three of its eight languages were comprised of members of that country, and who had always, from their numbers and wealth, greatly influenced the fortunes of the convent, struck the death blow to the Order, and themselves drove out from their island home the community whom for so many centuries they had supported and maintained. It was strange, then, to see the former of these two nations in undisputed sovereignty over the island, so

long acknowledging the sway of the Order of St. John and its city crowded by the choicest troops of both powers, about to proceed to the defence of the Turkish empire, the old and inveterate foe of the Hospital, against the only nation which had tendered them a supporting hand and a new shelter, when driven away from their old homes.

## CHAP. XXIV.

GREGORY CARAFFA. — ADRIAN DE VIGNACOURT. — RAYMOND PERRELOS. — EMBASSY FROM RUSSIA. — THE CHEVALIER DE LANGNON. — THE INQUISITOR DELCI. — IMPROVEMENTS TO THE FORTIFICATIONS. — MARK ANTHONY ZONDODARL. — MANOEL DE VILHENA. — HOSTILE DEMONSTRATION BY THE SULTAN. — ERECTION OF FORT MANOEL. — RAYMOND DESPUIG. — PINTO DE FONSECA. — PROJECTED TREASON AMONGST THE SLAVES. — HIS GENERAL POPULARITY. — CONDITION OF THE NAVY. — FRANCOIS XIMENES. — PRIESTLY INSURRECTION. — EMMANUEL DE ROHAN. — GENERAL CHAPTER. — FEARFUL EARTHQUAKE IN SICILY. — ERECTION OF FORT TIGNÉ.

THE death of Nicholas Cottoner, which occurred in 1680, at the age of seventy-three years, caused the utmost grief in the convent, where he had rendered himself highly respected and most deservedly popular, as well by the successful administration of his public functions, as by the courteousness and affability of his demeanour in private. Indeed, during the sixteen years that his rule lasted, the Order of St. John appeared to have rallied greatly from the state of degeneracy and disorganisation into which it had fallen beneath the sway of his immediate predecessors.

His personal popularity and conciliating policy had restored the most perfect tranquillity within the convent. Those dissensions and turbulent brawls which had rendered them notorious for the last fifty years, and had prevented so many Grand-Masters from carry-

ing out the beneficial measures they designed, became hushed from the moment that his brother Raphael was through his interest nominated to the supreme dignity. The duration of that chief's governance was too limited for him to carry into effect any measures by which he could become celebrated, and his memory revered ; but it had this good effect, at least, that it paved the way by three years of preliminary tranquillity for the beneficial reforms which were even then teeming within the brain of his brother Nicholas. Under these favouring circumstances, therefore, the sixteen years of this latter chief were spent in devising and carrying into effect measures which, at his decease, left the convent in a very different position to what he had found it in 1663. The public works which were established during this period not only added materially to the importance and security of the island, but they also afforded employment to vast numbers of the inhabitants, many of whom, as the relatives and dependents of those who had fallen in the numerous conflicts of the Order with the Turk, would, but for this support, have been left utterly unprovided for, and in a state of the most complete destitution.

Although we shall find this prosperity continuing, more or less, during the time of his successor, it was by no means so flourishing, and it gradually sank, until the decadence of the fraternity became too decided to admit of any further rally. Degenerate as the seventeenth century had been, as compared with those which had gone before, the eighteenth, which was now rapidly approaching, was far worse ; and when at its close the Order found itself practically annihilated, and blotted out for ever from the list of European powers, that

event seemed more the result of natural internal exhaustion than of foreign interference.

The age which had called into existence the Order of St. John had long since passed away, and with it the necessities which had led to the success of that Institution. So long as the Turkish power continued to increase and flourish, and so long as the ambitious policy of its rulers had caused it to be a source of constant dread and uneasiness to the nations of Europe, the Hospitallers, as the natural and sworn foe of that power, found sufficient exercise for their energy, and such an ample field for their valour, that they became for centuries recognised as the most effectual barrier Christianity could erect against the Infidel tide which continually threatened to overrun Europe. They had, in fact, become a necessary consequence of the aggressions of the Moslem, and so long as those menaces continued to cloud the political horizon in the East, we find but little decline in the vigour of the Order. The reign of Solyman the Magnificent had, however, been the culminating point of Turkish prosperity. Under him the nation had reached the climax of its greatness, and after his death numerous causes contributed to bring on a rapid diminution in the forces of the empire. For upwards of a century this decline was too gradual and imperceptible to calm the fears of the world. Aggressions in the Mediterranean and in the eastern countries of Europe still continued, and were still opposed by Christian valour. Hungary and Poland, Candia and the Levant, were still the scenes of many a bloody strife and many a hard contested fight. In most of these the Order bore its part, and bore it manfully; maintaining, so far as the altered conditions of the times permitted,

that ancient reputation for constancy and valour which had, in the ages of their forefathers, so justly distinguished the fraternity.

From the middle, however, of the seventeenth century it became no longer possible to doubt the serious and rapidly accelerating diminution of the Turkish power. True they still, ever and anon, rallied their energies and burst forth beyond the barrier which was raised against them. We shall yet find them beneath the very walls of Vienna, threatening the existence of Austria; but this appears to have been the last expiring effort of their ancient prowess and ambition; for from the date of the bloody repulse which they then sustained at the hands of the heroic John Sobieski, they retired within the limits of their own territories, and the fears and anxieties of Europe were quelled for ever. Other nations have sprung up, and other aggressions have called for general intervention to check their advance; but we no longer hear of Turkish encroachments, or of Christian leagues to oppose her progress.

As a natural result of this cessation of the necessity which called them into existence, the Order of St. John, whose decline had commenced coeval with that of the Turks, after the death of their great leader La Valette, rapidly degenerated, and became so effete, that at the close of another century they were swept away without a struggle, and no one friendly voice was raised to restore them again to their position.

The new Grand-Master, elected to supply the place of the deceased Cottoner, was Gregory Caraffa, prior of La Rocella, and consequently a member of the Italian language. This was the first time for 130 years that a Knight of that nation had been raised to the supreme



dignity, and his accession was consequently hailed by his countrymen with the most lively satisfaction. He did not, however, attain this elevation until after the most glaring and distressing cabals had been generated amidst the community; who now seemed to look upon the event of a vacancy as an opportunity for a general scramble for the glittering prize. The peace and unanimity which had prevailed within the convent in the days of the brothers Cottoner still continued, and rendered the rule of Caraffa prosperous and happy. The bishop who then occupied the see of Malta was a prelate of liberal views and enlightened piety. Devoting himself to the spiritual welfare of his flock, he did not intermix, like too many of his predecessors, in political matters; far less did he endeavour in any degree to subvert the authority of the Grand-Master in order to elevate his own influence.

With so faithful and pious a coadjutor, Caraffa found himself in a most favourable position for consulting the real interests of his fraternity, and he devoted himself with the most zealous energy to the completion of those extensive works which had been commenced by his predecessor. The fort of St. Elmo was almost entirely rebuilt, and that of St. Angelo much extended and improved.\* Whilst thus strengthening his own position, he was by no means an inactive spectator in the war then raging between the Turks and Austrians, and the Maltese fleet was most successfully engaged in the waters of the Levant during this period. Thus we find the emperor Leopold, in 1683, addressing a special letter to Caraffa, in which he thanks him in the warmest

\* Vide Appendix No. 19.

terms for preserving Christendom from the Turkish fleet; and in the same year the heroic John Sobieski addressed two letters to him, in which he relates the particulars of the glorious victories which he had gained over the Turks; one under the walls of Vienna, on the 13th of September, and the other crossing the Danube, on the 10th of October 1683. The fact that this general deemed it advisable to forward a detailed account of his movements to Malta, proves that the Order still ranked high in public estimation as opponents to Turkish domination.

The brilliant successes of John Sobieski led to the formation of a new league against the Infidel in the following year, the principal members of which were the Pope, the republic of Venice, and the Order of Malta. For several years this league subsisted in full force, and the shores of Barbary and the Morea felt the weight of their power from end to end. Previsa and Santa Maura both fell by the prowess of the Knights; and afterwards, in conjunction with the Venetian and papal galleys, the combined squadron attacked Coron, and, after a most obstinate resistance, carried it by storm. On this occasion Correa, the general of the galleys, commander of the Maltese contingent, fell gloriously at the head of his Knights. A fort had been carried by the allies, but was recaptured by the Infidel, when the gallant Correa, advancing at the head of his troops amidst a storm of missiles, once more gained possession of the disputed point, and tearing the banner of the crescent from its position on the rampart, raised the white-cross of St. John in its place. That moment of victory was, however, destined to be his last; for in the very act of planting his own banner on the conquered wall, he was struck by a musket-ball in

the chest, and only lived long enough to learn that Coron had fallen into the hands of the Christians. After the capture of old and new Navarino, siege was laid to Napoli in Romania, the chief town of the Morea. This last stronghold of the Moslem was defended with the most exemplary tenacity. Three separate times did they strive to effect its relief from without, but each time they were routed with great slaughter beneath its walls; and at the end of a month, the town, despairing of any successful effort being made for its relief, and harassed by the incessant attacks of the besiegers, surrendered at will, and thus the last fortress of the Turks in the Morea once more fell into the power of the Christian allies.

In 1687, the Dalmatian coast became the scene of war, and Castel Nuovo was carried in triumph; a success which dislodged the Moslem from the Adriatic, and restored the command of its commerce to the Venetians. This last feat was principally effected by the instrumentality of Count Heberstein, grand-prior of Hungary, a general in the imperial service, and leader of the Maltese contingent to the allied force. Letters from both the doge of Venice and the Pope speak in the most laudatory terms of the efforts of the Knights in the "*strenua Castrinovi expugnatio*;" and the former expressly specifies the general of the Knights of Malta, Count Heberstein, as the principal agent in the victory. This heroic Knight did not long survive the hour of his triumph, but in the following year died in Germany, having in the interim paid a visit to Malta, where he took such preparatory measures as he deemed advisable for the settlement of his affairs after his decease, which he felt to be rapidly approaching. In

order to prevent any disputes as to the disposition of his property, which was extensive, he compromised the claims which the Order would have had, under the charge of "Spoglia," by a payment in money during his life, so that when he died his whole fortune reverted without deduction to his lawful heir.

In the early part of 1689, James II. of England, then a fugitive in France, wrote the following letter to the Grand-Master, relating to his natural son Henry Fitz James Stewart, whose mother was Arabella Churchill, sister to the famous Duke of Marlborough.

"To my cousin, the Grand-Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem:—"

"My cousin. We are so strongly persuaded of your zeal for the Catholic religion, that we do not doubt you will readily embrace every occasion which may present itself of manifesting it. And as we have particular gratification in seconding your good intentions in such laudable designs, we have resolved to dedicate to the Order of the Knights of Malta, Henry Fitz James, our natural son, already well known to you. For your kindness and civility extended to him when at Malta, we have to thank you sincerely. Although young, he is not wanting in experience, for he has already crossed the sea, and for nearly two years fought against the heretics. Wherefore, when you have received this attestation of his sanctity, which we have thought proper to send you on the subject, we hope that in your goodness you will kindly grant him the dignity of the grand-prior of England, enregistering him according to the usual forms of that rank. And as we doubt not that you will grant this favour, we promise you all aid and assistance which is or shall be

possible, for the glory and advantage of so illustrious and useful an Order, in the service of God, and to the glory of His church. May God keep us in His holy care. My cousin, your affectionate cousin, JAMES R.

“Given at St. Germain en Laye, 24th February 1689.”

This letter was discussed by the Grand-Master in council, and the records show a minute dated 2nd of April 1689, in which it is decreed that it should be registered, and that his majesty should be thanked for the honour he had conferred upon the Order, and for the affection which he entertained towards it; assuring him that on receiving the attestation of which he writes, in favour of his natural son, he shall be received with welcome. James returned the following reply to this notification: —

“My cousin. We received with much satisfaction your obliging letter of the 4th of April; from which, besides the esteem and regard which you profess for our youthful Fitz James, we observe with pleasure the zeal you evince to gratify our wish, as expressed on a previous occasion. For this reason we feel obliged, and anxious on all accounts to testify our gratitude towards you. This we do with all the sincerity of a heart zealous in the cause of religion, and particularly for the glory of your illustrious Order, to the aggrandisement of which we shall ever have infinite pleasure in contributing. And in order that our son may be a subject worthy of serving God and His holy church in the dignity of grand-prior of England, which you are willing to confer upon him, we will not allow him to lose any more time, though he be actually engaged in a campaign, both active and dangerous, against our

rebellious subjects, who are the enemies of religion; but forward the attestation which our holy father has had the goodness to send in his favour. For the rest, and for the success of our affairs, we recommend ourselves to the prayers and good wishes of all your Order, and pray God that He will have you in His holy keeping.

“ Given in our court at the castle of Dublin, the 13th of July, A.D. 1689. Your affectionate cousin, JAMES R.” \*

It does not appear that Fitz James Stewart, although made a grand-cross and grand-prior of England, ever became professed as a Knight. As the latter dignity was a practical nullity, and the new prior found himself denuded of his priory, it is natural that the Order should have acceded so readily to James's wish; the more so as there still remained a possibility that the Catholic James would succeed in regaining his lost kingdoms; in which case he would most certainly have striven to render the defunct priory of England something more than a barren title. It will be seen that the last letter was addressed from Dublin, in July 1689, just one year prior to the battle of the Boyne, by which those hopes were crushed for ever. James was at that time making preparations for his Irish campaign, to which he alludes in the above letter.

The last public event of Caraffa's life did not terminate so successfully as those which have been previously recorded. The allies, in 1689, attempted the capture of Negropont, and met with a bloody repulse from the

\* Both of the above letters are written in French, and are now in the Record Office of Malta.

garrison, in which struggle the Order had to mourn the loss of twenty-nine Knights, and a large number of the bravest of their soldiery. Caraffa was already in a failing state of health, when the intelligence of this disaster reached Malta; and the vexation and disappointment which it created, brought on a violent attack of fever, from which he never rallied, and on the 21st of July 1690, he died, at the age of seventy-three, after a reign of ten years.

His successor was Adrian de Vignacourt, nephew to the former Grand-Master of the same name, and grand-treasurer of the Order. His rule of seven years presented no event of importance, either political or social, beyond the incident of a fearful earthquake, which in 1693 ravaged the Mediterranean. Malta suffered the loss of several buildings during this convulsion of nature, which lasted by intervals for three days; but in other localities the results were far more serious. Sicily, in particular, suffered most fearfully, and the town of Agosta was completely laid in ruins. The intelligence of this misfortune no sooner reached Malta than the fraternity, mindful of the principles of their institution, promptly equipped a squadron with supplies for the houseless and destitute inhabitants, which formed a most seasonable relief to them in the height of their distress. Considering that this visitation was to be regarded in the light of a chastisement from heaven, Vignacourt directed that a public fast should be held; and, although it was the period of the carnival, he forbade all the ordinary amusements customary at that festive season.

A dispute which for the last forty years had raged between the Order of St. John and the republic of

Genoa, was, by the intercession and good offices of Pope Innocent XII., reconciled, and the rival powers returned to their former amicable footing. The quarrel had originated during the later days of the Grand-Master Lascaris, upon the following grounds. The squadron of Malta, having entered the harbour of Genoa, saluted the city and the Spanish fleet which lay there at the time, but refused to pay the same compliment to the Genoese galleys, alleging that they themselves were entitled to a priority in this respect. The magistrates of the city, indignant at what they considered an insult to their flag, and feeling that they had the power in their hands of enforcing their demands, despatched a message to the Maltese commander, informing him that, if he did not instantly pay the same compliment to the Genoese galleys as he had given to the Spaniards, they would open the batteries of the town on his ships, and sink them where they lay at anchor. The situation admitted of no altercation; the galleys were completely at the mercy of the town, and their commander felt that he had nothing left but to comply. The salute was accordingly given with a very bad grace, and the Maltese fleet at once left the harbour in high dudgeon at the compulsion which had extorted from them a compliment they did not consider due. On their arrival in Malta the fraternity took up the quarrel, and the general indignation ran so high against the Genoese, that a decree was promptly passed by the council, prohibiting any member of that nation from being admitted into the Order until ample satisfaction had been granted. In the reign of Caraffa, the Pope had endeavoured to reconcile the dispute; but although the Order then expressed their readiness to leave the arbitration of the



affair entirely in his hands, and to acquiesce implicitly in his decision, the Genoese were by no means so complying, and the matters remained unsettled until the close of Vignacourt's reign, when by his influence they were compromised, and the Genoese once more admitted into the institution. As forty years had elapsed since the restriction had been first imposed, a large number of candidates had accumulated, who flocked into the Order immediately on that prohibition being removed.

Vignacourt also established a fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of those among the Maltese who had fallen in the wars of the Order, in the protracted naval struggle which had for the last thirty years been carried on against the Infidel. To this fund the wealthier among the Knights contributed with great munificence, and the result of the charitable movement was, that much misery and destitution was averted from the inhabitants.

Adrian de Vignacourt died on the 4th of February 1697, and was succeeded by Raymond Perrelos, an Aragonese Knight, and bailiff of Negropont at the time of his election. Although sixty years of age, he was still possessed of all the vigour and activity of the prime of manhood, and had witnessed with extreme regret the degeneracy of the fraternity, both morally and physically, from the position in which they were formerly regarded throughout Europe. His first efforts, therefore, on assuming the baton of Grand-Master, were directed towards the introduction of reforms into the internal administration of the convent. Several sumptuary laws were, by his influence, passed through the council, and also strict prohibitions from indulging in games of chance, and other worldly amusements. These

reforms, however, were now introduced far too late to be of any practical use in restoring a feeling of piety into the Order, after so lengthened a period during which such sentiments had been utterly neglected. Perrelos himself was a well-meaning, zealous, and pious Christian; but he no longer possessed either the power or the influence necessary to promote that feeling amongst the young, hot-headed, thoughtless Knights whom he found dwelling in the convent of Malta, and who passed their days in such roystering joviality, and rollicking gaieties, as they considered adapted to their age and social position.

In these intended ameliorations, Perrelos was warmly seconded by Pope Innocent XII., whose conduct towards the Order of St. John stands out in happy relief when compared to that of too many of his predecessors. Not only did he firmly support the Grand-Master in the reforms which he was introducing into the convent, but he himself, feeling how often the papal see had acted prejudicially to the interests of the Order, by nominating to vacant dignities in the Italian language without regard to seniority, and the just claims of the older Knights, made a decree, by which he bound himself to discontinue a practice so detrimental to the fraternity. Nor did he content himself with words only; for, as several of the commanderies fell vacant, he referred the nomination of their successors to the convent; who thus found restored to them a most important privilege, which they had long since ceased to consider within their power.

He also reconciled a dispute which had broken out between the bishop of Malta and the prior of the church, touching their respective dignities and authority, which

had at one time threatened to bring much discord into the convent. Both of these prelates, however, were so well assured of the justice, discrimination, and good faith of the sovereign pontiff, that they willingly referred their dispute to his arbitration, and were both perfectly contented to abide by the issue of his decision.

In the year following the election of Perrelos to the magistracy, the Order were honoured by a special mission from the ambassador of Peter the Great, czar of Russia. Hitherto they had had little or no communication with that kingdom, being possessed of no property within its limits, and the country having been plunged into such a rude condition of barbarism, that its intercourse with foreign powers had been confined to those in its own immediate vicinity. Peter, however, who despite the savage and ferocious inhumanity of his temperament, was gifted with a political foresight and sagacity, which enabled him to take the most giant strides in his efforts to civilise his people, determined to extend his friendly relations beyond the narrow limits which had satisfied the policy of his predecessors. His empire lying in near contiguity to that of the Moslem, he had already been brought into frequent and serious collision with his aggressive neighbours; and although he had at length succeeded in establishing peaceable relations with them, he was anxious, as far as possible, to secure support in any future difficulties which might occur. With this view he turned his eyes upon the Order of Malta, who, as the natural, sworn, and inveterate foes of the Infidel, were always ready to lend their aid to any measure by which that power was to be curbed; and determined to cultivate such friendly relations with them as should assure him of their warm

and able support in case of necessity. For this purpose, he selected a boyard named Kzeremetz, one of the leading generals of the Muscovite army, and despatched him on a mission to the court of Rome, with instructions that after he had paid his respects to his holiness, he should extend his journey to Malta, and enter into negotiations with the Order of St. John.

Kzeremetz, in pursuance of these instructions, expressed his desire to visit Malta in a harangue which he delivered before Innocent XII., when he stated, "that after having seen the most celebrated city in the world, the holy city of God, as also the sacred relics of St. Peter and St. Paul, the two principal of the apostles, and having received in person the blessing of his holiness, the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, he was resolved to visit the most famous heroes of the church militant, the sacred Order of Malta." This desire on his part was communicated to the council by their ambassador at Rome, Sacchite, and preparations were immediately commenced to receive him with due honour on his arrival. It was decided that he should be saluted with twelve guns; and the fraternity were much annoyed to find that the general of the galleys, the Chevalier de Cremeville, who encountered the great man off Cape Passaro, and who was ignorant of the point of etiquette which had been decided on, only saluted him with four guns. On his arrival in the harbour of Valetta, this error was promptly rectified, and the specified number of discharges pealed forth their welcome to the Muscovite envoy with due honour.

When it is remembered that the flag of England had only received a salute of five guns (which Mr. Teonge informed us was more than had ever been given before),

on the occasion of the arrival of the "Assistance" in Malta not many years before, and when we find the Order so tenacious about its salutes, that it required a long correspondence with both the British admiral and Charles II. to extort a proper compliment, and also that they maintained an open rupture with the republic of Genoa for forty years upon the same subject, we may gather how anxious they must have been to receive the ambassador of Peter with due respect.

Perrelos was probably endowed with sufficient sagacity to perceive how advantageous this new opening might prove to his Order. He could not but feel that the ground upon which they had so long rested was gradually gliding from beneath them. In those countries whence for so many years they had drawn their principal support, feelings had very much changed respecting them. In England they had long since been crushed and dispossessed; in France and Spain they were now being regarded very much in the light of a useless drag upon the prosperity of the country, drawing vast sums from its territories without making any adequate return; and throughout Europe the changes of the last century had produced an effect very prejudicial to the future prospects of the Order. Perrelos might well, therefore, seize joyfully the opportunity which

- thus offered itself, of opening up a new field in which the fraternity might hope to replace some of the defalcations which were soon to be anticipated elsewhere. He could scarcely, however, have been gifted with so keen an insight into futurity as to have imagined for one moment, that just a century from the time when he was receiving the Russian general with such magnificence and honour in the island of Malta, the Order of

St. John, expelled from their stronghold, destitute and homeless, should find in that country an asylum and a support which was denied to them elsewhere. And yet such was destined to be the course of events; and the Order may look upon the Grand-Master who first cemented an alliance, ultimately destined to prove of such vital necessity to them in their last moments, as a greater benefactor, and a more useful sovereign than many, whose deeds, whilst, perhaps, more brilliant, were of less solid advantage to the community.

Kzeremitz was entertained with great splendour at the sole expense of the Grand-Master, from the 12th to the 19th of May 1698; and prior to his departure, was decorated with the grand-cross of the Order, by the hands of Perrelos in person. In order to render this decoration the more valued, it was touched by a piece of the true cross, and by the hand of their patron saint, St. John the Baptist, and was placed round the neck of the Russian, suspended by a massive gold chain; Perrelos at the same time informing the recipient that he was thus decorated, less on account of his position as a magnate of Russia, and an envoy of its redoubtable czar, than because of his military exploits against the Infidel, his friendship for the Order of St. John, and the zeal which had prompted him to make so long a journey, in order to personally visit their island home.

The naval exploits of the Knights of Malta continued throughout Perrelos' reign with scarcely any intermission; but they found that they were no longer in a position to cope as advantageously as formerly with the Turkish fleet. True, they still achieved many successes, and invariably comported themselves with the utmost gallantry before the foe, and in 1701 captured a large

Turkish man-of-war of eighty guns, which was considered to redound so greatly to the credit of the Chevalier Richard, to whose daring the result was principally attributable, that the council decreed the colours of the captured ship should be placed in the church of St. John at Aix, the birthplace of the gallant Knight, in perpetual commemoration of his exploit. Still they felt that their galleys were no longer adapted to maintain unaided a struggle against the Turkish fleet which was constantly being augmented by vessels of the largest size. Perellos was so impressed with this fact, that he influenced the council to decree the construction of men-of-war, which should aid the galleys in their cruises, and place the Order of St. John once more on a footing of equality with the Infidel corsairs which infested the Mediterranean.

Three vessels of large size were consequently built, named respectively the St. Raymond, the St. Joseph, and the St. Vincent, and the command of this new fleet was intrusted to the Chevalier de St. Pierre, a French Knight of much naval experience, who made his first cruise with his new flotilla in 1706, when he succeeded in capturing the Tunisian flag-ship of fifty guns, which was immediately added to the Maltese navy, under the title of the Santa Cruce. In a preceding chapter descriptive of this force, allusion has been made to the distinction between the galleys and the ships of war which latterly combined to constitute their fleet: this was the date at which that change was first made; previously the Order had, of late years, possessed only galleys.

In 1707, the Chevalier de Langon was enabled to force his way through the midst of the Algerine fleet

then blockading Oran, which was being gallantly defended by the Spaniards, and to throw a large supply of ammunition and provisions into the beleaguered fortress; upon which event the Pope wrote a letter of congratulation to the Grand-Master. The daring of De Langon was, however, fruitless in saving Oran, as four months later that place capitulated to the Algerines, in the early part of November, 1707. In the ensuing year, the convent was menaced by an attack from the Turks, and great preparations were made for its protection. The Pope sent a body of troops into the island to assist in its defence, under the proviso, that, should the Turkish descent be made in any other quarter, the Order of St. John should tender their aid, in combination with the Papal troops. The dreaded expedition eventually became dwarfed down into a descent on Gozo, where their exploits were limited to the destruction of a few small craft. Whilst retiring from this feeble demonstration the Infidels were overtaken by De Langon, who burnt two of their vessels and took four hundred prisoners, besides releasing fifty Christians from captivity. The Tripolitan commander, the famous Ala Antulla Ogli Stamboli, was captured on this occasion.

The next year the Algerine fleet met with a similar disaster at the hands of De Langon, when the flag-ship with all its crew struck to the Maltese squadron. On this occasion, however, the Order had to mourn the loss of that valiant Knight, who fell, struck by a bullet, at the moment of victory. His body was interred with great honour in the cathedral of Carthage under the high altar, and the Grand-Master, anxious to perpetuate the memory of a Knight who had rendered such eminent services to his Order, and cast so



much renewed lustre upon their naval reputation, placed a tablet, containing a laudatory inscription to his memory, in the nave of the conventual church of St. John, in Valetta.\*

During this period, the inquisitor Delci had been causing great annoyance within the convent, from the arrogance of his conduct and the extravagance of his pretensions. His first dispute arose with the overseer of the infirmary. The hospital had always been considered by the fraternity as a privileged spot, no person, excepting the Grand-Hospitaller, being ever permitted to enter its precincts, without leaving behind him the ensigns of his dignity. To this rule the officers of the Inquisition chose to demur, and even attempted to effect an entrance by surprise. The Grand-Hospitaller, however, speedily compelled them to evacuate the building, and strictly forbade their readmission. Delci was not content with this assertion of the immunities of his position. He even went so far as to endeavour to take precedence of the Grand-Master himself, insisting that, on meeting in the street, the carriage of the latter should stop to let him pass, together with other equally

\* This inscription ran as follows: —“ *Fratri Josepho de Langnon-Alverno cujus virtutem in ipso Tyronicii flore maturam Gallicæ naves fecere Thraces sensere, Melitenses habuere victricem Oranum dira obsidione cinctum, cum unica religionis nave cui præerat onorariam ducens, penetrata Algerii classe ejusque rege teste vel invito Militem et commeatum invexit Generalis classium præfectus ad Tripolitano-rum prætoriam incendendam plurimo momento fuit. Laudes tamen consilio et fortitudine sibi ubique coemptas in alios continuo transtulit. Suprema tamen Algerii nave subacta accepto que inde vulnere acerbo, victor fato cessit die 18 Aprilis, 1710, ætat. 41. E. M. M. F. D. R. de Perellos Roccafull ad benemerentiæ argumentum mortuo hoc mœrens positum voluit cenotaphium ad memoriæ perennitatem.*

ridiculous pretensions. But the grossest injury which he perpetrated was the wholesale grant of patents, whereby the holders become exonerated from all allegiance save to the Inquisition, and were privileged from the action of any court or jurisdiction but that of the inquisitor.

This system was carried to so great a length, that in 1712, Perellos sent a special ambassador to Rome to make a formal complaint to the Pope of the irregular and vexatious proceedings of Delci. At the same time, the overseer of the hospital proceeded to France to invoke the aid of the king in resisting his unwarrantable intrusions. The Pope interfered to prevent for the future all further annoyance from this source, but the inquisitor received no punishment for his former offences; and the peace which was established between him and the Order was at best but a hollow truce, liable to be disturbed whenever a convenient opportunity should present itself for him to renew his pretensions.

The following letter, received by the Grand-Master from Queen Anne of England in 1713, marks that the fleet of the Order had rendered valuable assistance to that of Great Britain in their incursions against the various nests of piratical Moslems who infested the northern coasts of Africa:—"Anne, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith; to the Most Illustrious and Most High Prince, the Lord Raymond Perellos, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta, Our well-beloved Cousin and Friend, greeting: Most Illustrious and Most High Prince, our well-beloved Cousin and Friend, It was with great pleasure that we received your Highness' letters of the 31st March, in which your Highness

demonstrates your good will towards us and our subjects so clearly, that there can be no room for doubt on that head. We return thanks, as in duty bound, to your Highness for the assistance afforded to our subjects during the course of this last war, and we will not omit any good office by which we may be able to prove to your Highness in how great esteem we hold your friendship, and with what benevolence we regard you and all your affairs. It remains for us heartily to recommend your Highness to the protection of the Most High and Most Good God. Given from our palace of Kensington, on the 8th day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1713, and of our reign the twelfth, Your Highness' good Cousin and Friend, Anne R." \*

At this period, the convent of Malta appears to have been in a most flourishing condition. The bailiff of Chambray, who has left a manuscript record of these times, says, that "in 1715, at the moment of the declaration of war by the Turks against the Venetians, the court of the Grand-Master Perellos presented a most brilliant aspect. No less than fifteen hundred Knights, many of them general officers in every army in Christendom, formed the main ornament of the residence of the Order." The preparations making by the Sublime Porte had alarmed the fraternity, and, fearing lest Malta was to be the point of attack, members flocked from every quarter, anxious to reap the harvest of glory which a second successful defence of their island-stronghold would present. Fortifications were repaired and

\* This letter, bearing the signature of the queen, is in the Record Office at Malta.

reconstructed with incredible rapidity, the magazines and store-houses were replenished, troops were taken into pay, and all denoted an eager desire to maintain, in a new siege, the reputation which their ancestors had gained in the days of La Valette. In order to carry out these fortifications with the greater skill, Perellos made an application to Louis XIV. of France, in the close of 1714, for the loan of some of his most celebrated engineers; and, in compliance with that request, the French monarch despatched the Chevaliers De Tigné and De Mondion to Malta, who, after a minute inspection of the works, drew up a project for their completion, and returned to France. At the urgent entreaty of the Grand-Master, however, Tigné once more returned to Malta, and personally superintended the principal portion of the work then in progress, and executing in accordance with his plans, which had received the warm approval of Vauban and other of the most eminent engineers in Europe.\*

The storm, however, burst in another direction, the Venetians being the nation called upon to bear the brunt of Turkish wrath. From that date till 1718, when peace was once more declared between these two belligerent powers, the Order of St. John continued to render the most vital assistance to Venice. So pleased was the pontiff with their exertions, that he gave the title of Lieutenant-general of the Papal Armament to the admiral of the Order, so that he might, in case of separation from their own chief, take the command of the papal levies that were acting in concert with him. The peace which the Venetians concluded with the

\* Vide Appendix No. 19.

Turks expressly excluded the Hospitallers from its action, and they consequently continued their naval exploits, and in the following year captured two rich galleons laden with merchandise from Constantinople, having on board the pasha of Roumelia, who became their prisoner.

In this year Perellos was taken seriously ill, his great age precluding all hopes of an ultimate recovery. He lingered, however, till the commencement of 1720, when he died on the 10th of January, aged eighty-four, having held the baton of Grand-Master for a period of twenty-three years. He was succeeded by Mark Antony Zondodari, a member of an ancient and noble Italian family, brother of the cardinal of that name, and nephew, on his mother's side, to Pope Alexander VII. From his earliest childhood he had been destined to become a Knight of St. John, and after an education at the Jesuits' College for the nobility at Parma, he was professed at Naples, and performed his caravans with great distinction. His career in the Order was rapid; rising successively through the dignities of commander, and general of the galleys, he was eventually made master of the horse in the household of Perellos, by whom he was decorated with the grand cross. He was the ambassador chosen by that Grand-Master to bear his complaint against the inquisitor Delci to the court of Rome in 1712, which mission he accomplished most satisfactorily, and at the same time ingratiated himself very warmly with the pontiff.

The brief rule of this chief was marked by no event of magnitude. The fleet of the Order, under the bailiff Ruffo, continued to achieve numerous minor successes in the waters of the Mediterranean, and brought several prizes into the harbour of Malta, amongst which was

the flag-ship of the Algerine navy. The Infidels, in fact, became so much awed at the superiority, which the late additions to the fleet of Malta had given to the Order, that they no longer dared to scour the Mediterranean with the same impunity as of old, and were held almost blockaded within their ports. Zondodari endeavoured to carry out the reforms initiated by his predecessor, and even to extend them, but he found this a matter of no ordinary difficulty. The splendour and luxury which had gradually crept into the convent of the Order had of late years reached a culminating point, and, under Perellos, the grand-prior Monsieur de Vendôme had set the example of a magnificence quite princely. The Knights of St. John were members of noble families, mostly extremely wealthy, and from their childhood trained up in all the luxury suited to their station. Civilisation had also, since the discovery of the New World, made giant strides; the fine arts had revived from their lengthened slumber, and at the same time the numerous European wars, in which the nations of Spain, France, Germany, and Italy had in turn engaged, had spread this civilisation over regions previously semibarbarous. It was not, therefore, a matter of surprise, that, in the eighteenth century, Zondodari should have found himself unable to curb that tendency to display and grandeur which had taken so firm a root in the convent of the Order. This Grand-Master was an author, though of no great pretensions; still, as he was the first chief who ever laid claim to that title, it is well that his labours in this line should be noticed. He wrote a work, entitled "*Breve e Particolare Istruzione del sacro ordine militare degli Ospitaleri*," which was first published in Rome in 1719,

and afterwards reprinted in Paris in 1721. He also wrote a paraphrase of the 41st Psalm, which was likewise published. He died on the 16th of June, 1722, at the age of sixty-four years, of a gangrene in his intestines combined with erysipelas in the leg. A decree was passed during his reign, that every Knight possessing private property to the amount of 300*l.* a year should maintain a soldier in Malta to aid in its defence. This law was, however, never enforced, although it would undoubtedly have gone far towards supporting the garrison of the island free of expense to the treasury.

Don Antony Manöel de Vilhena, a member of the language of Castile, succeeded to the vacant dignity without opposition, his claims being so universally recognised as to have defied competition. Entering into the Order at an early age, he had been in 1680 in a naval action with the fleet of Tripoli, and had afterwards been named to the command of a galley, from which post he was raised to that of colonel of the militia of the island. In 1701 he was named commissary of war, having previously been decorated with the grand-cross, and in 1703 he was promoted to the dignity of grand-chancellor, which he subsequently vacated to become bailiff of Acre.

His advent to the supreme post was almost immediately followed by a hostile demonstration against Malta from the Turkish fleet. A Moslem slave named Hali, who during ten years' captivity in Malta had enjoyed considerable liberty as *liman* or chief of the slaves, obtained his release by an exchange, and returned to Constantinople full of a design he had formed for the capture of Malta by means of the numerous slaves there

imprisoned. Many of these slaves filled the offices of domestic servants to the members of the fraternity, and enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom in their intercourse with each other. Hali persuaded the sultan that if a fleet of ten vessels were despatched to Malta to support the enterprise, all the slaves in the island, who actually outnumbered the Christian population, would promptly rise and secure possession of the town. Tempted by the moderation of this demand, the sultan acceded to the request of the quondam slave, and in the end of June, 1722, the hostile fleet appeared off Malta. The Order had, however, become aware of the plot forming against them, and had secured their slaves so successfully that all efforts to rise on their part would have been utterly unavailing. The Turkish commander, Abdi Agu, finding his enterprise hopeless, wrote a bombastic and bragadocio letter to the Grand-Master, but did not attempt any other hostile measure.

The following is a translation of this epistle, the original of which is still amongst the archives of the Order, dated June 28th, 1722: — “Let it be known to the rulers and principal men of the island of Malta, heads of the council, and leading persons, both French and Venetian, as well as those other magnates of the religion of the Messiah as may happen to be in that island, that we have been expressly sent by the great lord and patron of the universe and refuge of the world, that you may consign and transmit to us all the slaves who may find themselves exposed to your bad and unholy government, more particularly those of St. John, in order that they may present themselves before his august and eminent throne. And since this is his will and command, we have come well armed, and with the



greatest valour inform you by this letter of our arrival to receive all such slaves; and in case you make any difficulty in consigning the said slaves, you shall know and have cause to repent of it. The answer to this letter must be sent to Tunis."

The council, who were anxious to obtain, if possible, the liberation of the Christian captives then languishing in the East, did not hesitate to reply to this uncourteous and contemptuous letter, but immediately opened a communication with the Porte through the good offices of Monsieur de Bonnac, the French ambassador at that court. In this communication the Grand-Master thus expressed himself on the question of slavery. "Our Order was not instituted for the purpose of ranging the seas in quest of captives, but to cruise with its armaments to protect the navigation of Christian vessels; and it only attacks those who obstruct commerce, and who, desiring to reduce Christians into captivity, deserve nothing better than to be made slaves themselves. I have nothing so much at heart as to release the Mussulman slaves from their chains, and if the wishes of his highness are similar, I am ready to negotiate for the reciprocal liberty of the captives, either by exchange or ransom, according to the received custom between princes. His mightiness has, therefore, only to declare his intentions, which I will omit nothing to render effectual."

Monsieur de Bonnac seconded the views of the Grand-Master so warmly, that a treaty was at once proposed and its terms fully discussed. These were very favourable for Malta, so much so, indeed, as to cause a strong feeling of dissatisfaction to show itself amongst the officers of the Turkish fleet. These latter possessed so powerful an influence over the sultan, that in deference

to their objections he abandoned the treaty, and there the matter rested.

Manöel, warned by the cloud which had just been dissipated, of the danger his island might at any time run from a renewed descent, no sooner found himself at leisure, than he commenced the construction of a fort upon the island in the Marsa Musceit, for the greater protection of that post. This fort, which has ever since retained the name of its founder, and is still called Fort Manöel, commands the harbour, and acts as a protection to the fortifications of Valetta on that side. Prior to its construction, the island in question was completely open and undefended, affording a most inconvenient and proximate point for an enemy to make a lodgment on in the case of a new siege. The fort which Manöel erected was constructed in accordance with the design furnished by the Chevalier de Tigné to the Grand-Master Perellos in 1717, on the occasion of his second visit to Malta.\*

Several naval combats took place between the rival fleets during Manöel's Grand-Mastership, but they were comparatively trivial, being merely encounters between single vessels on either side, and generally terminating in favour of the Order. Although unimportant in their results, and far inferior to the exploits of former days, the Pope deemed them worthy of a special mark of his approbation, and sent to Manöel, by the hands of one of his household, the consecrated sword and casque which

\* Vide estimate in Appendix No. 19, where this fort figures for a sum of 25,000 crowns, or 2500*l.*, an amount ridiculously small, according to modern notions, for so extensive a work; but it must be borne in mind that labour cost little or nothing, being principally performed by slaves, and that the stone excavated from the ditches formed the ramparts.

were only presented to such as had distinguished themselves by memorable actions against the Infidel. The sword was of silver gilt, five feet in length; and the casque was of purple velvet, embroidered in gold, and enriched with an emblem of the Holy Ghost embossed in pearls. Both of these presents had been consecrated with great pomp at the festival of our Saviour's Nativity.

Manöel's rule, which lasted nearly fifteen years, was generally prosperous, and he attained a great and deserved popularity for the charitable zeal which prompted him to found an establishment for the shelter and support of the aged poor under his authority. He died on the 12th of December, 1736, having realised to a great extent the somewhat pompous eulogy recorded on his tomb: "*Memento viator quod ubi gressum in his insulis sistes pietatis ejus munificentiae securitatis amoenitatis monumenta ibi invenies.*" — "Remember, traveller, that wherever you place your foot upon this island, there will you find monuments of his piety, munificence, foresight, and charity."

His successor, whose name was Raymond Despuig, held the baton of his office for five years, during which time so little of importance transpired that his history is best comprised in the inscription on his tomb, of which the following is a translation:—"Sacred to the memory of Brother Dom Raymond Despuig, who sprang from an illustrious house in Majorca, joined the valiant soldiers of Jerusalem, and having executed with success numerous charges, especially an embassy to the viceroy of Sicily, was afterwards created grand maître d'hôtel, and commander of all the militia, and during this period on three several occasions fulfilled the functions of lieu-

tenant to the Grand-Master, rendering from day to day great services. He was elected Grand-Master by the suffrages of all the Knights (even during the life of his predecessor) on the 16th of December, 1736. He led a life worthy of a religious prince, and, adding by his virtues a new splendour to so eminent a dignity, he raised himself above his compeers more by his example than by his power. He instituted an assembly to be held every month within this church, to which a strange preacher should be called, and where the people should meet together. He added to the ornaments of silver on the high altar, he had it re-covered and adorned with a table of marble; and, having left behind him both here and elsewhere numerous other monuments of his munificence and of his piety, he died on the 15th of January, 1741, aged 71 years."

His successor was Emanuel Pinto de Fonseca, a member of one of the noblest families in Portugal, and bailiff of Acre at the time of his election. The principal event which occurred to break the calm and peaceful monotony of his reign was a conspiracy amongst the Turkish slaves in Malta, which was very nearly bathing the island in Christian blood. The plot originated in the following manner. The Christian slaves who manned a Turkish galley had risen upon their officers, captured the vessel, and brought her in triumph into the harbour of Malta, with the pasha of Rhodes a prisoner on board. This dignitary was a man in high repute at the court of the sultan, and the Order, fearful of drawing down upon themselves the virulent animosity of the Porte, and anxious to conciliate the court of France, who had latterly dissuaded them from cruising in the Levant, instead of subjecting him to the lot of slavery, sent him

to the care of the French envoy in Malta, the bailiff du Boccage. The pasha was treated with every attention and respect, a house was appropriated for his use in the Floriana, and a pension of 125*l.* monthly was allotted to him. Whilst residing here he was permitted to receive the visits of such amongst the Turkish slaves as desired that privilege, and altogether his position was rendered as little irksome to him as was possible consonant with his due security as a prisoner of war.

At the head of the conspiracy which had ended in the capture of the Turkish galley was a negro who had planned the entire affair, and who had anticipated a magnificent reward from the Order for the success of his enterprise. He was, however, much disappointed at the sum awarded to him, and his active brain speedily commenced to hatch a fresh plot, in which, by way of a counter-conspiracy, the island of Malta should be delivered into the hands of the Turks. It has already been observed that the number of slaves in Malta was very large. Independently of those who were employed on the public works or as crews to the galleys, and who when on shore were lodged in the bagnio or slaves' prison, there were large numbers fulfilling various domestic offices about the persons not only of the Knights, but also of the Maltese. In fact, the greater number of the servants in the island were Turks. They were almost uniformly treated with the greatest kindness, and their situation was in many cases so far superior to what it would have been in their own country, that they refused their liberty even when it was tendered to them. Many filled situations of the highest trust in the household of the Grand-Master, and two who acted as his confidential valets slept in an adjoining room to

himself, and had free access to his apartment both by day and night.

The plot which the negro first devised, and which he submitted for the approval of the pasha Mustapha, was to organise a rising amongst this large body, to cause a general massacre of the Christians in the island, and then to transfer its government to the Porte. Mustapha, with the blackest ingratitude, entered warmly into the design; the pasha of Tripoli was communicated with, and promised assistance; and the slaves generally were enlisted as confederates into the plot. The festival of St. Peter and St. Paul was selected as the most appropriate day for carrying out this atrocious imitation of the Sicilian Vespers. On that day the great bulk of the native population were in the habit of flocking to the Città Notabile, where the ceremonials of the day were carried out with great magnificence, and it was thought that an opportunity would thus be the more readily afforded of mastering the city of Valetta whilst denuded of so many of its inhabitants. One of the two valets about the person of Pinto was appointed to give the signal for the commencement of the insurrection, by murdering his master and exposing his head upon the balcony of the palace. An indiscriminate massacre was then to have ensued: the armoury being forced, was to supply arms to the conspirators, and the gates of the city and other commanding posts were promptly to be occupied by them. The forces of the pasha of Tripoli would join with them so soon as the successful issue of the enterprise was known, and with their assistance the island could have been easily maintained until the arrival of succours from Constantinople. Such were the principal details of this detestable plot, to which the

pasha Mustapha lent the sanction of his name and advice, and which he, of all men, should have been the last to support.

It was strange, considering how lately, at the commencement of Manoel's rule, a somewhat similar design had been discovered, that the slaves in Malta should still have been permitted such ample liberty of action. Considering their great numbers, and the natural discontent which a condition of slavery, even in its most modified form, must have generated within the minds of many, it is wonderful that greater precautions were not habitually taken to prevent the possibility of any treachery on their part. Certain it is, that on the present occasion, had it not been for an accidental quarrel between themselves, the conspirators would have most undoubtedly succeeded in perpetrating the massacre of every member of the Order of St. John within the convent. The discovery of the plot was made thus:—A certain publichouse, kept by a Jew, was the principal resort of the chief actors in this bloody drama. One day, shortly before the period selected for its execution, a violent quarrel sprang up between two of them, and, after a fierce altercation, from words they proceeded to blows; and at length one of the two drew a dagger, and endeavoured to stab his fellow, who, however, succeeded in making his escape unhurt, but vowing vengeance. In the blindness of his rage he proceeded instantly to the commandant of the guard, and revealed the entire plot. That officer lost not a moment in communicating with the Grand-Master, and took with him the faithless conspirator.

Meanwhile, however, the Jew keeper of the public-house where the quarrel had originated, who was also

a member of the plot, having heard the vows of vengeance which had been uttered on that occasion, became alarmed, and fearing lest the discontented man might reveal the whole tale, determined to forestal him, and to ensure his own safety and reward by instantly himself betraying the affair to the Grand-Master. When, therefore, De Vignier, with his conspirator, sought an audience of Pinto, they found him engaged in listening to the tale of the Jew. The matter being thus corroborated, energetic steps were at once taken to crush the affair. Numbers of the conspirators were arrested and subjected to torture, and by degrees the whole design gradually leaked out.

A similar plot had been formed on board the galleys of the Order, which was to have been carried into execution on the same day; but a swift boat was at once sent after them, and the warning arrived in time to prevent any rising. The criminality of the pasha was clearly proved, together with the fact that he had corresponded with Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Constantinople on the subject. As, however, he had been placed under the protection of the French ambassador, the Order did not deem it prudent to proceed to extremities against him, but confined him in Fort St. Elmo, until a French frigate arrived from Toulon, on board of which he was conveyed to Constantinople. It was, however, with extreme difficulty that they succeeded in saving him; for the Maltese were so justly incensed against him for his share in the diabolical design, that had he not been securely guarded they would have torn him in pieces. Nearly sixty of the leading plotters suffered the last penalty of the law on this occasion; and in order to prevent the recurrence of such a design, it was



decreed that for the future all slaves employed in a domestic capacity in the houses of Knights or citizens, should be compelled to retire to the bagnio every evening at sunset, and remain in confinement there until the next morning. The Jew, by whose double treachery the discovery had been made, was rewarded with a handsome pension, and from that time the anniversary of the day was regularly celebrated, so long as the Order remained in Malta.

The second expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta was the only other domestic event of importance which marked the sway of Pinto. This decree was carried out through the intervention of the marquis of Pombal, prime minister to the king of Portugal, and the marquis Tannuci, regent of the Two Sicilies, during the minority of Ferdinand IV., and was shortly afterwards followed in almost every kingdom in Europe. The sway of Pinto was very popular amongst his subjects, and his name is still revered in Malta as a wise and energetic prince. At the same time he was undoubtedly far more despotic than any of his predecessors, and encroached materially on that liberty which the Order had permitted to their subjects under former chiefs. The leading features of his government were, however, salutary, and if he ruled the Maltese with an iron hand they did not the less respect him.

Their naval superiority had, during these years, dwindled imperceptibly, and their fleet was now becoming more an appanage for show than for real service. The Ottoman empire had almost ceased to cause uneasiness in Europe. Her navy was no longer spreading terror along the coasts of the Mediterranean; and so the caravans of the Maltese galleys, finding no

foe worthy of the name, degenerated into mere pleasure cruises to the various ports in the south of Europe. Sonnini, in his travels in Egypt, gives the following description of the Maltese galleys at this period:— “They were armed, or rather embarrassed, with an incredible number of hands, the general alone (or flag ship of the Order) had eight hundred men on board. They were superbly ornamented, gold blazed on the numerous basso-relievos, and sculptures on the stern; enormous sails, striped with blue and white, carried on their middle a great cross of Malta painted red. Their elegant flags floated majestically. In a word, everything concurred when they were under sail to render it a magnificent spectacle. But their construction was little adapted either for fighting or for standing foul weather. The Order kept them up rather as an image of its ancient splendour than for their utility. It was one of those ancient institutions which had once served to render the brotherhood illustrious, but now only attested its selfishness and decay.” The truth of this description was, alas, incontestable, and they had reached that stage of decline that it only required a bold hand, or a national convulsion, to sweep them away from the scene of action altogether.

The fatal day was rapidly approaching which was to witness this consummation, but it was to occur whilst the Order of St. John was directed by other and far feebler hands than those of Emanuel Pinto, who died on the 25th of January 1773, at the advanced age of ninety-two years. His character was of that firm and determined cast, that had he been at the head of his fraternity twenty-five years later, he might perchance have warded off the blow which was then struck. The

following speech of his marks well the despotic tendency of his ideas of government. "If I were king of France, I would never convoke the states-general; if I were the Pope, I would never assemble a council; being the chief of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, I will have no general chapters. I know too well that these assemblies almost always finish by destroying the rights of those who have permitted their assembly." Jealous of his rank, which he sustained with dignity, and with a regal magnificence, he claimed for his ambassadors at foreign courts the prerogatives of those who represented the monarchs of Europe, and for himself demanded the title of Most Eminent Highness, whereas his predecessors had all been contented with that of Eminence.

An anecdote is told of him which, whilst it by no means reflects to the credit of his honesty, marks the power he had attained, to have permitted its execution with impunity. An institution had been formed in Malta, on the principle of a friendly society, the funds of which were devoted to the purchase of masses for the souls of those who, having been members of the society during their lifetime, were afterwards supposed to be in purgatory. Of this fund Pinto succeeded in obtaining the trust, and under his fostering management it gradually melted away. When taken with his last illness, questions began to be asked touching this fund, and a deputation waited upon him for some explanations concerning its whereabouts. Being introduced into his presence, and having explained the cause of their unseasonable intrusion, Pinto boldly avowed having spent the entire sum; "But," added he, "be not distressed, my brethren, I shall myself shortly be in the same

situation with your friends, and I promise you I will make matters all smooth with them when I get there."

François Ximenes, grand-prior of Navarre, and seneschal to Pinto, was, at his death, nominated to succeed him, and swayed the baton of Grand-Master for two years. During that brief period, however, he contrived to render himself universally unpopular and obnoxious, more especially to the ecclesiastics of the island. He was a man of the most haughty demeanour and uncourteous address, and by the rude asperities of his conduct he rapidly alienated the affections of all classes. The priests were chiefly irritated against him owing to a law which he passed restricting the license with which they were permitted to indulge in field sports, and other worldly amusements; whilst the lower orders complained bitterly of a tax which he laid upon bread to raise funds for the liquidation of the debts contracted by the university, under the rule of his predecessor.

General discontent having thus been generated, a plot was hatched and carried into execution, principally by the priests of the island. Availing themselves of a time when the galleys were engaged in a blockade of Algiers, on the 1st of September 1775, the conspirators succeeded in surprising the guard at St. Elmo, and captured the fort itself, making prisoners of the garrison, which consisted of a couple of hundred of the Grand-Master's guard. They also seized upon one of the cavaliers within the town, and then called upon the inhabitants generally to join them in expelling the Order. Great as most undoubtedly was the influence of the priesthood over the minds of the population, and widely spread as was the general discontent, no movement was made to second the violent measures which had been adopted; and the

conspirators soon discovered that they would have to fight their battle unaided. Of course, under these circumstances, the issue could not long remain doubtful. In spite of the most fearful threats on their part of blowing up the powder magazines, and thus involving themselves and the town generally in one common ruin, they made little or no resistance to the force which was speedily brought against them by the bailiff De Rohan. St. Elmo was retaken, 400 of the conspirators captured, and tranquillity was, in consequence, speedily restored. A few of the ringleaders were executed, and several more condemned to perpetual imprisonment. When the French army entered the city in 1798, several of these captives were still living, and regained their freedom after an incarceration of twenty-three years.

Various rumours were generated as to the origin of the plot, and its ultimate design. Many boldly averred that Russian influence was at the bottom of the whole affair. It was well known that that empire was most anxious to obtain a footing in the Mediterranean; and the island of Malta, if attainable, would indubitably have proved a most valuable acquisition to them. The marquis De Cavalcado, minister to Catherine II., was mentioned as the concocter of the plot, the design of which was to have been the expulsion of the Order, and the transfer of the island to the Russian crown. This, however, was strenuously contradicted by him, and has never been in any way substantiated. In fact, the subsequent conduct of Russia towards the Order has been such as to render it difficult to conceive she could have devised so cruel a blow to its existence only a few years previously.

Whatever may have been the causes, and whoever

were the fomenters of this sedition, the double danger through which the island had, within the last few years, passed, alarmed the court of France; and in order to prevent any future attempts of a similar character, they induced the Grand-Master and council to establish a new battalion of 1200 men for the protection of Valetta, of which at least two-thirds were to be foreigners. This regiment was raised at Marseilles, Naples, and Genoa, and continued to exist until 1795. Ximenes did not long survive this affair; for the annoyance and anxiety it created threw him into a serious illness, from which he never rallied, but died on the 11th of November 1775, after a rule of a little less than three years, at the age of seventy-two.

François-Marie des Neiges Emmanuel de Rohan-Polduc, a French Knight of ancient lineage, was by unanimous consent and acclamation raised to the vacant dignity. His father having been condemned for treason, had succeeded in making his escape into Spain, where his son Emmanuel was born, on the 10th of April 1721. The youth entered into the service of the Spanish monarch, but anxious to revisit his native land, he eventually threw up his appointments at that court and returned to France. Being the only surviving son of his father, his first endeavour was to obtain a restoration of his forfeited rights, and for this purpose he presented himself at court. Here, the princess De Mareau influenced herself warmly in his behalf, and it was by her persuasion that he was induced to enter the Order of St. John. She afterwards used her interest to have him raised to the dignity of a grand-cross, and elected to the office of general of the galleys, which he held until his nomination to the supreme dignity.

Since the death of Vignacourt, in 1697, no French Knight had been raised to the Grand-Mastership, and the three languages composing that nation celebrated the nomination of Rohan with the most brilliant festivities. His first care, upon assuming the reins of government, was to complete and establish the regiment organised by his predecessor for the protection of Valetta, after which he at once proceeded to convoke a general chapter. A period of a hundred and fifty-five years had elapsed since the last meeting of this assembly, and Rohan, who did not deem the powers intrusted to him by the council sufficient for the position in which the fraternity was placed, once more called into existence this venerable parliament of the Order. The statutes were revised, and additional stringency given to many of the prohibitions, particularly those relating to duelling, gambling, and prostitution, but on the whole the chapter effected but little worthy of the name of reform; and when, at the close of its sixteen days' session, it was dissolved never again to re-assemble, it left the code of the Order very much in the same position as it found it. Rohan, however, himself instituted many beneficial measures within the convent. He established public schools, and made several most judicious alterations in the courts of law.

Whilst thus endeavouring to reform the internal administration of his government, Rohan was by no means neglectful of its external policy. The Order of St. Anthony, as ancient an institution as that of St. John, was incorporated with it, and its property divided between the latter Order and that of St. Lazarus. In 1781, however, the entire property was transferred to the Knights of Malta, who thus became possessed of a

considerable augmentation to their resources. In 1782 also, a new language was created in Bavaria, and joined to the extinct language of England under the title of Anglo-Bavarian. This new division was, by the elector of Bavaria, endowed with the forfeited possessions of the Jesuits, who had been suppressed in that country as elsewhere. The value of this additional revenue was 15,000*l.* a year, and the assessment of responsions was calculated upon this sum. The dignities of Turcopolier and grand-prior of Bavaria were attached to this new language, which comprised twenty commanderies for Knights of justice, and four for conventual chaplains. In Poland, Rohan succeeded in obtaining the restoration of some property with which the Order had been originally endowed by a prince of the family of Sangaszko, but of which it had subsequently been deprived. By the negotiations and personal exertions of the bailiff Di Sagramoso, this property was once more restored.

Rohan was interrupted in the midst of these reforms by a calamity which occurred in 1783, and which filled the southern provinces of Europe with consternation. A fearful earthquake ravaged Sicily and Calabria, from the effects of which whole cities were prostrated, and thousands of the inhabitants engulfed in the ruins. Those who escaped a cruel death were left houseless and destitute, and a cry of misery at once arose on every side. Much as the Order of St. John had degenerated from the Knightly virtues which had of yore adorned it, there still remained within its pale a remnant of its ancient charitable functions, which this calamity at once called into active operation. The galleys were, at the time the intelligence reached Malta, laid up in ordinary for the winter, but so great was the zeal



and energy displayed by all classes, that in a single night they were got ready for sea, and stored with everything likely to be of service to the unfortunate sufferers who had survived the calamity. They first touched at Reggio, where they landed one-half of the supplies which they had brought with them. They then proceeded onward to Messina, intending there to distribute the remainder. On their arrival, however, they were informed by the commandant, that the king had already provided for the wants of his people, and he refused to receive what the Knights had brought, from a pitiful feeling of unwillingness to place himself under any obligation to the fraternity. The galleys, therefore, returned to Reggio, where they landed the remainder of their supplies; and where no false and ridiculous notions of pride were allowed to interfere with the relief of the unfortunate sufferers.

The Order of Malta might, at this moment, have been considered in a position of the greatest prosperity. Its territories had been latterly considerably enlarged; a new language had been added, to replace that lost by the defalcation of England. Its revenues were large, and its ranks were recruited from amongst the noblest families in Europe, who brought with them all the influence inseparable from high family connections. Their chief was a man of lofty principles and enlarged mind. He had introduced into the convent reforms and ameliorations, the benefits of which had already commenced to display themselves, and he was by all classes beloved, as well for the personal urbanity of his demeanour, as for the paternal solicitude of his administration. Profound peace reigned between the fraternity and its ancient foes. If, owing to this cause, the military

ardour of the Knights was growing somewhat rusty, and if the galleys, in their cumbrous ornamentation, cruised in the Mediterranean more in the guise of a pleasure trip than a warlike demonstration, still the tranquillity of the age brought with it many and substantial blessings to the island of Malta, and permitted the treasury to devote its energies to other and more beneficial purposes than equipments and expeditions.

The island was bristling on every side with ramparts and guns. Manoel had, as already mentioned, established an extensive fort on the island, which has since borne his name. Rohan, following his example, and tempted perhaps by the immortality which that act had bestowed upon his predecessor, had determined on a like measure, and a new fort arose upon the extremity of land, hitherto known by the name of Point Dragut, and which, in conjunction with Fort Ricasoli on the opposite point, completely defended the entrance to both harbours. If Rohan designed by this construction to perpetuate his name, he failed in the attempt, since the work received the title of Fort Tigné, being named after the grand-prior of Champagne, who had contributed largely towards the expense of its construction. It has been alleged, and with considerable justice, that there was as much of ostentation as of precaution in many of these later erections, and the Duke of Rovigo expressed himself very justly when he observed that "all the Grand-Masters, since the establishment of the Order in Malta, seemed to have craved no other title of glory than that of having added some new defence either to the harbours or town. Being the sole care of the government, it had ended in becoming a pure matter of ostentation, and fortifications were latterly erected in

Malta, very much on the same principles as palaces at Rome have been, since the chair of St. Peter has replaced on that point the throne of the Cæsars."

The quiet and apparent prosperity which at this period shone upon the Order, was but the calm usually the forerunner of a storm, and there were at this moment gathering on the political horizon of France clouds which foretold the commencement of that revolutionary hurricane which was to deluge Europe with blood for twenty years, and the first gust of which was to sweep the Order of St. John for ever from that island stronghold in the ramparts of which so many successive chiefs had placed their pride and reliance.

## CHAP. XXV.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. — ITS ANIMOSITY TO THE ORDER. — DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGES. — DEATH OF ROHAN AND ELECTION OF HOMPESCH. — CREATION OF A RUSSIAN PRIORY. — CAPTURE OF MALTA BY BONAPARTE. — DISPERSION OF THE KNIGHTS. — ELECTION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA AS GRAND-MASTER. — CREATION OF A SECOND RUSSIAN PRIORY. — SUBSEQUENT FORTUNES OF THE ORDER. — ITS PRESENT POSITION. — ULTIMATE FATE OF THE ISLAND OF MALTA. — CONCLUSION.

THE history of the causes which, by slow but sure degrees, brought on that fearful convulsion in France, in the midst of whose throes the Order of St. John was doomed to destruction, does not enter into the compass of this work. That revolution has become an integral and most important point in the general history of Europe; changing as it did the aspect of politics in every country, and bringing in its train the curse and misery of those sanguinary and desperate wars, which marked the first fifteen years of the present century. It will only be necessary here to allude to such points in the history of that eventful epoch as bear directly upon the fortunes of the Order of St. John.

The property of the fraternity within the limits of the French kingdom was at this period, as indeed had ever been the case, managed with a prudence and skill which rendered it a model to surrounding proprietors; and it was a recognised and admitted fact, that nowhere

throughout the kingdom was land so carefully cultivated and brought to yield so large an increase as that under the management of the Hospital. It was natural, therefore, that at a time when general spoliation had become a received maxim with the revolutionary party, these tempting acquisitions should attract their cupidity. The institution of the Hospital was in itself far too aristocratic in constitution to avoid the wrath and antagonism of the *sans culottes*, whose savage cry of "*A bas les aristocrats*" was reverberating throughout France. Everything, therefore, marked the institution as one of the earliest and most fitting victims to revolutionary fury and popular clamour.

Nor had their conduct during the few years which actually preceded the subversion of the monarchy, been such as was at all likely to conciliate the animosity of the dominant faction. When Necker, the finance minister of Louis XVI., demanded a voluntary contribution of the third part of the revenue of every proprietor, the Order of St. John were the first to come forward with their share; and, when afterwards the unfortunate monarch, reduced to a state of extreme destitution, besought assistance from their treasury, they pledged their credit for the sum of 500,000 francs, to aid him in his futile effort at flight. No amount of diplomacy could therefore avert the fate impending over an institution which had added to the crime of being wealthy, that also of fidelity to the sovereign. The steps by which this act of spoliation was consummated were quickly taken, and met with no effectual resistance on the part of the destined victims. In the first constituent assembly the Order of St. John had been defined as placed in the position of a foreign power

possessing property within the limits of the French kingdom; and as such, was subjected to all the taxes imposed upon that kingdom. This first step was soon followed by a decree, enacting that any Frenchman becoming member of an order of knighthood, requiring proofs of nobility, should no longer be regarded as a French citizen.

These preliminary steps being taken, the grand blow was struck on the 19th of September 1792, when it was enacted, that the Order of Malta should cease to exist within the limits of France, and that all its property should become annexed to the national domains. At first, mention was made of an indemnification, in the shape of pensions, to be granted to the Knights who were thus dispossessed of their property; but the power of deriving benefit from this supposed concession was utterly taken away from the unfortunate victims by the condition upon which it was granted, that in order to entitle a Knight to his pension, he must reside within the French territories; an utter impossibility in a country where the smallest pretensions to gentle blood were visited by the most cruel persecution.

The enactment of this decree was followed by a general plunder of the various commanderies; and such members of the Order as were not fortunate enough to effect their escape from the country were thrown into prison, and left to the fearful suspense incident to those dens of horror. During this scene of anarchy and bloodshed, the members of the fraternity comported themselves with a firmness and a dignity worthy of their institution. The ambassador of the Order at Paris, the bailiff De la Brilhane, fulfilled his difficult and dangerous duties till the very close with unexampled determination. It was

impossible that he could thus boldly endeavour to stem the clamour of popular wrath, without incurring that personal danger which the odium of his opponents naturally brought with it. He was warned by M. de Montmorin that his life was in the most imminent peril, owing to the noble and daring exertions he had made in defending the cause, hopeless as it was, of his Order. "I am under no apprehensions," replied he, "for the moment has now arrived when a man of honour, who faithfully performs his duty, may die as gloriously upon the scaffold as on the field of battle." After his death, which occurred suddenly shortly afterwards, the Order did not fill his place; and he was, consequently, the last accredited envoy that they ever possessed within the French kingdom.

Great as had been their provocation, they did not break entirely with the French directory, nor did they openly join the forces of those who sought to crush the dreadful outbreak. A temporising policy appears to have been their chief aim, and in this they certainly did not act with much prudence or discrimination. They might have rested quite assured that no concessions or no amount of open neutrality would lead those who had destroyed their Order in France to regard themselves with a more favourable eye. Their principles were all monarchical, and averse to the changes which had taken place; and the knowledge of this fact could not have been concealed from the directory. They had so far avowed their sentiments, and revealed their sympathies with the fallen monarch of France, that on the arrival of the intelligence of his execution, a funeral service was performed in the church of St. John, at which Rohan presided; the nave of the church was hung with

black, and the fraternity in deep mourning offered up their prayers for the soul of him who had been thus basely sacrificed to the evil passions of his foes.

Had they openly and unreservedly thrown the whole weight of their influence into the scale of the alliance, by which the progress of the revolution was sought to be stayed, they could not have reduced themselves to a worse position than that which their timid and temporising policy brought upon them; and had they been unsuccessful in their efforts, they would at least have had the consolation of acting in a noble and disinterested manner; one indeed suited to the feelings and dictates of an institution based on the principles of honour which formed the foundation of the Order of St. John.

Their chief was, indeed, unsuited for the perilous crisis in which he was placed, and physical incapacity had latterly intervened to break down his energy and spirit. In 1791 he had had a stroke of apoplexy which, at the time, it was thought must have ended fatally, but from which he recovered indeed, without, however, regaining that energy of mind, and that dauntless resolution, so necessary for the crisis through which he was called to guide the fortunes of his Order. His last days were clouded with the certainty that a speedy and inevitable destruction awaited his community, and that events were rapidly tending to that consummation.

The numbers of homeless destitute Frenchmen who flocked to Malta, desiring admission into the ranks of the Order, greatly increased the general poverty of the treasury, and the utmost efforts of the Grand-Master, nobly seconded though he was by the languages who had escaped confiscation, were unable to relieve so universal



a misery. The conduct of Rohan, under these painful and trying circumstances, was certainly most praiseworthy. Being remonstrated with by an officer of his household for the extent of his charities, which his diminished resources no longer admitted, without curtailing the dignity of his court, he replied, "Reserve one crown daily for the expenses of my table, and let all the rest be distributed amongst my distressed brethren."

The worst had not, however, as yet arrived, though the day was near at hand for the fatal blow to be struck. The directory had for some time looked with longing eyes upon the island of Malta, crowned as it was with fortifications unexcelled in their stupendous magnitude throughout Europe, and had determined, if possible, to expel the Order from their home, and attach it to the French territories. Unable to succeed by force of arms, they endeavoured to accomplish their designs by treachery, and, ere long, spies and emissaries were hard at work within the convent and island generally, sowing those seeds of discontent and turbulence which were, ere long, to bear so baneful a fruit. The government of Rohan must certainly be much blamed for the blindness which permitted this open tampering with the fidelity of its subjects; and it appeared as though, by some unaccountable fatality, the supineness of the fraternity themselves was destined to aid the nefarious designs of their enemies.

In the midst of these gloomy presages, and at the worst crisis of the danger, Rohan was seized with that last illness from which he was not destined to rally. One of his last acts was to despatch to the court of Russia the bailiff Count de Litta to demand assistance and support for his tottering institution. He did not,

however, live to witness the return of his envoy, having breathed his last on the 13th of July 1797.

Opinions have been much divided with regard to this chief. Weak-minded he certainly was, and during the latter years of his life his physical infirmities materially augmented his mental incapacities. A craving for flattery and adulation had caused him to seek the society of those who were willing to gratify these weaknesses, in preference to that of men of greater worth and honour. These appear, however, to be the principal faults which his enemies could justly lay to his charge; and to counterbalance them, his life, both public and private, was adorned with many virtues, and secured him the attachment and esteem of many sincere friends. A surpassing goodness of heart, an open-handed generosity, a dauntless courage, a mind adorned with the most profound learning, a quick and ready wit, such were a few of the principal qualifications which attracted in his favour all who were brought into contact with him. Had his lot not been cast in such troublous times, and had he ruled his Order under more favourable auspices, he would doubtless have been revered as one of the wisest governors who had ever swayed their fortunes.

Numerous most beneficial reforms had been introduced under his direction, and the code of laws which he established, and which is still recognised and acted on in the island of Malta, under the title of the Code Rohan, attests the clearness of his intellect. To him the island is indebted for the building now used as a public library and museum, and he also built an observatory on the top of his palace, for the purpose of recording meteorological observations, deeming, with

much justice, that in a climate so pure and calm, with so clear a sky and so extended an horizon, circumstances were most favourable for such an establishment. This building was, however, destroyed by lightning shortly after its erection, and it was not until the government of Sir William Reid, whose scientific attainments and previous meteorological researches had rendered him the fittest instrument for such a restoration, that the establishment of Rohan was once more brought into active operation.

Ferdinand Joseph Antoine Herman Louis de Hompesch, to whose name is attached the melancholy distinction of having been the last Grand-Master of Malta, was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Rohan. He was the first Knight of the German language who had ever been raised to that office, and it has since been most undeservedly made a reproach against that language generally, that the solitary chief whom they furnished to the Order should so weakly and pusillanimously have betrayed its rights and interests. It is said, that during his last moments Rohan demanded of those who were standing round his bed who was to be his successor. He was told that the bailiff De Hompesch appeared the most probable candidate. "The German," remarked Rohan, "is not a bad selection, provided he is well advised, but he is not the man for this crisis, and I shall be the last Grand-Master of an illustrious and independent Order." The result proved the correctness of this prophecy on the part of the dying prince.

It is averred that Hompesch did not desire the dignity of Grand-Master, and that it was with difficulty that he was persuaded to allow himself to be named as a candi-

date. This fact can scarcely be reconciled with that which is well known, that he expended a large sum of money to secure his election, and was ever after hampered with the debts thus created. The career of Hompesch had up to this moment reflected credit upon his name, nor had he hitherto shown his deficiencies in all those more important qualities essential for the head of the Order at that critical moment. He had commenced his life as a page to Grand-Master Pinto, and had reached the dignity of a grand-cross at a very early age, probably owing to his high connections, being sprung from one of the noblest families of the Lower Rhine. For twenty-five years he resided at the court of Vienna, as ambassador to the Order, and at the expiration of that period he was made grand-bailiff of Brandenburg, chief of the Anglo-Bavarian language. He was the youngest Grand-Master that had been known for centuries, the electors having usually nominated candidates of great age to the post, whereas Hompesch, having been born in 1744, was only 53 years old at the death of Rohan.

His rule opened with a brief gleam of prosperity from the favourable dispositions of the Russian emperor towards the fraternity. It has already been mentioned that the bailiff Count de Litta was despatched by Rohan to St. Petersburg, to solicit the protection of Catherine II. for the Order, and more especially for its Polish possessions, which the late partition of that kingdom had thrown into the power of Russia. Catherine, however, had died before De Litta reached St. Petersburg, and Paul I. had assumed the Russian diadem. The young emperor had always expressed himself an enthusiastic admirer of the Order of St. John, and now when the opportunity was afforded him of giving a

practical proof of the sincerity of his friendship, he nobly redeemed the pledges of his youth. The late Polish priory was largely augmented, and converted into a Russian priory, with a revenue of 300,000 florins, or about 7500*l*. This priory was to be divided into ten commanderies for Knights and three for chaplains, and was incorporated into the Anglo-Bavarian language.

The ambassador, De Litta, who was most anxious that intelligence of the successful issue of his mission should reach Malta as rapidly as possible, despatched a special courier from St. Petersburg, with the particulars of the arrangements which had been made by the emperor. This courier was seized at Ancona by the French army, then invading Italy, and his despatches opened by Bonaparte, who forwarded their contents to the directory, by whom they were published; and it was through this channel that the Order in Malta first learnt the favourable termination of the negotiation. Hompesch immediately assembled a council to deliberate on the offers of the emperor; it is scarcely necessary to add, they were warmly and gratefully accepted.

The Bailiff de Litta was in consequence named ambassador extraordinary to the imperial court of St. Petersburg, and made his public entry into that city in his new capacity, on the 27th of November 1797. On the Sunday following, viz. the 29th of November, the emperor, the empress, the various scions of the imperial family, and also the young and exiled French prince, De Condé, were decorated with the grand-cross of the Order, that presented to the emperor being the identical one worn by the illustrious La Valette. He also assumed the title of PROTECTOR OF THE ORDER OF MALTA,

and subsequent events have proved that he warmly deserved the name.

In the council of Rastadt, opened in the end of 1797, it was proposed to combine the Order of Malta with the Teutonic Knights, but the project fell to the ground in the midst of the other more important matters then under consideration. Indeed, there was so general a feeling amongst the revolutionary party in favour of an utter destruction of both fraternities, that no measure tending to strengthen either of them was likely to prove acceptable. At length opened that year which was to prove the last in which the Order of St. John was to remain master of the island over which they had for two centuries and a half ruled so beneficially to the inhabitants and to Christianity at large. The treasury was at this moment in an alarming state of deficit; most of its revenues had been confiscated, or were unavailable; the plate and jewels had mostly been melted down and disposed of; and but little remained to defray the expenditure so necessary for maintaining the island in a proper state of defence.

At this time there were present in the convent the following Knights of the Order: viz., 200 of the three French languages, 90 Italians, 25 Spanish, 8 Portuguese, 4 German, and 5 Anglo-Bavarian, making a total of 332; of these only 280 were, from age and other causes, capable of bearing arms. The garrison of Malta consisted of the Maltese regiment of 500 men; the Grand-Master's guard, numbering 200; the battalion for the men-of-war, which consisted of 400; that for the galleys, of 300; gunners, 100; the militia regiment of chasseurs, 1200; and the sailors who formed the crews of both galleys and men-of-war, 1200 in number; making

a total of 3300 men, to which might be added 3000 of the militia of the island, on whom, under ordinary circumstances, the Order might count to do faithful service, and who during the celebrated siege of 1565 had greatly distinguished themselves.

A vast armament had been, throughout the early part of 1798, assembling in the French ports, whose ultimate destination remained a matter of the most complete mystery, filling the entire of Europe with consternation and uncertainty. The advanced squadron of this fleet appeared off Malta on the 6th of June, commanded by the Commodore Sidoux, and consisted of eighteen sail. One of these, a sixty-gun frigate, was admitted into the harbour for repairs, the remainder lying at anchor outside; and every effort was made by the Order to testify their strict neutrality and readiness to offer hospitality and assistance, as well to the French as to the other powers whose armaments might touch their shores. On the 9th of June the main body of the fleet appeared, bearing with it the French army, whose destination was now known to be Egypt, and which was commanded by the already celebrated General Bonaparte. The mask was now thrown off, the moment had arrived when the directory, who had long been casting their eyes upon the island of Malta as an acquisition of the utmost value to France, had determined to carry their project into execution, and Bonaparte was not the man to fail them in any design calculated for the aggrandisement of the country and the heightening of his own renown.

He instantly despatched an envoy to the Grand-Master, demanding free entrance into the great harbour for the entire fleet. This demand Hompesch had the prudence and firmness to resist, and had he maintained

as bold an attitude to the end he might have saved his island. His reply to Bonaparte was, that such an act would be a breach of the neutrality which, by the constitution of his Order, he was bound to maintain, but that the vessels might enter to the number of four at a time. This reply was amply sufficient for the French general, who only required a pretext for the measure of spoliation upon which he had long since determined, and by his direction the French consul, who on the arrival of the fleet had left the town and taken up his quarters on board ship, in itself an ominous circumstance, wrote the following letter to the Grand-Master.

“ Having been appointed to go on board the admiral’s ship with the reply of your serene highness to the request of the French that their squadron might water in your ports; I am directed to say that the French general is highly indignant that only four vessels should be permitted to enter at a time for that purpose; as it would, under such restrictions, take a considerable time for four or five hundred sail to be provided with water, and the other articles of which the squadron is in absolute want. The general is yet the more surprised at your refusal, since he is perfectly well acquainted, not only with the permission granted to the English fleet, but also with the proclamation issued by your highness’s predecessor. The general has, therefore, determined to obtain by force what should have been granted to him by the principles of hospitality which form the basis of your Order. So considerable are the forces under his command that it will be utterly impossible for your Order to resist them. Such being the case, it was greatly to be wished that your highness had, upon so important an occasion, through love for



your Order and for the people at large, proposed some means of accommodation. The general would not permit me to return to a city which he will be compelled in future to treat as an enemy, and which will now have no resource left save in his generosity. He has, however, given strict orders that the religion, customs, and property of the Maltese shall be most scrupulously respected."

That the attack upon Malta was simply the result of the Grand-Master's refusal to admit the entire French fleet into his harbours at the same time could not for one moment be credited, although that was the pretext which Bonaparte and the directory openly alleged for so wanton an aggression on their part. The affair had been organised before the French expedition had left Toulon, and the Grand-Master had even received notification to that effect. The bailiff De Schenau, who had acted as envoy of the Order at the congress of Rastadt, wrote in cypher a letter to Hompesch, couched in the following terms:—"I warn your eminence that the expedition which is preparing at Toulon is directed against Malta and Egypt. I have it from the private secretary of M. Treilhard, one of the ministers of the French republic. You will be most certainly attacked; take, therefore, such measures as are necessary for your defence. The ministers of all the powers in alliance with the Order are warned as well as myself; but they know that the fortress of Malta is impregnable, or at all events that it can resist for three months. Let your eminent highness take warning therefore. Both your own honour and the preservation of the Order are at stake. If you yield without a defence you will be disgraced in the eyes of

all Europe. Here this expedition is looked upon as likely to prove a disgrace to Bonaparte. He has two powerful enemies in the directory who have taken advantage of this opportunity to get rid of him—Rewbell and Larévèillère-Lepaux.”

This warning had passed unheeded by Hompesch, who till the latest moment believed that his island would not be attacked; and a letter is now extant in the grand-priory of Germany, written by him but a few days previous to the loss of Malta, in which he assured the German Knights “that they might rest quite easy as to the fate of the island, since he had taken every precaution necessary to resist an attack, and that moreover he was certain the French government had no intention of acting in a manner hostile to the Order, and that therefore they were to place no credence upon the idle tales which might be spread on that subject.” Utterly deluded as he had been by his own wilful incredulity, Hompesch found the fatal moment arrived and no preparations made for an effectual resistance. His whole force was less than seven thousand men, of whom three were the rawest local militia, amongst whom discontent and treachery were busily employed, rendering them untrustworthy to the last degree. Most of the forts were destitute of stores, and even of provisions. Different counsels prevailed on every side; a very large bulk of the population, and not a few of the Knights themselves, were secretly, if not openly, favourable to the revolutionary party, and the general discord and uncertainty prevented the adoption of any prompt or decisive measures of defence.

A firm and determined chief might in such a moment have restored confidence. He might have awed the

discontented and encouraged the loyal. Well knowing that the British fleet would ere long have hurried to the rescue, he might have maintained his resistance without much difficulty within the stupendous line of ramparts which had been the glory and the boast of so many of his predecessors; but Hompesch was not the man to enact such a part. Weak and vacillating in character, easily ruled by others, and ever ready to give heed to the suggestions of those who were only seeking to betray him, he in this trying moment was capable of nothing to restore order within the town. It was now that the traitors commenced openly to show themselves. The commander Boisredont Ransijat, treasurer of the Order, at once wrote to the Grand-Master, announcing that as a Knight of St. John his duty was to combat against the Infidel, but that he could not take part in a struggle against his countrymen the French, at the same time desiring to surrender his office. Hompesch ordered the recusant commander to be confined in the fort of St. Angelo, but took no further steps to check so pernicious an example, and the fruits of his negligence were not long in displaying themselves.

On Sunday, the 10th of June, at four o'clock in the morning, the disembarkation of the French army commenced. Eleven different points were selected for this operation, and the towers of St. George and St. Julian yielded without resistance. By ten o'clock in the morning the whole outlying country was in the hands of the French, and all the detached forts, with the solitary exception of St. Lucian's tower, in the Marsa Sirocco, had yielded to them. By noon, 15,000 men had landed, and the heads of their columns were advanced within pistol shot of the defences on the side

of the Bourg. Several Knights, who had been taken prisoners during this operation, were brought before Bonaparte, who expressed himself highly indignant at finding Frenchmen in arms against their country. He is reported to have said, "How is it that I am constantly to meet with Knights who have taken up arms against their country? I ought to give directions to have you all shot. How could you ever believe it possible that you could defend yourselves with a few wretched peasants against troops which have conquered and subdued the whole of Europe?" Notwithstanding this outburst of anger, he gave instructions that the captives should be well treated, nor had they any cause to complain of the conduct displayed towards them whilst under thralldom.

Meanwhile treachery and panic had been working their way within the town. Hompesch, instead of endeavouring to restore order and confidence by personal efforts, remained buried in his palace, accompanied by only a single aide-de-camp. He did not even name a lieutenant to aid him at this juncture. The commanders of the various posts, unwilling to take upon themselves the responsibilities of action, remained passive, and the French were permitted to take up their positions unmolested. Everywhere the most complete disorganisation was apparent; the soldiers deserted their standards; the people collected together in threatening crowds; cries of treason were heard on all sides; and throughout this scene of confusion the French emissaries busied themselves everywhere, exciting the people to acts of violence, and pointing out those Knights who were in reality the most zealous in endeavouring to protract the defence, as the traitors by whom they were

being betrayed. The infuriated multitude, stimulated to a pitch of frenzy by these foul calumnies and scandalous aspersions, soon proceeded to acts of violence, and several unfortunate Knights fell victims to the blindness of their rage. Amongst others De Vallin and d'Ormy were murdered by the Maltese. Montazet fell by the hands of his own men at Benissa point, and d'Andelard, who was on guard at the principal gate of the city, was shot down by one of his own corporals whilst endeavouring to save a brother Knight from the same fate. Many others were seriously wounded, and the mob raging with the excitement of the moment, dragged their bleeding victims to the front of the Grand-Master's palace.

In the midst of all this sedition an attempt was made to check the advance of the French by a sortie, but the Maltese regiment, which was sent out for this purpose, gave way at the first sight of the enemy's advanced skirmishers, and retreated into the town in such confusion that they suffered the loss of their standards. A report became current, founded on this circumstance, that the great standard of the religion was captured, and this intelligence added still further to the general dismay. Before night, a French division under Desaix had occupied the Cottonera lines and Fort Ricasoli, whilst Baraguay d'Hilliers was in possession of all the centre of the island. Vaubois had seized the Città Notabile, and Regnier was master of Gozo. Night only added to the general scene of confusion and dismay; shots were heard on all sides, and the garrison were called upon to combat not only the open foe without their walls, but also the insidious treachery which was at work within.

About midnight, a deputation of some of the leading Maltese proceeded to the palace, and in an audience with the Grand-Master, demanded that he should capitulate and request a suspension of hostilities. They pointed out that there was palpable treason at work; that no orders were executed; that the plan organised for defence was not carried out; that provisions, ammunition, and despatches were all intercepted, and that the massacre of the Knights which had already taken place proved that the body of the people were inimical to them, and unless a speedy surrender were determined on, there was reason to fear that a wholesale butchery would ere long ensue. To this demand Hompesch returned a refusal, without, however, taking any further steps to render that refusal effectual; and soon after a second deputation appeared, announcing to him that if he did not promptly yield to their demand they would open negotiations with Bonaparte themselves, and treat for the surrender of the town without further reference to him. Alarmed at this last threat, Hompesch summoned the council to deliberate upon the demand of the insurgents, and at that dead hour of night the dignitaries of the Order assembled within the palace and proceeded to debate the question. Whilst the discussion was going on, and different views were being propounded, a tumult without the door of the council chamber denoted a fresh interruption, and, in a moment after, in rushed a body of the rioters, bearing aloft in triumph the recreant Knight Ransijat, who had abandoned his Order and set the first example of treason at that eventful moment, and who had in consequence been imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence his friends of the revolutionary party had just released

him by force. This incident completed the panic of the council. Alarmed lest the city should be surrendered without any reference to them, they instantly decided that a deputation should be nominated to wait upon General Bonaparte and demand a suspension of arms as a preliminary to a capitulation. The individuals selected for this office were the bailiff Saousa, the Knights Miari and Monferret, the Maltese baron d'Aurel, M. Fremeaux, the Dutch consul, and M. Poussiélgue, the consul for Ragusa.

As soon as the deputation had departed on its errand, orders were sent by Hompesch to the different posts to cease firing, and ere long a complete silence reigned throughout the town, broken only by the distant booming of the cannon of Fort Rohan at the Marsa Scirocco, commanded by La Guérivière, a brave Knight, who maintained an active resistance in his little isolated post until the 11th of June, when he was forced to surrender, his garrison having been twenty-four hours without food. In answer to the demands of the deputation, Bonaparte sent Brigadier-General Junot, his own aide-de-camp, a Knight of the name of Dolomière, who had accompanied the expedition with a view to studying the geology of Egypt, and M. Poussiélgue, controller of the military chest, to arrange the terms of the armistice. A brief interview with the Grand-Master and council settled the point, Junot carrying everything with a very high hand. The following was the document agreed to on that occasion :—

“ ARTICLE I.—A suspension of arms for twenty-four hours (to commence from six o'clock this evening, the 11th of June, until six o'clock to-morrow evening) is

agreed to between the army of the French republic, commanded by General Bonaparte, represented by Brigadier-General Junot, aide-de-camp of the said general, on the one side, and his most eminent highness and the Order of St. John on the other.

“ARTICLE II.—During those twenty-four hours deputies shall be sent on board ‘L'Orient,’ to draw up the capitulation.

“Signed in duplicate at Malta, this 11th of June 1798.

“JUNOT.

“HOMPESCH.”

On the following day General Bonaparte entered the town, and took up his abode at the house of Baron Paolo Parisio, a noble Maltese who lived near the castellany, and here he established his head-quarters. As he entered within the stupendous fortifications of Valetta, and witnessed the extraordinary strength of its lines of defence, he could not refrain from remarking on the good fortune which had befriended him, in throwing into his hands, with such slender efforts, a fortress whose powers of resistance were so great. “Well was it for us,” exclaimed he, “that we had friends within to open the gates for us.” Bonaparte had great reason for his self gratulation; his proverbial good fortune had not on this occasion deserted him. Had he been detained but a very brief time before the walls of Valetta, the fleet under Nelson, which scoured the ocean in search of him for a twelvemonth, would have been on his track, and the glorious victory of the Nile would have been anticipated by a year, and would have been fought under the ramparts of Malta. It is difficult to trace how great might have been the changes in the aspect of



European politics from such an event. Bonaparte disgraced, with his army destroyed and his fleet scattered, would have made a very different figure on the French stage than he was destined to occupy as the conqueror of Egypt. No imperial diadem would probably ever have graced his brow, and Europe might have been spared many years of desolating wars, during which her fairest provinces were watered with blood. Fate had, however, decreed it otherwise; the star of the great general was at this moment prominently in the ascendant, and he had already commenced that unchequered career of glory which was to lead him eventually to the most widely-extended and powerful empire of modern days.

The capitulation, which was agreed to on the 12th of June, and in virtue of which Malta passed for ever from under the dominion of the Order of St. John, was couched in the following terms:—

“ARTICLE 1.—The Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem shall give up the city and forts of Malta to the French army, at the same time renouncing in favour of the French republic all right of property and sovereignty over that island, as also over those of Gozo and Comino.

“ARTICLE 2.—The French republic shall employ all its credit at the congress of Rastadt to procure a principality for the Grand-Master, equivalent to the one he gives up, and the same republic engages to pay him in the meantime an annual pension of 300,000 French livres, besides two annats of the pension, by way of indemnification for his personal property. He shall also be

treated with the usual military honours during the remainder of his stay in Malta.

“ARTICLE 3.—The French Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem actually resident at Malta, if acknowledged as such by the commander-in-chief, shall be permitted to return to their native country, and their residence in Malta shall be considered in the same light as if they inhabited France. The French republic will likewise use its influence with the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics, that this third article may remain in force for the Knights of those several nations.

“ARTICLE 4.—The French republic shall assign an annual pension of 700 French livres to those whose ages exceed sixty years. It shall also endeavour to induce the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics to grant the same pension to the Knights of their respective countries.

“ARTICLE 5.—The French republic shall employ its credit with the different powers, that the Knights of each nation may be allowed to exercise their right over the property of the Order of Malta situated in their dominions.

“ARTICLE 6.—The Knights shall not be deprived of their private property either in Malta or Gozo.

“ARTICLE 7.—The inhabitants of the islands of Malta and Gozo shall be allowed as heretofore the free exercise of the catholic, apostolical, and Roman religion. Their privileges and property shall likewise remain inviolate, nor shall they be subject to any extraordinary taxes.

“ARTICLE 8.—All civil acts passed during the government of the Order shall remain valid.

“Done and concluded on board the ‘Orient,’ before

Malta, on the 24th Prairial, the sixth year of the French republic.

"THE COMMANDER BOISREDON DE RANSIJAT.

"BARON MARIE TESTA-FERRATA,

"DOCTOR JOHN NICOLAS MUSCAT,

"DOCTOR BESNOIT SCHEMBRI,

"COUNSELLOR BONANI,

"CHEVALIER PHILIP AMAT.

} Maltese.

"THE BAILIFF DE TURIN-FRISARI, without prejudice to the right of dominion belonging to my sovereign, the king of the two Sicilies."

Such were the terms of the capitulation which transferred the island of Malta for two brief years to the French sway. The standard of the Order was removed from its proud position, and the degenerate descendants of L'Isle Adam and La Valette were doomed to the degradation of witnessing the substitution in its place of the French tricolor, a change which they had not even the satisfaction of feeling that they had struck one good blow to prevent. For two centuries and a half successive Grand-Masters had expended their own fortunes and the treasures of the Order in rearing a frowning mass of parapets and batteries on every side. The opinion of every leading engineer throughout Europe had been taken to suggest fresh additions to render the fortress of Valetta impregnable. It had long since been recognised as the most powerful place in Europe; and yet in two days it yielded, with scarce a struggle, to the armies of France, even though it knew that the slightest resistance would bring the avenging fleet of Great Britain upon the track of the foe. Indeed it has been generally stated, and there is every reason

to believe with truth, that General Bonaparte had received instructions from the directory not to prosecute the siege of Malta if he met with any effectual resistance, as the safety of the Egyptian expedition might thereby become compromised. The cowardice and negligence, the incapacity and blindness of Hompesch, combined with the treachery of those under him, had done all, and more than all, which the revolutionary party in France could have desired; and the powerful fortress which they had so long craved was transferred without a blow to their power. So soon as the intelligence of this important event reached Paris, the following message was sent by the executive directory to the council, which shows the grounds upon which the French republic intended to justify their wanton aggression in the eyes of Europe.

“Citizens, Representatives,

“The government of Malta has for a long time past dared to manifest the most hostile intentions towards France; it has boldly received and greatly favoured, not only the emigrants who have retired to Malta, but also those amongst the Knights who have actually served in the army of Condé.

“The nature of its constitution demands the strictest neutrality, but at the very moment when it publicly professed to preserve it, permission was granted to Spain, while at war with us, to recruit sailors in Malta, and the same permission has since been given to England, though it has constantly been refused to France in the most offensive manner.

“Whenever any Maltese or French residing in Malta appeared attached to the French cause, they were cruelly persecuted, imprisoned, and treated like the

vilest criminals. The hatred of an inconsiderable state towards the French republic could not well be carried to greater lengths, yet the Grand-Master has declared in his manifesto of the 10th of October 1793, that the king of Naples, having notified to him his situation in regard to the war, he eagerly embraced the opportunity of shutting his ports against all French vessels. He even went still further, and declared in the same manifesto, that the French agent, then residing in Malta, should in future be entirely regarded as chargé d'affaires from the king of France, and concluded by saying, that having understood there was a new envoy on his way to Malta, he would neither receive nor admit into his dominions such a person, nor, indeed, any other as agent from the pretended French republic, which the Grand-Master (his own words) neither ought, could, nor would acknowledge.

“The government of Malta could not certainly at that period prove itself more inimical to France, and this state of warfare has never ceased to subsist.

“On the 21st Prairial of this year, the commander of the French forces in those seas requested permission to water at the various watering places within the island, but this request was refused in the most evasive manner, the Grand-Master alleging that he could not permit more than two transports to enter at the same time, so that it would necessarily have taken up more than three hundred days to have furnished the whole of the French troops with water. What effrontery thus to insult the army of the republic commanded by General Bonaparte.

“On the morning of the 22nd Prairial, the French troops landed on all the different points of the island, and in the course of the same day the place was invested

on all sides. The cannon from the city kept up a very brisk fire. The besieged made a sally, when the colours of the Order were taken by the chief of brigade Marmont, at the head of the 9th brigade.

“On the 24th, in the morning, the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem gave up the city and forts of Malta to the French Republic, and likewise ceded to the said Republic their rights of sovereignty and proprietorship not only over Malta, but also over the islands of Gozo and Comino.

“The republic made the acquisition in Malta of two men-of-war, one frigate, four galleys, 1200 pieces of cannon, 1,500,000 pounds of gunpowder, 40,000 muskets, and many other articles not yet particularised to the republic.

“(Signed) PECHÉLL, President.

“LA GARDE, General Secretary.”

General Bonaparte did not condescend to pay any personal respect to the unworthy chief whose sovereignty had been thus easily torn from his grasp, nor did he honour him with a visit. Hompesch, on the other hand, anxious to secure certain concessions and privileges for his unfortunate Order, determined to overlook the marked slight thus cast upon him, and to seek himself the interview which the French general did not appear disposed to demand. Accompanied by a body of his Knights, with downcast air and stripped of the decorations of their rank, he presented himself before Bonaparte on the 16th of June. The interview was brief and unsatisfactory. The requests which he preferred were refused, and he himself treated with very scant courtesy.

He had no sooner left the head-quarters of the French general after this fruitless mission, than instructions were issued directing that the minister of the Russian emperor, and the Knights of that language, should leave the island within three hours. The Portuguese were allowed a delay of forty-eight hours, and the French three days. Hompesch preferred a claim to all the plate and jewellery appertaining to the palace and the office of Grand-Master, but the directory established by the French in the island refused the demand, alleging that they proposed making him an allowance of 600,000 crowns as an equivalent. Of this sum, 300,000 were handed over to his creditors, who were very numerous, and who, since he had been stripped of his revenues, were become most clamorous for their dues. Of the balance, 200,000 were paid in bills on the French treasury, and only 100,000, or about 10,000*l.* English money, was paid in cash. At his special request, he was allowed to carry away with him the three relics which the Order had always held in so high a veneration, namely, a piece of the real cross, of which they had originally become possessed in the Holy Land, the hand of John the Baptist, and the miraculous picture of our Lady of Philermo. Even these, however, were stripped of their valuable cases and ornaments before they were given up.\* Hompesch embarked at two o'clock on the morning of the 18th of June 1798, on board of a merchantman bound for Trieste, and escorted by a French frigate. The suite who accompanied him consisted of the two bailiffs of Lombardy, Montauroux and Suffrein de St. Tropez ; the commander De Licondas, his grand chamberlain ;

\* These relics are now in existence at St. Petersburg.

the commander St. Priest, his aide-de-camp; the commander Miari, secretary for Italy; the chevalier Desbrull, secretary for Spain; the chevalier de Saulx, master of the horse; the two commanders Amable de Sigondes and De Boisredont; the chevalier De Roqueville, one of the Grand-Master's pages; and two servants of arms, Le Hormand and Becker, the former of whom had been his deputy master of the horse.

The cringing character of this unworthy chief may be gathered from the following letter, which he wrote to the general who was tyrannising over him the day before he left Malta, and which is an unquestionably genuine document, although he afterwards attempted to deny its authenticity.

“ Citizen general,

“ I should have most earnestly desired to have expressed in a personal farewell the sense I entertain of the constant attentions which you have bestowed upon me, and of the gracious manner in which you have acceded to all the requests that I have made to you, if from a sense of delicacy, whose only object has been to do nothing which could recall to the Maltese either my person or their old attachment, I had not decided upon avoiding this occasion of showing myself in public. Deign, therefore, to receive in writing this expression of my gratitude, my adieus, and my good wishes for you. It is in consequence of the confidence, citizen general, with which the knowledge of your generous disposition has impressed me, that I tender for the last time my earnest prayers for the execution of the promise which you were pleased to make me yesterday, touching the passports of the French mem-



bers of the Order. I attach to this letter a draft of a general form, which, if you would adopt it, would gratify the most earnest desires of the Knights, to whose tranquillity and wishes it is my happiness to contribute. Desiring to leave the island in the most tranquil hour of the night, I pray you, citizen general, to give the necessary orders that the gates of the town may be opened for me at two o'clock in the morning, at which hour I propose to embark, under the escort of the Guides whom you have appointed for that purpose," &c. &c. &c.

Hompesch having left the island, the work of spoliation was rapidly accomplished. All the gold and silver plate, the jewels, and other articles of value, which were pillaged from the convent, were placed on board the "Orient" and "Sensible." The former of these vessels was destroyed at the battle of the Nile, and all her treasures lost; the latter was taken by the English, who returned the property which they found on board to the bailiff Franconi, the ambassador of the Order at Naples. Several of the French Knights, finding their convent thus annihilated, and the community dispersed, followed the fortunes of Bonaparte, and took service in the armies of the French republic, when they mostly perished on the burning sands of Egypt, or before the walls of St. John d'Acre, where the spirited conduct of Sir Sidney Smith might have taught them a lesson on the powers of resistance gained by a firm determination, and the iron will of a brave man; his defence of that place most certainly was a tacit reproach on the cowardice and treachery which had surrendered so powerful a fortress as Malta with scarce a blow in three days.

A general dispersion of the Order now took place. Hompesch, who for a short time resided at Trieste, where he published a lengthy justification of his conduct, which had but little effect in removing the stain his previous weakness and pusillanimity had cast on his reputation, was at length induced to resign his office, and to retire entirely into private life. He proceeded to Montpellier, where he resided in the strictest seclusion, alike shunning and being shunned by society at large. He died on the 12th of May 1805, of asthma, a complaint from which he had of late years been a great sufferer. A few months before his death he enrolled himself a member of the fraternity of Blue Penitents of Montpellier, and he was buried in the chapel of their order. He died in such extreme poverty that the physicians who attended him in his last moments received no remuneration for their labours, and no funds of his own were forthcoming to provide for the necessary expenses of his funeral.

The great body of the Knighthood of St. John, who on their expulsion from Malta were cast homeless and destitute on the world, proceeded at once to Russia, whose emperor still retained the title of protector of the Order, and was the only monarch who of late years had shown any sympathy with the fraternity. Here they were received in the most gracious manner, and with the most flattering cordiality, by the wily monarch, whose ambition prompted him to desire the post of Grand-Master, in order that he might upon that title found a claim to the island of Malta, should it become wrested from the grasp of the French republic.

This desire on his part speedily became known to the Knights assembled at St. Petersburg; and although at

that time Hompesch, not having as yet sent in his resignation, was still the indubitable and legitimate chief of the Hospital, they assembled together in conclave on the 27th of October, and elected the emperor their Grand-Master.\* Not only was this nomination illegal, from the absence of any resignation on the part of Hompesch, but also from the fact that none of the elements necessary for a valid election were present. The deed of proclamation itself specifies that the members taking part in the act were only the bailiffs, grand-crosses, commanders, and Knights of the Russian priory, together with such of the fugitives from Malta as had taken shelter in St. Petersburg. Invalid and even farcical as was this election, Paul graciously accepted the proffered dignity on the 13th of November †, and on the 10th of December he was publicly invested with the insignia of his new office.

Paul, however, did not consider his appointment free from cavil, so long as the election of Hompesch remained unannulled. He therefore caused such a pressure to be brought to bear on that unfortunate Knight, who was residing at Trieste, that on the 6th of July 1799, a formal act of abdication was forwarded to St. Petersburg, and Paul was from thenceforth left to enjoy his barren dignity undisturbed. His first step was to create a new Russian priory, for such of his subjects as were members of the Greek Church, in addition to that which already existed within his kingdom for the members of the Church of Rome. The new priory consisted of ninety-eight commanderies,

\* Vide Appendix No. 20.

† Vide Appendix No. 20.

and its revenues amounted to 216,000 roubles, payable out of the public treasury. Paul then announced to all the courts of Europe the measures he had taken with regard to the Order, and invited candidates from all nations to enrol themselves once more beneath the white cross banner.

He also sent instructions to Prince Volkouski, commanding the Russian forces in the Ionian Islands, to join in the expedition which was then blockading the French in Malta. The English, however, who saw clearly through his designs in the matter, and who were determined that if Malta was to pass into other hands they themselves should be its new masters, rejected the proffered aid, and so offended Paul, that he was brought to yield to the blandishments of the first consul, and became the ally of Bonaparte against the English.

At his death in 1801, his successor Alexander nominated Field-Marshal Count Soltikoff, as lieutenant of the Mastery, and directed that he should convene a meeting of the council of the Order at St. Petersburg, to deliberate upon their future action.\* This assembly, which called itself the sovereign council of the Order, met at St. Petersburg on the 22nd of June 1801, and proposed a substitute for the original mode of election to the Grand-Mastery, such as the altered condition in which they were placed rendered the only feasible method. Local chapters-general were to be convened in every grand-priory, and lists were to be by them prepared of such Knights as were eligible for the vacant office; the actual nomination from amongst the names

\* Vide Appendix No. 21.

thus put forward, being left with the Pope.\* In accordance with this arrangement the Pope selected the bailiff De Ruspoli, a member of the Italian language, and formerly the general of the galleys. That Knight, however, declined the empty and barren dignity thus proffered to him, and the Pope afterwards named John de Tommasi in his place.

One of the first acts of the new chief was to assemble a conclave of the Order in the priory church of Messina, on the 27th of June 1802, where he formally promulgated his appointment as Grand-Master. Nothing, however, of any importance to the interests of the fraternity was proposed at this meeting; nor indeed, in the then unfortunate state of affairs, were they capable of much amelioration. Tommasi resided until his death, at Catania, in Sicily, and when that event took place, in June 1805, the Pope, who declined any longer to take upon himself the responsibility of nominating a Grand-Master, in violation of the statutes of the Order, contented himself with naming the bailiff Guevara Luardo as lieutenant. He was in his turn followed, in 1814, by the bailiff André di Giovanni Centellès, and in 1821, by the bailiff of Armenia, Antoine Busca. During his rule a project was set on foot for the establishment of the fraternity in Greece, with a view to their ultimate recovery of the island of Rhodes, and a loan for this purpose of 400,000*l.* was set on foot, but as a financial speculation it failed utterly. Busca changed the residence of the fraternity to Ferrara, by permission of Leo XII., dated the 12th of May 1827, and he died in that city.

\* Vide Appendix No. 22.

He was followed successively by De Candida and Count Colloredo, who at the present moment is invested with the dignity. In the year 1814 a general chapter of the French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages was held in Paris, where a capitular commission was elected to act as an executive council for the institution. Prince Camille de Rohan, grand-prior of Aquitaine, presided over the chapter, and the commission thus formed has been ruled over by the grand-treasurer, the Bailiff de Clugny, and by the president of the original chapter, prince Camille de Rohan.

It has already been shown how, in 1834, the dormant language of England was once more revived and again established, although without connection with the foreign branches of the fraternity. It may be here mentioned that Sir Joshua Meredyth, Bart., was the last English Knight who was admitted into the Order of St. John by a Grand-Master in person, he having received the accolade at the hands of Hompesch in the commencement of 1798. The history of Malta, subsequent to its abandonment by the Knights, forms no part of a narrative in which that Order only is concerned; still, as the residence of the fraternity during so many eventful years, and as the scene of their most glorious and brilliant achievements, it cannot be passed over in entire silence, although it may be dismissed in a few words.

The French, upon obtaining possession of the island, established a provisional government under the presidency of the recreant Knight Ransijat; but his powers were completely circumscribed, if not actually nullified, by those of a commissary appointed by the directory to watch over the government of the island. Under

his superintendence the Maltese were not long in discovering that they had passed under a yoke widely different from that of the Order of St. John. If, under their former lords they had been suffered but a slight exercise of liberty, their interests and advantage had nevertheless been invariably consulted; now, however, not only were they deprived of every vestige of liberty, but at the same time the most wanton aggressions were made upon their property.

Numerous causes have been alleged for the insurrection which, ere long, broke out, and probably they all bore their share in producing that result. The immediate cause of the revolt, however, was one which the smallest foresight and the most ordinary prudence on the part of the French government would have prevented. They closed several of the wealthiest and most richly-decorated of the churches, and sold their adornments for the benefit of the public treasury. To a people as religious and superstitious as the native population of Malta, this act assumed the worst character of sacrilege; and when at length a public sale was announced of the tapestry and other articles of decoration belonging to a church in the *Città Notabile*, a riot broke out in that place, which prevented the sale from being carried out. Before General Vaubois, who commanded the French forces in Malta, could send reinforcements, this riot, insignificant in its commencement, had grown into the dimensions of a regular insurrection. The commandant of *Città Notabile*, together with a considerable number of his garrison, were murdered, and the French municipal officers in other villages shared the same fate.

The general discontent which had gradually grown

up in all directions caused a rapid spread of this sedition, and ere long the French garrison were closely blockaded within the fortifications by the infuriated Maltese, who had determined upon starving out the interlopers under whose thralldom they had suffered so many wrongs and indignities. Shortly after this blockade had been commenced by the natives, a fleet of Portuguese men-of-war appeared off the port, which were soon after followed by the victorious British fleet under Nelson, then just returned from their glorious triumph over the French in Aboukir Bay.

The tale of the two years' blockade which ensued is a narrative full of interest, marking, as it does, the heroism and endurance almost incredible of the defenders, and the dogged obstinacy and invincible determination of the besiegers. Human endurance has, however, its limits, and the gallant Vaubois was at length compelled to surrender with his whole garrison to the British fleet, and Malta fell into the power of that government\*, who, however, only held it in trust until its ultimate destination should be decreed in an European congress.

The treaty of Amiens contemplated the restoration of the Order of St. John, under a new and more restricted footing†, but ere the provision of that short-lived treaty could be carried into effect, which, indeed, the British governor, who was far-sighted enough to anticipate the early rupture of the peace, was in no hurry to accomplish, war again broke out, and the English retained the hold which they had gained upon this, the most powerful fortress in the Mediterranean.

\* Vide Appendix No. 23.

† Vide Appendix No. 24.



The 7th article of the treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th of May 1814, determined the ultimate destiny of Malta in the following terms :—

“The island of Malta with its dependencies will appertain in full authority and sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty.”

Under that rule the island still remains, and at this moment the “meteor flag” of England is waving over those ramparts, so long and so ably defended by the Knights of St. John. England, however, does not found her claim to this island stronghold entirely on the power of her might. True she possesses ample means of retaining that which was thus solemnly transferred to her dominions by a general European congress, against all and every one who may gainsay her right ; and should occasion ever again offer itself, she will be found to possess sons able and willing to rival the fame even of the heroes who fought under La Valette ; and to hold, till their last gasp, those ramparts which have already been watered with the heart’s blood of the noblest amongst the Knights of St. John.

But she prefers to found her claims rather upon the love and attachment of the Maltese themselves. She has no fear of recalling to their memory the days when they were under the sway of the Hospital. She needs not to follow the example of the French, who, on principle, no sooner obtained possession of the island, than they commenced to destroy every monumental record of the rulers who had preceded them. Even to this day, much as has been done to repair the injury, the eye is shocked by the numerous mutilations, apparently wanton and barbarous, which the public monuments of the island underwent during the two years that the

French remained its masters. Those mutilations were, however, by no means the unpremeditated act of a licensed soldiery. They were part of a deep-laid design of the French government to estrange the Maltese from the memory of the Order of St. John.

England, however, has no need of any such measures. Secure in the love of her subjects, she can dare to call to their memory the deeds of the heroes of old. She can venture to restore to their pristine beauty the various records of the Grand-Masters who have successively held sway within the island; and the Maltese who now enters the city of Valetta, passes beneath a gate, only lately erected, on which stand, as the legitimate guardians of the city, the statues of L'Isle Adam, the first founder of the Order in Malta, and of La Valette, the builder of the city which yet bears his name, and the hero of that glorious struggle which is so inseparably connected with the island of Malta.

The hold which England maintains over this insular fortalice is well expressed in the inscription placed over the portico of the main guard-house in the centre of the city:—

MAGNÆ ET INVICTÆ BRITANNICÆ MELITENSIVM AMOR  
ET EUROPÆ VOX HAS INSULAS CONFIRMAT. A.D. 1814.\*

\* The love of the Maltese and the voice of Europe have confirmed these islands to the possession of Great and Invincible Britain.

## APPENDIX.

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### No. 16.

DEED OF AUTHORISATION TO THE PROCURATORS OF L'ISLE ADAM, INCLUDING THE ACT OF DONATION OF THE ISLAND OF MALTA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES TO THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN BY CHARLES V. (Translated from the original Latin.)

THE brother Philip de Villiers L'Isle d'Adam, humble Master of the Sacred House of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, guardian of the poor in Jesus Christ, and of our conventual home, to our venerable brethren in Christ most dear to us, brother Hugh de Copons, draper of our convent, and commander of our galleys, and to John Boniface, bailiff of our bailiwick of Manosca, and receiver-general of our Order: health in the Lord and diligence in action. Since his most catholic majesty has, of his munificence, granted the privilege to our Order, whose tenor is as follows, namely:—

We, Charles V., by the clemency of the divine favour always Augustus, emperor of the Romans; Joanna, his mother, and the same Charles being, by the grace of God, monarchs of Castile, Aragon, of both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Léon, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valentia, Gallicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Algarve, Algeria, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands; also of the islands and continent of India, of the Oceans; Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy and Brabant; Counts of Barcelona, Flanders, and Tyrol; Lords of Biscay and Molina; Dukes of Athens and Neopatria; Counts

of Rousillon and Catalonia; Marquis of La Mancha and Ghent.

Whereas, for the restoration and establishment of the convent, Order, and religion of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem; and in order that the very reverend, and venerable, and well beloved, the Grand-Master, the priors, bailiffs, preceptors, and Knights of the said Order; who, being expelled from the island of Rhodes by the Turks (who, after a most protracted and violent siege, have occupied that island), have already wandered for several years, should obtain at length a fixed residence, and there should once more return to those duties for the benefit of the Christian community which appertain to their religion; and should diligently exert their strength and their arms against the perfidious enemies of the Christian religion; moved by devotion, and actuated by the same spirit which has allied us to the Order, we have determined upon granting a fixed home to the above-mentioned Grand-Master and Order, that they should no longer be compelled to wander about the world; by the tenor of this our present charter, firmly valid to all future times; through our fixed knowledge, and regal authority, and deliberation; and with special design for ourselves, our heirs and successors on the throne; we grant, and of our liberality we bountifully bestow upon the aforesaid very reverend the Grand-Master of the religion and Order of St. John of Jerusalem, in feudal perpetuity, noble, free, and uncontrolled, our cities, castles, places, and islands of Tripoli, Malta, and Gozo, with all their cities, castles, places, and insular territories; with pure and mixed jurisdiction, right, and property of useful government; with power of life and death over male and female residing within their limits, and with the laws, constitutions, and rights now existing amongst the inhabitants; together with all other laws and rights, exemptions, privileges, revenues, and other immunities whatsoever; so that they may hereafter hold them in feudal tenure from us, as kings of both Sicilies, and from our successors in the same kingdom, reigning at the time, under the sole acknowledgment of a hawk or falcon; which, every year, on the festival of All Saints, shall be presented by the person or persons duly authorised for that purpose, into the hands of the viceroy

or president, who may at that time be administering the government, in sign and recognition of feudal tenure; and, having made that acknowledgement, they shall remain exempt and free from all other service claimable by law, and customary to be performed by vassals. The investiture of which feudal tenure, however, shall be renewed in every case of a new succession, and completed according to the dispositions of the common law, and the Grand-Master for the time being, for himself and the above-mentioned Order generally in this recognition and investiture, shall be bound to give a pledge, that from the said cities, castles, or places, he will not permit loss, or prejudice, or injury, to be perpetrated against us, or our kingdoms and lordships above-mentioned, or those of our successors in the said kingdoms, either by sea or by land, nor will offer assistance or favour to those inflicting such injuries, or desirous of inflicting them; but rather shall strive to avert the same with all their power. And if any one arraigned of a capital crime, or accused of any similar offence, shall escape from the said kingdom of Sicily, and shall take refuge in these islands, and their feudatories, if they shall be required on the part of the viceroy, or of the governor, or the ministers of justice of the said kingdom for the time being, they shall be bound to expel such fugitive or fugitives, and to drive them far away from their island, with the exception of those who are accused of treason, or of heresy, whom they shall not eject, but, at the requisition of the viceroy or his lieutenant, they shall take them prisoners, and remit them in custody, to the viceroy or governor. Furthermore, in order that the nomination to the bishopric of Malta may remain as it is now, in our gift and presentation, and in that of our successors in the kingdom of Sicily; therefore, we decree, that after the death of our reverend and beloved councillor, Balthasar de Vualtkirk, our imperial vice-chancellor, lately nominated by us to that diocese, as also in the case of every subsequent vacancy occurring hereafter, the Grand-Master and the convent of the Order shall nominate to the viceroy of Sicily three persons of the Order, of whom one at least shall be and must be a subject of ours or of our successors in the kingdom, and who shall all be fit and proper persons for

the exercise of that pastoral dignity. Of which three persons thus nominated, we, and our successors in the kingdom, will present, and shall be bound to present the one whom we or they may judge to be the most worthy for the post. The Master shall be bound to grant the dignity of the grand-cross to whosoever may be nominated to the said bishopric, and shall give him admission into the council of the Order, together with the priors and bailiffs. Also, since the admiral of the Order is bound to be of the language and nation of Italy, and it is deemed advisable that, for him who is to exercise his authority, when absence or other impediments occur, if a suitable person can be found in the same language and nation, it shall be given to him; it is therefore reasonable, that under a similar parity of suitableness, that person should the rather be elected to exercise that office, who may be judged the most eligible from amongst that nation and language, who shall exercise his office and be deemed suspected of none. Furthermore, let statutes and firm decrees be made of everything contained in the three preceding articles, according to the style and manner used in the said Order, with the approbation and authority of our sacred lord and of the apostolic see; and let the Grand-Master of the Order who now is, or hereafter may be, be bound to swear solemnly to the faithful observation of the said statutes, and to preserve them in perpetuity inviolate. Furthermore, if the Order should succeed in reconquering the island of Rhodes, and for that reason, or from any other cause, shall depart from these islands and their local feudatories, and shall establish their home and convent elsewhere, it shall not be lawful for them to transfer the possession of these islands to any other person without the expressed sanction of their feudal lord; but if they shall presume so to alienate them without our sanction and license, they shall, in that case, revert to us and to our successors in full sovereignty. Further, whatever artillery or engines of war now exist within the castle and city of Tripoli, as shall be specified in a proper inventory, they may retain the same for three years for the protection of the town and citadel; the obligation, however, remaining valid to restore the said artillery and machines after the lapse of three years, unless at that time our grace may, owing to the necessities of the case,

see fit to prolong the time, in order that the town and citadel may have its defence more safely provided for. And further, whatever rewards or gratuities, temporary or permanent, may have been granted to certain persons in these territories, which have been given them, either on account of their merits, or from some other obligation, in whatever state they may now stand, they shall not be taken away from them without proper recompense, but shall remain in full force until the Grand-Master and convent shall see fit to provide them elsewhere with equal and similar property. And in the valuation of this recompense all difference of opinion which might arise, and all annoyance and expense of legal proceedings shall be obviated thus: when it shall seem fit to the Grand-Master and convent to grant to any one such recompense, two judges shall be nominated; one, in our name, by the viceroy of Sicily for the time being; the other by the Grand-Master and convent; who, summarily and precisely, shall define the concession of privileges to be transferred, with the arguments on both sides, without any other form or process of law; and if any recompense is to be given, they shall decree how much it should be by right. But if the two judges should, by chance, be of different and opposing opinions, by the consent of both parties let a third judge be named, and whilst the question is being adjudicated or inquired into, and the recompense fixed, the possessors shall remain in the enjoyment of their rights, and shall receive the produce of their privileges, until compensation shall have been made to them. Under which conditions, as contained and described above, and in no other manner, conceding to the aforesaid Grand-Master and convent, one and all of the said articles in feudal tenure, as have been described, as can best and most fully and most usefully be stated and written for their convenience and benefit, and good, sound, and favourable understanding; we offer and transfer the same to the rule of the Grand-Master, convent, and Order, in useful and firm dominion irrevocably; in full right, to have and to hold, to govern, to exercise in full jurisdiction, and to retain in peace and perpetuity. And on account of this concession, and otherwise, according as it can best be made available and held by law, we give, concede, and bestow to the

said Grand-Master, convent, and Order, all rights and all property, real and personal, of every description whatever, which appertain to us, and which can and ought to belong to us in those islands, which we grant to them by feudal tenure, under the said conditions as have been recited, and in other matters according to the circumstances of the case; which rights and privileges, in order that they may be perpetual and capable of being exercised and maintained, and that all and every right may be enjoyed and freely exercised by law, and whatever else we ourselves may perform in any manner, either now or hereafter, placing the said Grand-Master, convent, and Order in every respect in our place; we constitute them true lords, due and authorised agents and administrators in their own matters, no rights and no privileges, which we have conceded to them as above, beyond what we have already received, shall be retained or received by us or by our council. Committing, from this time forth, to the charge of the said Grand-Master, convent, and Order of St. John of Jerusalem, with the same authority as we have heretofore exercised, all and every one, male and female, who may now be dwelling, or hereafter about to dwell, in the said islands, cities, lands, places, and castles, or in their territories, under whatsoever laws or conditions they may have resided there, that they should receive and consider the said Grand-Master as their true and feudal lord, and the rightful possessor of the aforesaid territories, and shall perform and obey his behests, as good and faithful vassals should always obey their lord. They shall also make and offer fidelity and homage to the said Grand-Master and convent, with all the oaths usual in similar cases; we also ourselves, from the moment that they take those oaths and tender that homage, absolve and free them from all oaths and homage which they may have already made and taken to us, or to any of our predecessors, or to any other persons in our name, and by which they have been heretofore bound. Moreover, to the illustrious Philip, Prince of the Asturias, &c., our well beloved first-born son, and descendant, who, after our prosperous and lengthened reign, we nominate and appoint, under the support of our paternal benediction, to be, by the grace of God, our immediate heir and legitimate



successor, in all our kingdoms and dominions ; to all the most illustrious lords our beloved councillors, and to our faithful viceroy and captain-general in our kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to the chief-justice, or whosoever may be acting in his place, to the judges and magistrates of our courts, to the magistrates of the "portulano" and the "secreto," to the treasurer and conservator of our royal patrimonies, to the patrons of our exchequer, to the captains of our fortresses, to our prefects and guards, portulans, and portulanotes, secreta, and to all and every one else of the officials, and of subjects in our said kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and especially of the said islands, and of the city and castle of Tripoli, as well now as hereafter, by the same authority we order and direct, under pain of our indignation and anger, and under a penalty of ten thousand crowns, to be otherwise levied upon their property, and paid into our treasury, that they hold, and support, and observe, and shall cause to be inviolably held and observed by others, these our concessions and grants, one and all, as contained above ; also, our aforesaid viceroy himself, or by means of a commissioner or commissioners whom he may choose to nominate in our name for that purpose, shall cause to be handed over and transferred, in actual and tangible possession, as vacant and free, all, as is aforesaid, which we have conceded to the said Grand-Master and convent, to himself, or to a procurator named in his place, to whom in every way, in order that, on their side they complete and carry out the stipulation and agreement with the said Grand-Master and convent, we confer power, and commit our plenary authority ; and after possession shall have been duly handed over, they shall support the said Grand-Master and convent in that power, and shall protect them powerfully against every one, nor shall they cease to be paid rents, import or export duties, or any other taxes or rights, by either of the aforesaid, to whom we have granted this feudal tenure. We also, in order to give effect to this deed, in case it should be necessary, supply all defects, nullities, faults, or omissions, if any shall chance to be included, or shall arise, or be in any manner alleged, from which, in the plenitude of our royal authority, we grant a dispensation. For which purpose we have ordered the present deed to be

drawn out and furnished with our official seal for the affairs of Sicily attached to it. Given at Castellum Francum, on the 23rd day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord 1530; in that of our reign as Emperor the tenth year; as King of Castile, Granada, &c., the twenty-seventh; of Navarre the sixteenth; of Aragon, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, and elsewhere, the fifteenth; and of all our realms the fifteenth.\* In order that the aforesaid grant and all contained therein may remain intact, and may be preserved for ever, we have drawn out three deeds, which include the provisions of the said grant, in which deeds they appear, and stand more widely specified; given under our common leaden seal on the 25th day of April last past; which deeds for their more perpetual and firmer efficacy, have been approved and confirmed by the apostolic see, as also may be seen more at large in certain apostolical letters lawfully promulgated for that purpose in the usual manner, under dates of Rome, the 7th day of the kalends of May, in the year of our Lord 1530, and in the sixth year of the pontificate of our most holy lord, Clement. Hence it is that we, the Master, bailiffs, priors, preceptors, and brothers, holding in complete council the powers of a lawful chapter-general, desirous, according to the design of his before-mentioned imperial majesty, and the tenor of his grant, to have and to obtain possession of the said places, as specified in that grant, and to take the steps necessary and proper for that purpose, being confident in the probity of your good faith, with the most precise sedulity, care, and authority which we possess; after the most mature and deliberate council, of our certain knowledge, in the most sure way, mode, law, and form in which we could and should, best and most validly perform the same, do make, create, constitute, and solemnly ordain you, our venerable brothers, Hugo de Copons and John Boniface, here present, and undertaking this office, as procurators, agents, factors, and promoters of our business, and as general and special nuncios, in such a manner, that the generality thereof shall not derogate from the speciality, or the con-

\* The original act of donation ends here, and is signed in the handwriting of Charles V. in the following manner — Yo el Rey.

trary, for us and our Order, and the whole convent ; to promise and engage most efficaciously, with the requisite solemn oaths, in our name, and in that of our Order and convent, for us and for our successors, specially and expressly, according to the tenor of the said grant, to observe, keep, and for ever to preserve each and all of the conditions contained in the aforesaid grant, and especially to take the oaths at the hand of the most illustrious lord, Don Hector Pignatelli, Duke of Mount Léon, and most honourable viceroy of the kingdom of Sicily, and captain-general of the army, representing in these parts the person of his imperial and catholic majesty, the king of Sicily and its adjacent islands ; also to make a stipulation and agreement to restore all the artillery which shall have been consigned to us, and of which an account has been taken, in the citadel or fortress of the aforesaid Tripoli, as specified in the said grant, and after the same form ; and also to seek and obtain executive deeds, and commissioners deputed and authorised to hand over and yield, to acquire and obtain for us true and actual, civil and natural, peaceable and quiet possession of the said places, according to the form and tenor of the said imperial grant conceded to us and to our Order in perpetuity. We give and concede to you, our procurators, in and concerning the aforesaid matters, full and free powers, and our entire authority, by virtue of which you will be empowered to do and complete such things as we ourselves could do if we had been present, even though they should be such things as would require more special authority than is expressed in the above. We promise and agree to maintain in good faith, as ratified, acceptable, and fixed for all future time, whatever shall have been done, agreed to, decided, promised, sworn, and executed by you, our procurators, in one and all of the above-mentioned matters. Under the gage and security of our property, and that of our Order, now and in times to come, wherever it may exist, we desire one and all of the brothers of our house, whatever dignity, authority, or office they may be in the enjoyment of, now or in times to come, that they shall never presume to contravene or oppose these our letters of authority to our procurators and envoys, but shall study to preserve the same inviolate. In witness of which

our common leaden seal is attached to the above. Given at Syracuse, on the 24th day of the month of May 1530.

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## No. 17.

THE following entry was made in the records of the Council of the Order on the 22nd of March, 1566.

Die XXII. mensis Martii MDLXVI.

Fr. Joannes de Valletta, Sacræ Domus Hosp. Hier. M. Magister, periculorum anno superiore a suis militibus populoque Meliteo in obsidione Turcica perpressorum memor, de condenda urbe nova eaque mœniis arcibus et propugnaculis munienda inito cum proceribus consilio die Jovis, XXVIII. Martii, MDLXVI., Deum Omnipotentem Deiparamque Virginem numenque tutelare D. Jo. Baptistam Divosque cæteros multa precatus ut faustum fœlixque religioni Christianæ fieret, ac Ordini suo quod inceptabat bene cederet, prima urbis fundamenta in monte ab incolis Xeberas vocato jecit, eamque de suo nomine Vallettam, dato pro insignibus in parma miniata aurato leone, appellari voluit.

Reverendus Dominus Magnus Magister Frater JOANNES DE VALLETTA.

Admodum Reverendus Dominus Episcopus Melitensis Frater DOMINICUS CUBELLES.

Reverendus Prior Ecclesiæ Dominus Frater ANTONIUS CRESSINUS.

Reverendus Maresciallus Dominus Frater GULIELMUS COPPIER.

Reverendus Hospitalarius Dominus Frater JACOBUS DERQUEMBOURC.

Reverendus Magnus Conservator Dominus Frater PETRUS DE JUNYENT.

Reverendus Admiralius Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS BROGLIA.

Reverendus Prior Sancti Ægidii Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS DU PONT.

Reverendus Prior Alvernæ Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS DE  
LASTIC.

Reverendus Prior Campaniæ Dominus Frater JOANNES  
AUDEBERT dit LAUBUGE.

Reverendus Baiulivus Caspis Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS DE  
LALZEDO.

Locumtenens Reverendi Magni Commendatorii Frater JOANNES  
DE MONTAGU.

Locumtenens Reverendi Turcopolerii Dominus Frater  
OLIVERIUS STARCHI.

Locumtenens Reverendi Magni Baiulivii Alemanie Dominus  
Frater CONRARD SCOUALBACH.

Locumtenens Reverendi Cancellarii Dominus Frater DON  
FERDINANDUS D'ALASCON.

Locumtenens Reverendi Thesaurarii Dominus Frater CAROLUS  
DE LA RAMA.

The next entry is not dated, but was probably made on the  
day of inauguration. It runs as follows:—

Inchoatio Civitatis ad Montem Sancti Elmi. Die XXVIII.  
Mensis Martii MDLXVI. fuit incepta et inchoata Civitas ad  
Montem Sancti Elmi, cuiquidem civitati Vallettæ nomen impo-  
situm fuit. Faxit Deus illud faustum et felix.

## No. 18.

DEED OF KING PHILIP AND QUEEN MARY OF ENGLAND,  
RESTORING THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN IN ENGLAND:  
DATED 2ND APRIL, 1557. (Translated from the original  
Latin.)

THE king and queen to all whom &c. &c., greeting: Since  
with the most undoubted right we claim to be the defenders of  
our sacred faith, and since that post forms part of the names,  
style, title, and honours of our regal dignity, which we have

always hitherto used by divine favour, we consider that at this present time especially we shall be performing that which will be most pleasing to God, and to the whole world, if we could attempt any work by which the world should recognise us as really the defenders of that sacred faith, the name, style, and title of which we claim by the favour of God, by so directing our thoughts that we should perform somewhat for the divine glory, which should mark conspicuously, by that very act and deed, that we do truly defend and fight for the faith. For that purpose, recollecting and calling to mind the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, which was lately suppressed in England, and its revenues diverted into the hands and possession of king Henry VIII., the beloved father of our aforesaid queen, and which, after the death of the said Henry VIII., father of our queen, have in a similar manner come, by the hereditary rights of our said queen, into our hands. Furthermore, having most easily and clearly recognised and perceived the fact that before the above mentioned Hospital was dissolved, the great part of its possessions and revenues were wont to be employed, devoted to, and expended on, the defence of Christianity, and for warring against the Turks and Infidels, and others who openly annoyed the Catholic faith of Christ, and our mother the Holy Church, by the Prior and military brethren of the said Hospital; which Prior and military brethren not only have renounced this world with all its vanities, but have also been wont, when time and occasion called for it, with their utmost strength and aid, to expend wealth, blood, and life itself, in fighting against the Turks and Infidels all over the world. Therefore, we are most earnestly desirous, having carefully considered the measure, with the fervent piety which we owe towards the defence and extension of the Catholic faith, to renew, restore, create, institute, and establish the sacred Order and religion of the English brothers of St. John of Jerusalem, in this our kingdom of England, with their accustomed titles, style, and dignities; and also to adorn and decorate the said religion, or Order, with all the old manors, lands, tenements, possessions, hereditaments, privileges, and prerogatives which formerly belonged to the said Hospital, and

which have come to, and now remain in, our hands, for the support of the dignity of the said Order.

Having also communicated our desire to the reverend father in Christ, Reginald, by the grace of God, Cardinal Pole, a presbyter of the sacred Roman Church, under the title of St. Mary Cosmed, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Legate of our sacred lord the Pope, and of the apostolic see, to us the above-mentioned king and queen, and to our whole kingdom of England and Ireland, and the countries adjacent thereto, we have asked the aforesaid most reverend father, and have most earnestly desired of him, that by the apostolic authority which is vested in the said most reverend father, he should be pleased to decree the restoration and establishment of the said Hospital to its pristine condition.

The which most reverend father, as the duty of the legation which he exercises requires at his hands, acceding to these pious and just wishes of ours, by the authority conceded to him in the legation which he exercises, has restored, replaced, and reformed the said Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England to its former condition, and has also erected and instituted the Priory and Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, under the same title of St. John of Clerkenwell, which it possessed before the said dissolution; and has ordained and appointed our well-beloved Thomas Tresham, Knight, as Prior of the said Hospital; and our well-beloved Richard Shelley, Turcopolier of the Turcopoliership, as commander or preceptor of Sliebeck and Helston; and also as commanders or preceptors, the fathers Felices de la Nucci, bailiff of the bailiwick of Aquila; Cuthbert Laithen, of Newland; Edward Browne, of Temple Bruer; Thomas Thornell, of Willoughton; Henry Gerard, of Ively and Barowe; George Aylmer, of South Baddesleye; Jacob Shelley, of Temp le Combe; and Oliver Starkey, of Quenyngton.

Know, therefore, that we, the aforesaid king and queen, not only approve of the above erection and institution of the said Order, made and decreed by the above-mentioned reverend father, but also earnestly desire that the same may be considered as efficacious and valid in our law, to all intents and

purposes, on account of the special and sincere affection which we bear to that Order and religion.

And further, by our special grace and certain knowledge and decree, we ordain and grant by these presents, for ourselves and the heirs and successors of our aforesaid queen, to the said Prior, bailiffs, and commanders of the above-mentioned Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England; that the said Prior, bailiffs, and commanders, and whatever other Prior, bailiffs, or commanders of the Order, may for the time being exist, shall form a body corporate, in word and deed, under the title of the Prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, to be so named and called of others in perpetuity; and that they shall have a perpetual succession; and we make, create, and erect the said Prior and brethren into a body corporate, in deed and name; and we make, ordain, and receive them as a body corporate; and that they shall have a perpetual succession by these presents. And that the said Prior and his successors shall be enabled to prosecute, to make complaints, and to satisfy, or to put in a defence, or to answer complaints against non-contents, in all courts of law within our realm, and in those of the heirs and successors of our said queen, or elsewhere; in and upon all and every cause, action, deed, brief, demand, or dispute, real, personal, or mixed, as well in spiritual matters as in temporal, and in all other things, causes, and matters whatsoever. And that the said Prior and brethren may, under the title of the Prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, take, receive, enjoy, acquire, give, alienate, bequeath, devise, and execute, after the same manner and form in which other incorporated bodies, and other corporations within our realm of England, are permitted to take, receive, acquire, give, alienate, bequeath, devise, and execute all lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rectories, pensions, portions, and all other hereditaments, possessions, and emoluments, as well spiritual as temporal, and all other things whatsoever, which we, by our letters patent, the heirs and successors of our queen, or any other person, or persons whatsoever, may give and concede, according to our laws, and those of the heirs and successors of our said queen;



and that the said Prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and their successors, shall have a common seal, which they shall append to all charts, testimonies, and other writings and deeds of their execution, touching and concerning themselves, or the above-mentioned Hospital. And further, of our yet fuller grace we have given and conceded, and by these presents do, for ourselves and for the heirs and successors of our above-mentioned queen, give and concede to the said Prior and brethren, all that chapter-house and site formerly belonging to the said Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, situated and lying in Clerkenwell, in our county of Middlesex; and all that our house and gateway, called the gatehouse of the same Hospital, together with all that our church, and all the houses, buildings, structures, cellars, terraces, rooms, halls, kitchens, barns, stables, dovecotes, orchards, gardens, lakes, fish-ponds, and all our land and soil and hereditaments whatsoever within the enclosure, limits, precincts, and circuit of the same chapter-house and site, and all that our wood and plantation called Great St. John's Wood, lying near and adjacent to the park of Maribone, in our county of Middlesex; and all other lands, tenements, gardens, streams, and watercourses, commons, hereditaments, and enclosures whatsoever, appertaining to us, beyond and attached to the aforesaid site, which were formerly in the rightful tenure and occupation of the Prior and brethren of the said Hospital at the time of its dissolution; also all utensils, hangings, and furniture whatsoever, within the aforesaid chapter-house and site; and all the lead, iron, and glass in and upon the aforesaid church; and of, in, and upon, the said gatehouse; and on the other houses and buildings within the precincts of the said site and chapter-house.

We have also given, and for the aforesaid reasons do give by these presents, for ourselves, and the heirs and successors of our said queen, to the above-mentioned Prior and brethren, all those lordships and manors of Purfleet, Wytham, Temple Rhodon, and Chingeforde, with their rights, members, and belongings, in our county of Essex, &c. &c. &c. [Here follow a long enumeration of the possessions formerly in the possession of the Order and now retransferred to them.]

## No. 19.

EXTRACTS FROM A MANUSCRIPT HISTORY OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF MALTA, DATED IN 1717; TO WHICH ARE ANNEXED SUNDRY REPORTS ON THE SAME SUBJECT FROM THE LEADING ENGINEERS OF THE DAY. (This document, which is now in the possession of the Royal Engineer Department at that station, is written in French, and bears the following title:— Historical Memoir and general Dissertation on the Fortifications of Malta; showing what remains to be done in order to place them in a state of defence: together with several Letters and Certificates from the Ministers and General Officers of the Armies of France, which bear upon the subject.)

THE manuscript commences with a brief recapitulation of the loss of Rhodes, and the subsequent arrival of the Order in Malta. It then proceeds thus:—

One of the first cares of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam was to look after the fortifications, and to place himself under cover from any irruption by pirates. For this purpose he deepened the ditches at the head of the bourg, added some flanks to its enceinte, and made several additions to the castle of St. Angelo.

The grand-prior of Toulouse, Lieutenant, in the absence of the Grand-Master, Peter Dupont, continued these works three years later, adding the bastion which flanks the castle of St. Angelo. In 1541, the Grand-Master John Od'medes, called to his assistance Caramolin, chief engineer to the emperor, in order to consult him as to the fortifications of the island. This officer did not consider the bourg or the castle of St. Angelo capable of a lengthened defence; but proposed to fortify Mount Sceberras; the great expense, however, and the fear that this new fort should not be completed in time, caused the Grand-Master to content himself with deepening the ditches of the bourg, and building the cavalier in the castle of St. Angelo, which he intended to raise sufficiently high to dominate over the Marsa Musceit. But some years afterwards, the grand-

prior of Capua, having represented very strongly in full council the weak state of the fortifications, and the impossibility of defending them if the Turk should arrive with a superior force, his arguments bore so great weight in that assembly, that it was promptly decreed to commence fresh works in the bourg, to occupy Mount St. Julian (since called fort St. Michael, and now the island of Senglea); and to construct a fort upon Mount Sceberras, for which purpose three commissioners were appointed, each (with the assistance of other Knights) to superintend the construction of one of these works, which were traced by the Spanish engineer Don Pedro Pardo. Every assistance was rendered by the convent. The bailiffs and grand-crosses contributed part of their plate and their gold chains; deputies were sent into the different countries of Europe to stimulate the absent; the galleys were detained in harbour that their crews might be made available; and, in short, so great diligence was used, that in the month of May in the following year (*viz.* 1553) the works were so advanced that guns were mounted on both the forts of St. Michael and St. Elmo; the new bastions at the head of the bourg, together with the ditches right across, were also completed.

In 1554, the Grand-Master La Sangle fortified Mount St. Michael on the side of the Corradin hill, enclosing it with a bastioned enceinte; and built those houses which constituted the new town, and were called Senglea, whilst the bourg was called from that time the old town.

The Grand-Master John de la Valette, who was elected on the 22nd of August 1557, desired much to fortify Mount Sceberras; and for that purpose called in Anthony Quinsan de Montalin, an engineer of high reputation, with whom he minutely inspected the locality; but this project fell to the ground, and the Order was compelled to postpone so extensive a work. However, upon hearing of a large armament which was then preparing at Constantinople, he hastened to complete the front of the island of Senglea, and to attach a chain which closed the entrance to that port. Terrepleins were added to the ramparts, and a platform was constructed at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. These works were carried on with such

extreme diligence, that in four months they were in a defensible condition. The Grand-Master himself, with the grand-crosses, and other Knights who followed their example, laboured in person, and carried earth in baskets for the work. At the suggestion of the viceroy of Sicily, a ravelin was added to fort St Elmo, on the side of the Marσα Musceit, to cover the counter-scarp.

[A brief description of the siege of Malta here ensues.]

On the 18th of March 1566, the Grand-Master left the bourg, which since the siege had received the name of the Città Vittoriosa, and accompanied by the prelates, grand-crosses, and Knights, crossed over to Mount Sceberras, which was covered with tents and flags; and there, under one of the most magnificent, a solemn mass was sung; and, after various prayers and benedictions, the first stone of the new town was laid, in the bastion of St. John; and at the same time the Grand-Master presented a gold chain and his portrait to the engineer Laparet, who had been sent by the Pope to design the new town, which was subsequently, by a decree of the council, called the Città Valetta.

It was not without much dispute, and a great diversity of opinion, that this new town was constructed. The viceroy of Sicily, Don Garcia, arrived at Malta on the 3rd of April, accompanied by several engineers and officers of high rank, who found great fault with the design, and were of opinion that the trace of the city should be restricted to three bastions, under the idea that the project, as then designed, was too large, and beyond the powers of the Order to execute. But the Grand-Master, having explained that it was his intention to establish his head-quarters there, with that of his convent, and also a portion of the general population, they gave in to his arguments, and the work was carried on with such a number of labourers that at first a thousand crowns a day were expended, which was afterwards, however, reduced to the same amount weekly.

The work was carried on for several years with undiminished energy, the death of La Valette having caused no relaxation. His successor, the Grand-Master del Monte, who well knew

the utility of the project, urged it forward with equal zeal; and eventually the fortifications became so advanced, that at the end of 1570 the engineer Laparet took leave of the Grand-Master, after having given full instructions to Jerome Cassan, the engineer of the Order, as to the work yet left to be completed. On the 17th of March in 1571, the Grand-Master transferred the convent from the Bourg, where it had always hitherto been established, to the new city, where each one found such accommodation as he could contrive to provide for himself.

The following years were employed in completing the fortifications of Valetta, building the church of St. John, the auberges, the Grand-Master's palace, and other houses. Nothing new was designed until about the year 1635, when, upon the report of a new armament on the part of the Turks, the Grand-Master Lascaris called in Colonel Floriani to inspect the fortifications, and to add what he might judge necessary to place them in a better state of defence. This engineer, on the 17th of October of that same year, presented to the Grand-Master and council a plan of a suburb, accompanied with his arguments in favour of the project, asserting that the city of Valetta was not capable of a lengthened resistance, and that, although he had constructed and defended many fortresses, he had not sufficient talent to turn a bad work, like that of Valetta, into a good one. As this opinion appeared novel, and at variance with that of all the convent, commissioners were appointed to examine into the question: who came to the decision that the proposed new line of works was too strongly defended in the centre, whilst the flanks, terminating in very acute angles, were too weak, and easy to be battered from the neighbouring heights.

Not content with this decision, the Grand-Master despatched the Chevalier de Verteua into all the courts of Italy, and more particularly to the head-quarters of the two armies of France and Spain, then at war in Piedmont, to consult their generals and engineers on the new project; who were all of the same opinion as the commissioners of the convent had been, as was reported to the Grand-Master by the Chevalier de Verteua in 1638.

Notwithstanding all these objections to the design of Colonel Floriani, it was carried into execution; and was already far advanced towards completion, when Father Fiorenzola, a monk of the order of St. Augustine, a man of the highest talents, and who afterwards became a cardinal, having been requested by the Grand-Master and council to visit the fortifications, and more especially to inspect the enceinte of the Floriana, and to give his opinion on it, made a report to the council on the 28th of September 1638. He praised and warmly approved of the front of the city of Valetta, of which, if they added three demilunes in front of the curtains, they would make an impregnable place; whilst on the contrary, the fortifications of Floriana, occupying as they did an extent of rocky ground which could never be made use of in constructing approaches, would, if captured themselves, serve for that purpose to an advancing enemy. The flanks were too feeble, whilst the centre was encumbered with a mass of works perfectly useless; and his opinion was, that although upwards of 80,000 crowns had already been expended on the works, it would still be more prudent to destroy them entirely, than to expend double that amount in completing them; whilst the proper spot to fortify, and the one the most important for the safety of the Order, was the height of St. Margaret's; which, whilst protecting both the Bourg and the Senglea, would also cover the harbour, and give admission to succours in time of a siege, without which it would not be possible for a boat to live in the harbour; in which case, Valetta being left to itself, could not long maintain itself. These arguments carried so great weight, that the project was commenced at once, and three bastions with two curtains were constructed. This work was resumed last year (1716).

On the 1st of April 1640, the Marquis of St. Ange arrived at Malta; and, after a careful examination of the fortifications, made a report to the Grand-Master and council, in which he stated, that although the trace of the fortification of Valetta was good, still, had it been constructed in the present age, when greater experience had been gained, it would doubtless have been much improved in design, so as to have been impregnable; that the principal thing now to be effected was to give facility

for the admission of supports in case of a siege. Afterwards, entering into detail, he urged that the four counterguards should be promptly completed, which had been commenced on the Valetta front, with their ditches and covert way; that it would have been far wiser had the trace of Colonel Floriani been kept closer to the main line, and that he thought it would be more advantageous to destroy that portion of the work which had been commenced, and to bring it 1350 yards nearer, giving it a new form, more suitable to the ground; that it was impossible to take too many precautions to provide for the admission of succours, and that for this purpose it was absolutely necessary to fortify the Bourg and Senglea, and to complete what had been commenced at St. Margaret's, in accordance with the design of Cardinal Fiorensole for covering the harbour. He further proposed to form a retrenchment to the post of Castile, in the Bourg; to add two demilunes to its front; to give to the head of the island a more convenient and regular figure; to repair and raise all the ramparts throughout the enceinte; and lastly, in order to protect the entry and exit of the harbour, he proposed to occupy the point of Corso with a small fort, of which he gave a trace, now called Ricasoli.

(Here follow reports made about the same time by Count Arpajon, Count de Payan, the Chevalier Palaviciny, and the Chevalier Tranquillo Vincenti d'Urbino.)

So many reports having been made at the same time upon these fortifications, and so great pains having been taken to collect such a mass of advice from the most talented engineers of the day, it would be supposed that the greatest possible exertions would have been made to carry out these various works; but all danger of an immediate invasion of the Turk having ceased, nothing more was done in connection with them until the year 1710. After the capture of Candia in 1669, the defence of which was an honour to Christianity, the Grand-Master, Nicholas Cottoner, dreading the vicinity of so powerful an enemy, formed the design of constructing that stupendous fortification which bears his name, in order to secure the harbours, to strengthen the head of the Bourg, and that of Senglea; and to provide a place of shelter for the inhabitants of the country,

in case of a descent; and even still more, perhaps, with the view of leaving behind him a monument of his grandeur and magnificence. He called in Count Valperga, a most talented engineer, at that time in the service of the Duke of Savoy, to consult him on the project of the new town he proposed to commence, and, at the same time, to finish the other works, more especially those of the Floriana, which were still very imperfect. This engineer, after having carefully examined the ground, and having perceived the importance of occupying the heights of St. Margaret, for the security of the harbour, presented to his eminence a design very similar to that of Cardinal Fiorensole, making use of what had been commenced, and merely adding some new bastions, to connect the head of Senglea with the Bourg.

But as this project did not sufficiently flatter the grandeur and magnificence of his eminence, the Count of Valperga prepared a second design, which, entirely enclosing all the heights of St. Margaret, should rest at its extremities upon the ditch of Senglea on the one side, and that of Vittoriosa on the other; composed of nine large bastions and two demi-bastions, forming together an enceinte of 5000 yards.

This last project, although very much to the taste of the Grand-Master, was not generally approved of in the convent, and was opposed on all sides, on account of its enormous expense; but eventually its construction was resolved upon, and the Grand-Master laid the first stone in the bastion of St. Nicholas, on the 28th of August 1670, with the same pomp and ceremony as had been used at the commencement of the city Valetta.

The Grand-Master Cottoner, gratified with the stupendous project he had inaugurated, wrote to the various monarchs of Europe a detail of the steps he was taking to protect himself from the vicinity of the Turk; and he sent to the king of France a plan of his new enceinte, which, if the reports in the convent are true, appeared to his majesty too grand, and above the powers of the Order either to construct or to place in a proper state of defence, or to protect in case of attack.

General Beretta, engineer of the States of Milan, was con-



sulted also on the subject ; and in his report, dated 4th December in the same year, he found several faults with the project. He considered, in the first place, that in such irregular ground as that of Malta it was impossible to find a site sufficiently even for so extended a work ; from which it would result that in endeavouring to follow this extreme regularity, another fault would be committed, as it would be impossible to make all the fronts equally strong ; and that the engineer would have achieved a better work by suiting his fortification to the ground than by striving to force nature into following his arbitrary lines. He also added, that the line of defence being too short, the number of the bastions had to be increased, as also the demilunes. He also disapproved of the ditches being parallel to the faces of the bastions, as they could not be seen throughout their extent by the opposite flanks ; or if they were constructed so as to be seen, they would become too large.

The Count of Verneda, chief engineer of the republic of Venice, gave his opinions in a long report dated 30th July 1671 ; in which, entering into a detail of what he had received, he observed that the space enclosed by the proposed lines was very small in comparison to their length, and that with the same nine bastions and two demi-bastions not only could the Grand Harbour, Senglea, and the Bourg be enclosed, but even Ricasoli might be taken in, including Mount Salvator and Renella, as he showed in a plan which accompanied his report, and of which a bad copy exists in the registers of the chancery. He considered that the cavaliers proposed in the centre of each bastion, parallel to its faces, would do more harm than good ; that, moreover, they would be destroyed by the same batteries that breached the bastions, and that they would prevent the construction of retrenchments. He also made some observations on the other projects of Count Valperga, disapproving highly of the horn-work proposed at Floriana, covered by a crown-work ; both being too small, and, consequently, incapable of defence.

He disapproved of the little fort proposed for the island in the Marsa Musceit ; which he objected to even more than that of Ricasoli. He suggested the addition of mines in all directions, proposing that where the depth of the ditches admitted of

it they should be on three levels. There were several other reports, more against than in favour of this stupendous undertaking; still it was prosecuted with every diligence, and a proportionate expenditure. During this interval, Count Valperga busied himself constantly in tracing out his fortification; and when he left he transferred the general superintendence of the work to the Chevalier Blondel, with a lengthy memoir, in which were included several repairs and additions which he proposed making to the existing fortifications, particularly in the post of Provence in Floriana; and a sketch of the horn and crown works which were afterwards executed. The work at the Cottonera was carried on for ten years consecutively, until it was raised throughout to the height of the cordon; by which time so considerable a sum had been expended that the treasury was exhausted, and the work was stopped, the death of the Grand-Master contributing much to that result.

The great energy with which the work was commenced was followed by an equally marked lull, and for thirty-five years not a stone was added to the ramparts, until last year (1716), when, in the execution of a new project, parapets were added to the bastions St. Peter and St. Paul, St. John and St. Clement, with their intermediate curtains. The Grand-Master Caraffa, desirous of signalling the first years of his rule, by finishing the fortifications of Floriana, which, although commenced so long since, were still very imperfect, and by also continuing the Cottonera lines, wrote to Colonel Don Carlos de Grunenbourg, engineer to the king of Spain, then in Sicily, to beg him to visit Malta, which he did, and presented a full and detailed report on the works, dated the 14th March 1681. He paid a second visit to Malta in February 1686, and then urged the Grand-Master to finish as rapidly as possible the city of Valetta and Floriana. The principal work which it appears he carried out at that time was the construction of four batteries beneath the castle of St. Angelo, which see and protect the entrance of the harbour; and he was so eager for the execution of this work, that he proposed to complete it at his own expense. The next year he gave a design for, and commenced the execution of, the fortifications around St. Elmo, as they are to be now seen; proposing, however, casemates in all the curtains, which were

not carried out, but which would have been very useful to the Order. The island in the Marsa Musceit appearing to him in dangerous proximity to Valetta, on account of the facility with which an enemy could obtain possession of it and erect batteries, he proposed to occupy it by a fort, with four bastions, the design for which is now in the chancery, but whose execution, like that of many other things, has been hitherto deferred. Matters were in this state when the undermentioned engineers arrived, who, praising and approving of what had already been done, have carried on the works to the state in which they now are, and have at the same time prepared plans and sections, accompanied by reports and other details for their completion and to place them in a state in which they will be as great an honour to the Order of Malta as a source of terror and dread to the enemies of Christianity.

Then follow the undermentioned documents :—

Letter from the Grand-Master Perellos to the ambassador at the French Court, dated 28th October, 1714.

Letter of Louis XIV., king of France, in answer to the above :—

My Cousin,— Although I make no doubt that the Seigneurs de Tigné and Gion de Mondion, engineers, who are proceeding to Malta for the service of your Order, will receive all due marks of your approbation, more particularly when you discover that they display as much capacity as zeal, I am nevertheless desirous, on this occasion, to recommend them again to your notice, and to inform you that, having always been well satisfied with their services, I considered, that in selecting them, in accordance with the requests made to me in your name, they were the persons best adapted for carrying out your views. You may also rest assured that, being equally desirous of giving to your Order every possible proof of my protection, as of marking the particular esteem which I entertain for yourself, I shall do the like, with pleasure, on all future occasions. Whereupon, my cousin, I pray God that he may have you in His sacred and holy keeping.

Given at Versailles, this 26th January, 1715.

(Signed)

LOUIS.  
COLBERT.

Letter of Mons. le Peletier de Souzy, Minister of French Fortifications, to the Grand-Master, on the same subject.

Instructions from the Venerable Congregation of War to Mons. de Tigné, upon the subject of the Fortifications of Malta.

Report of the Chevalier de Tigné on the above subject, dated 25th September 1715.

Report of the Congregation of War to the Grand-Master, on the same subject.

Letter of the Grand-Master to Mons. le Peletier de Souzy, concerning the return of Mons. de Tigné to France; and begging that the king will permit his early return to Malta: dated in September 1715.

Report of Philip de Vendôme, Grand-Prior of France, on the state of the Fortifications.

Letter of the Chevalier de Tigné, stating that the Duke of Orleans will not spare him to return to Malta; dated 1st April 1716.

Certificate of the COUNT VAUBAN upon the project of Mons. de Tigné:—

I, Count of Vauban, Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the King, Grand-Cross of the Military Order of St. Louis, Governor of the city and castle of Bethune, Engineer and Director-General of Fortifications, Lord, Baron, and Count of Busseul, Moulin sur l'Arcouse, Poisson, St. Geonin, La Lattie, and elsewhere: I have seen, with satisfaction, the plans, profiles, and reports which Mons. de Tigné, brigadier of the engineers of the king, has drawn up, concerning the fortifications of Malta; but at the same time that I admire the grandeur and the magnificence of the works, and the prodigious expenditure which has necessarily been made to bring them to the point in which they now are, I was not a little surprised to perceive the imperfect state in which they have been left, not being really in a state of actual defence at all.

The alterations and repairs which are proposed for the covert way of the Valetta front appear indispensable, as well as the communications from the town by the bottom of the ditches.

It was equally necessary to strengthen and place in a proper

state of defence the two flanks of Floriana, the power of which is by no means proportioned to that of the front. The proposed lunette and its covert way will give a great protection on the right side. The retrenchment proposed behind the Capuchin convent also appears very judicious, as well as the little lunette in the re-entering place of arms of the covert way on the left; to which we presume that all the perfection will be given which it ought to have, as to its size, the height of its parapets, the banquettes, places of arms, traverses, and other renewals, as marked on the plan, and that the glacis will be finished according to the lines which have been laid down.

The steps which this engineer has proposed for the fortifications of the Cottonera appear equally judicious; and nothing better can be done than to finish Fort St. Margaret, with the two communications to the right and left, to Senglea and the Bourg, as they are laid down on the plan and report which have been sent to me: and making use of the enceinte of the Cottonera, in the state in which it now is, with the proposed additions, as an excellent retrenchment, which will act as a first enceinte to Fort St. Margaret, and will render it a far superior work than the Cottonera by itself, even if it were completed, with all the development which a work of such importance would require; since the bastions of Valperga and St. Paul will always, owing to the height of their revetments, be exposed to the cannon of the enemy. The retrenchment in the bastion of Salvator is equally necessary, to cover the head of the Bourg, whose fate will always depend on that of this bastion, on account of the great command and advantage which its right flank has over the place.

What is proposed for the strengthening of Fort Tigné is excellent; and it appears to me that too much precaution cannot be taken to maintain this point, since on its preservation depends that of the harbour, and consequently of the place itself.

It will be also indispensable to occupy the heights of the Coradino and the Island of the Lazaretto (in the Marsa Musceit)—which take in reverse and enfilade most of the works of Valetta, Floriana, and the Cottonera—by placing on them forts suitable to the ground, the communication to which can be made through

the gorge, by means of the small boats of the harbour; for which purpose a little redoubt should be made, covered from the view of the enemy.

When these works shall have been completed, which do not appear to me to involve too considerable an expenditure, the Order of Malta will be able to boast of being possessed of one of the most magnificent fortresses in Europe, which, when defended by the valour of its Knights, ought to be impregnable to the utmost efforts of the Ottoman empire. In testimony of which I have signed this certificate, and affixed the seal of my arms.

Given at Paris, on the 15th of February 1716.

Certificate of Mons. de Valory, Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the King, Engineer and Director of the Fortifications of Flanders, on the same subject.

Certificate of Mons. Favart, Brigadier of the Armies of the King, Engineer and Director of the Fortifications of D'Aunis, Poitou, Blaye, Medoc, &c., on the same subject.

Letters from the Duke of Orleans, the Marquis D'Asfeld, and the bailiff of Mesmes, notifying the return of Chevalier de Tigné to Malta in June 1716.

Report on the then state of the fortifications of Malta, by the Chevalier de Tigné, dated 15th September 1716.

Estimate of works necessary to complete the fortifications. (In Maltese crowns, value about 2s. each.)

*Valetta.*

To render bomb-proof the magazines under the cavaliers at the Porta Reale . . . . .	2,000
To repair the parapets and make the necessary banquettes round the fortifications, particularly the Porta Reale front . . . . .	2,000
To renew the lower flanks of the bastions in this front . . . . .	500
Carried forward . . . . .	4,500

Brought forward .	4,500
To render practicable the communications of the place to the ditches, counterguards, &c. .	600
To make caponieres in the bottom of the ditches .	600
To make communications in the counterscarps to the counterguards . . . .	600
To repair the interior of the counterguards .	400
To make caponieres and traverses in their ditches .	600
To re-form the covert ways and construct places d'armes	3,000
To repair the glacis in the worst places .	3,000
<b>Total for Valetta . . .</b>	<b>13,300</b>

*Floriana.*

Making the necessary communications covered from the Coradino . . . .	1,000
Proposed retrenchment in the bastion of Provence .	10,000
To finish the parapet on the curtain of the Porte des Poires . . . .	500
To complete the centre bastion . . .	2,000
To form banquettes along the entire front .	300
To construct the proposed retrenchment behind the Capuchin convent . . . .	5,000
To construct bomb-proof magazines .	11,000
To make caponieres and traverses in the ditches .	1,000
To make the proposed gate, with lunette in front .	5,000
To finish the horn-work . . .	500
To finish the crown-work . . .	1,000

<b>Total for Floriana . . .</b>	<b>37,300</b>
Proposed fort on the Island of the Lazaretto .	25,000
Do. do. on the Point Dragut .	3,000

*Island of Senglea.*

Alterations to the right bastion exposed to the Coradino	1,000
To open the ditch in front of the entrance .	200
To construct a covert way along the front .	700
To make the proposed retrenchment .	5,000

<b>Total for Senglea . . .</b>	<b>6,900</b>
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*The Bourg.*

To form a covert way in front of the curtain	.	5,000
Repairs to several parapets	.	200
Continuation of the above covert way to the Cottonera	.	500
New bastion to the post of Castile	.	1,500
Repairs to the two advanced bastions at the same post	.	500
Repairs to the tenaille at foot of do.	.	200
Constructing a ditch and making a counterscarp	.	1,200
Repairing the bastions at the head of the Bourg	.	10,000
Constructing additional counterscarps	.	600
Constructing parapets as far as Salvator bastion	.	600
Forming a lower flank to St. Laurence's bastion	.	500
Constructing a retrenchment on the Salvator bastion	.	4,000
<hr/>		
Total for the Bourg	.	24,800

*Fort St. Margaret.*

Completing the glacis and covert way	.	10,000
Forming ramparts in the interior of the fort	.	6,000
Forming a communication to the Bourg	.	5,000
Forming a communication with Senglea	.	60,000
<hr/>		
Total for St. Margaret	.	81,000

*The Cottonera.*

Constructing parapets	.	6,000
Forming passages for troops at the foot of the ramparts	.	1,000
Forming three powder magazines, as retrenchments, in the gorges of the bastions	.	9,000
Constructing three other powder magazines in the bastions, as dépôts in time of peace	.	6,000
Constructing a tenaille	.	500
Forming counterscarps where the rock is low	.	10,000
To lower and level the ditches	.	15,000
<hr/>		
Total for Cottonera	.	47,500



*Fort Ricasoli.*

Re-forming the covert way with traverses and places d'armes . . . . .	1,000
Constructing a demi-counterguard on the left side . . . . .	2,000
Altering the sallyports . . . . .	200
Constructing two caponieres and six traverses . . . . .	400
Constructing a large traverse under the right bastion . . . . .	150
Repairing the parapets and banquettes . . . . .	200
Constructing a retrenchment in the gorge of the fort . . . . .	6,000
Constructing a circular battery to defend the entrance of the harbour . . . . .	1,000
<b>Total for Ricasoli . . . . .</b>	<b>10,950</b>

Grand total of the project, 249,750 crowns, or 24,975*L*.

## No. 20.

PROCLAMATION APPOINTING THE EMPEROR PAUL AS GRAND-MASTER OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.

WE, the Bailiffs, Grand-Crosses, Commanders, Knights of the Grand-Priory of Russia, and all other members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, present in this imperial city of St. Petersburg, reflecting on the disastrous situation of our Order; its total want of resources, the loss of its sovereignty and chief place of residence, the dispersion of its members, wandering through the world without a chief or any fixed spot of rendezvous, the increasing dangers by which it is threatened, and the plans formed by usurpers to invade its property and win it entirely; being desirous and in duty bound to employ all possible methods to prevent the destruction of an Order equally ancient and illustrious, which has ever been composed of the most select nobility, and which has rendered such important service to the Christian world; whose institutions were founded

on such excellent principles as must not only be the firmest support to all legitimate authority, but tend to its own preservation and future existence; animated by gratitude towards His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias for the favours bestowed on our Order, penetrated with veneration for his virtues, and confidently relying on his sacred word "that he will not only support us in our institutions, privileges, and honours, but that he will employ every possible means to re-establish our Order in its original independent situation, where it contributed to the advantage of Christendom in general, and of every different state in particular."

Knowing the impossibility in our present circumstances, the members of our Order being generally dispersed, of preserving all the forms and customs prescribed in our constitution and statutes; but being nevertheless desirous to secure the dignity and the power inherent to the sovereignty of our Order, by making a proper choice of a successor to D'Aubusson, L'Isle Adam, and La Valette:

We, the Bailiffs and Grand-Crosses, the Commanders and Knights of the Grand-Priory of Russia, and all other members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, assembled at St. Petersburg, the chief place of residence of our Order, not only in our own names, but in those of the other languages, grand-priories in general, and all their members in particular, who shall unite themselves to us by a firm adhesion to our principles, proclaim His Imperial Majesty the Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, Paul I., as Grand-Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

In virtue of this present proclamation, we promise, according to our laws and statutes, and that by a sacred and solemn engagement, obedience, submission, and fidelity to His Imperial Majesty, the Most Eminent Grand-Master.

Given at St. Petersburg, the residence of our Order, this present Wednesday, the 27th October 1798.

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Acceptation of the Emperor Paul of the post of Grand-Master, in answer to the above proclamation.

We, by the grace of God, Paul I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c.

In consideration of the wish expressed to us by the Bailiffs, Grand-Crosses, Commanders, Knights of the illustrious Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Grand-Priory of Russia, and other members assembled together in our capital, in the name of all the well-disposed part of their fraternity, we accept the title of Grand-Master of this Order, and renew, on this occasion, the solemn promises we have already made in quality of protector, not only to preserve all the institutions and privileges of this illustrious Order for ever unchanged, in regard to the free exercise of its religion, with everything relating to the Knights of the Roman Catholic faith, and the jurisdiction of the Order, the seat of which we have fixed in this our Imperial residence; but also we declare that we will unceasingly employ for the future all our care and attention for the augmentation of the Order, for its re-establishment in the independent position which is requisite for the salutary end of its institution, for assuring its solidity, and confirming its utility. We likewise declare, that in taking thus upon us the supreme government of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and considering it our duty to make use of every possible means to obtain the restoration of the property of which it has been so unjustly deprived, we do not pretend in any degree, as Emperor of all the Russias, to the smallest right or advantage which may strike at or prejudice any of the powers, our allies; on the contrary, we shall always have a peculiar satisfaction in contributing, at all times, everything in our power towards strengthening our alliance with the said powers.

Our grace and imperial favour towards the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in general, and each of its members in particular, shall ever remain invariably the same.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 13th of November, in the year 1798, in the third year of our reign.

(Signed)

PAUL.

(Countersigned)

PRINCE BESBORODKO.

к к 3

## No. 21.

**PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER, APPOINTING  
COUNT SOLTIKOFF LIEUTENANT OF THE GRAND-MASTER.**

WE, Alexander I., by the grace of God, &c. &c., being desirous of giving a proof of our particular esteem and affection towards the sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, declare that we take the said Order under our imperial protection, and that we will employ every possible care and attention to maintain it in all its rights, honours, privileges, and possessions.

For this purpose we command and ordain, that our General, Field-Marshal, Bailiff, Count de Soltikoff should continue to exercise the functions and authority of Lieutenant of the Grand-Master of the said Order, and convene a sitting of the sacred council to make known our intentions that the imperial residence should be still regarded as the chief seat of the sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, until such time as circumstances shall permit the election of a Grand-Master, according to the ancient forms and statutes.

In the interim, we ordain, in our quality of protector, that the sacred council shall have the government of the Order, and shall make known to all the languages and priories this our determination; inviting them, at the same time, for their own proper interest, to submit to the decrees issued by the said council.

We confirm, by this present declaration, our two grand Russian and Catholic priories, established in our empire, in the enjoyment of the property, privileges, and administration already bestowed on them; and it is our will and pleasure that they should be governed, in our name of protector, by the Lieutenant of the Mastership, our General, Field-Marshal, Bailiff Count Nicholas de Soltikoff.

The very first moment that, in concert with other courts, means can be found, and a proper place fixed upon, to convene a general chapter of the sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the first effects of our protection will be, to procure a

**Grand-Master to be elected, who shall be worthy to preside over the Order, and to re-establish it as formerly.**

**Given at our imperial residence of St. Petersburg, on the 16th of March 1801, in the first year of our reign.**

**(Signed) ALEXANDER.**

**(Countersigned)**

**The Grand Chancellor COUNT DE PABLUS.**

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## **No. 22.**

### **DECREE OF THE SACRED COUNCIL OF THE SOVEREIGN ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRECEDING PROCLAMATION.**

**IN order to contribute as soon as possible to the restoration of a Grand-Master, and the primitive constitution to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the sovereign council of the said Order, in the meeting of the 22nd of June 1801, has inquired into the form of convocation for a general chapter, and finds that the statutes are as follows on that subject:—**

**“ A General Chapter must consist of the Grand-Master, the Bishop of Malta, the Prior of the Church, the Conventual Bailiffs or Pillars of the Languages, the Grand-Priors or Capitular Bailiffs who have a decisive vote, a Solicitor for the Knights of each Language, and a Solicitor for the Commanders of each Priory.”**

**The sovereign council, in consideration that all the elements of a general chapter are dispersed, and knowing that, in the present situation of things, it would be impossible to assemble them, according to the form expressed in the statutes, has resolved to adopt a mode of election which shall differ as little as possible from the ancient one, prevent delay, spare the priories all unnecessary expense and inconvenience, and immediately fix upon a chief for the sovereign Order to govern it, and take possession of the island of Malta, whenever circumstances shall make it possible to do so.**

For this purpose, the sovereign council enjoins all the Grand-Priors immediately to convene their chapters, and to carry before them the following propositions :—

1st. The provincial chapter shall mark out, among the *professed* Knights of every language, those whom they think most capable of filling the dignity of Grand-Master with due courage and firmness. The Grand-Priors shall acquaint the sovereign council as soon as possible with this opinion, that a list may be formed from all the different priories of those who are candidates for the Grand-Mastership.

2nd. The council proposes to send this list to the court of Rome, and his holiness, as supreme chief of the Romish Church, and as superior of all religious Orders, shall be entreated to select a Grand-Master from among the candidates ; specifying at the same time, that this is only to be the case on this one occasion, and without derogating in any degree from the rights and privileges of the sovereign Order.

His holiness shall also be requested to notify this election to all Catholic countries by a pontifical brief, commanding the Knights to obey the Grand-Master thus chosen, according to the statutes of holy obedience.

All the sovereign chapters shall be summoned by their Grand-Priors to declare their opinions formally and with precision, on the question of referring to the Pope to elect a Grand-Master from the number of professed Knights pointed out by the different priories.

By these means the Order will be assured of having a Grand-Master of its own choice, and from among its own members ; and the sovereign council may proceed with confidence, according to the wishes and opinions of all the capitular chapters. Moreover, the sovereign council represents to all the Grand-Priors, that it is more important than ever to employ all their authority and prudence to prevent every kind of division and intrigue, to choose a candidate truly worthy of the sovereign command, endowed with the necessary qualities to make the Order of general utility, and to restore a severe discipline.

Lastly, the sovereign council has in its wisdom judged that this was the only method to conciliate the members in general,

to avoid all pretences for schisms, and to unite all the scattered members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 20th day of July 1801.

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### No. 23.

#### TERMS OF THE CAPITULATION UNDER WHICH THE FRENCH WERE EXPELLED FROM MALTA.

ARTICLE I.—The garrison of Malta, and the forts dependent thereon, shall march out to be embarked for Marseilles, on the day and hour appointed, with all the honours of war, such as drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, having at their head two four-pounders with their carriages, artillerymen to serve them, and a waggon for the infantry. The civil and military officers of the navy, together with everything belonging to that department, shall equally be conducted to the port of Toulon.

*Answer.*—The garrison shall receive the above requested honours of war, but subject to the following arrangement, in case it be found impossible to embark the whole of the troops immediately. As soon as the capitulation shall be signed, the two forts of Ricasoli and Tigné shall be delivered up to the troops of His Britannic Majesty, and the vessels allowed to enter the port. The national gate shall have a guard composed of an equal number of French and English till the transports shall be ready to take on board the first embarkation of troops; when the whole of the garrison shall file off with all the honours of war as far as the sea-shore, where they shall ground their arms. Those who cannot embark in the first transports shall remain in the isle and fort Manuel, with an armed guard, to prevent any one going into the interior of the island. The garrison shall be regarded as prisoners of war, and cannot serve against His Britannic Majesty till the exchange shall have taken place, and the respective officers shall give their parole to

this purpose. All the artillery, ammunition, and public stores of every description shall be delivered up to officers appointed for that purpose, together with inventories and public papers.

ARTICLE II.—The general of brigade, Chanez, commandant of the city and forts; the general of brigade, d'Hannedel, commandant of the artillery and engineers; the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers; the officers, troops, crews, and all others employed in the navy; citizen Pierre Alphonse Guys, general commissary of trade for the French republic in Syria and Palestine; those employed in civil and military capacities; the commissioners of the army and navy, the civil administrators, and number of whatsoever description of the constituent authority, shall take with them their arms, their personals, and all their property.

*Answer.*—Granted; excepting the soldiers grounding their arms, as mentioned in the first article. The non-commissioned officers shall keep their sabres.

ARTICLE III.—All those who bore arms in the service of the republic during the siege, of whatsoever nation they may happen to be, shall be regarded as making part of the garrison.

*Answer.*—Granted.

ARTICLE IV.—The division shall be embarked at the expense of His Britannic Majesty, each person receiving during his passage the pay of his rank, according to the French regulation. The officers and members of the civil administration, with their families, shall also receive a salary in proportion to the pay of the military, and according to the dignity of their office.

*Answer.*—Granted; conformably to the custom of the British navy, which grants the same pay to every individual of whatsoever degree and condition.

ARTICLE V.—A proper number of waggons and shallops shall be provided for transporting and shipping the personals belonging to the generals, their aides-de-camp, commissaries, chiefs of different corps, officers, citizen Guys, civil and military administrators of the army and navy; together with the papers belonging to the councils of the civil and military administrators of the army and navy; also those of the councils of



the administrators of the different corps, the commissaries of both army and navy, the paymaster of the division, and all others employed in the civil and military administration. These effects and papers to be subject to no kind of inspection, being guaranteed by the generals as containing neither public nor private property.

*Answer.*—Granted.

ARTICLE VI.—All vessels belonging to the republic in sailing condition shall depart at the same time as the division for a French port, after being properly victualled for the voyage.

*Answer.*—Refused.

ARTICLE VII.—The sick, capable of being removed, shall be embarked with the division, and be provided with medicines, surgical instruments, provisions, and necessary attendants to take care of them during the passage; those whose state of health obliges them to remain in Malta, shall be properly treated, and the commander-in-chief shall leave a French physician and surgeon to attend them. When they shall be able to leave the hospital, they shall be provided with a lodging gratis, until they are sufficiently recovered to return to France, whither they shall be sent, with all their property, equally with the garrison. The commander-in-chief, on evacuating Malta, will entrust them to the honour and humanity of the English general.

*Answer.*—Granted.

ARTICLE VIII.—All individuals, of whatsoever nation, inhabitants or not of Malta, shall not be molested for their political opinions, nor for any acts committed whilst Malta was in the power of the French government. This arrangement to be principally applied in its fullest extent to those who have taken up arms, or to those who have held any civil, administrative, or military employments. These are not to be accountable for anything which has passed, particularly not to be proceeded against for what happened during their administration.

*Answer.*—This article does not appear to come under the terms of a military capitulation; but all the inhabitants who wish to remain, or who are permitted to remain, may depend

upon being treated with justice and humanity, and on enjoying the entire protection of the law.

**ARTICLE IX.**—All the French inhabiting Malta, and those of the Maltese who are desirous of following the French army, and retiring to France with their property, shall have the liberty to do so. Those who possess moveables, and estates impossible to be disposed of immediately, and who intend settling in France, shall be allowed six months from the signature of the present capitulation for the sale of their estates and other effects. This property shall be respected; those who remain for the time being, shall be allowed to act for themselves, or, if they follow the French division, by their attorney; and on the termination of their affairs, they shall be furnished with passports for France, and the remainder of their effects sent on board, together with their capital, either in money or in letters of exchange, as shall best suit their convenience.

*Answer.*—Granted, with reference to the answer given to the preceding article.

**ARTICLE X.**—As soon as the capitulation shall be signed the English general shall permit the commander-in-chief of the French forces to despatch a felucca, properly manned, with an officer, to carry the capitulation to the French government, who shall be provided with the necessary safeguard.

*Answer.*—Granted.

**ARTICLE XI.**—The articles of capitulation being signed, the gate, called “Des Bombes,” shall be given up to the English general; and occupied by a guard consisting of an equal number of French and English, with orders to permit neither the soldiers of the besieging army, nor any inhabitant of the island whatsoever, to enter the city until the French troops shall be embarked and out of sight of the port. As soon as the embarkation shall have taken place, the English troops shall occupy the gates, and free entrance be allowed into the city. The English general must perceive that this precaution is absolutely necessary to prevent all disputes, and in order that the articles of the capitulation may be religiously observed.

*Answer.*—Granted, conformably to what has been already provided against by the answer to the first article; and all pre-

caution shall be taken to prevent the armed Maltese from approaching the gates occupied by the French troops.

ARTICLE XII.—All alienation of property, and sale of estates and effects by the French government, whilst it was in possession of Malta, together with all exchange of property between individuals, shall be maintained inviolable.

*Answer.*—Granted, as far as justice and law will permit.

ARTICLE XIII.—The agents of the allies' powers residing in the city of Valetta at the time of its surrender, shall not be molested, and their persons and property shall be guaranteed by the present capitulation.

*Answer.*—Granted.

ARTICLE XIV.—All ships of war and merchant vessels coming from France with the colours of the republic, and appearing before the port, shall not be esteemed prizes, nor the crews made prisoners, during the first twenty days after the date of the present capitulation, but shall be sent back to France with a proper safeguard.

*Answer.*—Refused.

ARTICLE XV.—The commander-in-chief, the other generals, their aides-de-camp, the subaltern officers, shall be embarked altogether, with the commissioners and their suites.

*Answer.*—Granted.

ARTICLE XVI.—The prisoners made during the siege, including the crew of the "Guillaume Tell" and "La Diane," shall be restored and treated like the garrison. The crew of "La Justice" to be used in the same manner, should she be taken in returning to one of the ports of the republic.

*Answer.*—The crew of the "Guillaume Tell" is already exchanged, and that of "La Diane" is to be sent to Majorca, to be exchanged immediately.

ARTICLE XVII.—No one in the service of the republic shall be subject to a reprisal of any kind whatsoever.

*Answer.*—Granted.

ARTICLE XVIII.—If any difficulties shall arise respecting the terms and conditions of the capitulation, they shall be interpreted in the most favourable sense for the garrison.

*Answer.*—Granted according to justice.

Done and concluded at Malta, the 18th of Fructidor, in the eighth year of the French republic.

Signed on behalf of the French, by the General of Division Vaubois, and the Rear-Admiral Villeneuve.

On behalf of the English, by Major-General Pigott and Captain Martin, commodore of the allied fleet before Malta.

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## No. 24.

### ARTICLE IN THE TREATY OF AMIENS RELATIVE TO THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN.

THE islands of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino, shall be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed them before the war, and under the following stipulations:—

1st. The Knights of the Order whose languages shall continue to subsist, after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They will there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a Grand-Master, chosen from among the natives of the nations which preserve their language, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the preliminaries. It is understood that an election made subsequent to that epoch shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2nd. The government of the French republic and of Great Britain, desiring to place the Order and the island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to them, agree that there shall not be in future either a French or an English language, and that no individual belonging to either the one or the other of these powers shall be admitted into the Order.

3rd. There shall be established a Maltese language, which shall be supported by territorial revenues and commercial duties of the island. This language shall have its peculiar dignities,

an establishment, and an hotel. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of Knights of this language, and they shall be moreover admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the Knights of the other languages. At least half of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government shall be filled by inhabitants of the island of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino.

4th. The forces of His Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the Order in its present state, provided the Grand-Master or commissaries fully authorised according to the statutes of the Order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which has been provided by His Sicilian Majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5th. One half of the garrison at least shall be always composed of native Maltese, for the remainder the Order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess languages. The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The command-in-chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of officers, shall pertain to the Grand-Master, and this right he cannot resign, even temporarily, except in favour of a Knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the Order.

6th. The independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7th. The neutrality of the Order, and of the island of Malta with its dependencies, is proclaimed.

8th. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties; these duties shall be applied to the cultivation of the Maltese language, as specified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, as well as to that of a general lazaretto, open to all colours.

9th. The states of Barbary are excepted from the conditions

of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities which subsists between the states of Barbary and the Order of St. John, or the powers possessing the languages or concurring in the composition of the Order, shall have ceased.

10th. The Order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporals, by the same statutes which were in force when the Knights left the island, except so far as the present treaty shall derogate from them.

11th. The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the Order, in the customary manner, and the Grand-Master, or if he shall not be in the island at the time of its restoration to the Order, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be bound to take an oath for their punctual observance.

12th. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish 2000 men, natives of his states, to serve as a garrison to the different fortresses of the said islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the Knights, and if, at the expiration of this term, the Order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers, to garrison the island and its dependencies, such as is specified in the paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

13th. The different powers designated in paragraph 6, viz., France, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

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